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THE

HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE

VOLUME III.

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THE HISTORY

OF

MODERN EUROPE

FROM THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE IN 1453 TO THE CLOSE OF THE CRIMEAN WAR IN 1857

BY THOMAS HENRY DYER

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In publishing the two concluding volumes of this work, the author wishes to remove an impression which appears to have prevailed in some quarters, that it was designed to supersede the study of the continental historians. So far from this being the case, its more humble aim is to serve as an introduction to such a study; and it is with this view that reference has been constantly made to the best sources, whence more ample and satisfactory information might be derived. It was also hoped that the book might convey, to such readers as have not time or inclination for deeper studies, a tolerable idea of the chief events of continental history; as well as prove a handy-book of reference to refresh the memory even of the more erudite; for which purpose a copious Index has been subjoined to the last volume. It was further imagined that the work might afford some notion, however imperfect, of the general connection of the events of European history, which cannot commonly be gained from the histories of particular States.

With these few words of explanation as to the objects of his work, the author respectfully submits it to the candour of his critics, and to public trial and use. Nobody can be more sensible than himself of the numerous faults and imperfections which it must necessarily contain; in palliation of which the best plea he can offer is the vast extent and enormous difficulty of the subject.

London: October 1864.

A

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THE

HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE

TABLE OF CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS

FROM 1648 TO 1721.

(*The Years show the end of their Reigns.*)

GERMANY.	SPAIN.	FRANCE.	ENGLAND.	POPES.
Ferdinand III. 1657	Philip IV. . . 1665	Louis XIV. . 1715	Charles I. . . 1649	Innocent X. . . 1655
Leopold I. . . 1705	Charles II. . . 1700	Louis XV. . . —	Commonwealth 1660	Alexander VII. . 1667
Joseph I. . . 1711	Philip V. . . —		Charles II. . . 1685	Clement IX. . . 1670
Charles VI. . —			James II. . . 1689	Clement X. . . 1676
			William & Mary 1694	Innocent XI. . 1689
			William III. . 1702	Alexander VIII. 1691
			Anne 1714	Innocent XII. . 1700
			George I. . . —	Clement XI. . . 1721

POLAND.	PORTUGAL.	TURKEY.	DENMARK.	SWEDEN.
John II . . . 1668	John IV. . . 1656	Mahomet IV.. 1687	Frederick III. . 1670	Christina . . . 1654
Michael. . . 1673	Alphonso VI.. 1667	Soliman III. . 1691	Christian V. . 1699	Charles X. . . 1660
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Augustus II. . —	John V.. . . —	Mustapha II. . 1703		Charles XII. . . 1718
		Achmet III. . —		Ulrica Eleonora } —
				Frederick }

HISTORY OF MODERN EUROPE.

BOOK V.

FROM THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA, 1648, TO THE PEACE OF UTRECHT 1713, AND OF NYSTAD, 1721.

CHAPTER I.

THE Peace of Westphalia, as we have seen, had not included France and Spain. Both these countries had their motives for continuing the war. France was still animated with the ancient spirit of rivalry, nor had yet forgotten the painful sacrifices imposed upon her by the peace of Madrid in 1526; wounds only partially healed by the treaties of Cambrai, of Câteau Cambrésis, and of Vervins. The national animosity was kept alive by the counsels of Mazarine, who had his private reasons for desiring the prolongation of a war which provided employment abroad for those restless spirits that threatened his domination at home. Spain, on the other hand, though terribly exhausted, found in the aspect of affairs some hopeful and encouraging circumstances. The state of her foreign relations was favourable. The peace which she had concluded with the United Netherlands had diminished the number of her enemies; on the side of England, now approaching the catastrophe of her long civil wars, there was nothing to be dreaded; and though the German branch of the House of Austria was precluded by the peace from lending her any open assistance, yet she might reckon on the good wishes, and even the secret aid, of the Emperor Ferdinand III. Above all, the Cabinet of Madrid was encouraged by the domestic troubles which then agitated France.

The sedition of the Fronde,[1] though it nearly caused a revolution in France, is important in the general affairs of Europe only as crippling for some years the power of that country, and ranging the military talents of Condé on the side of Spain; and we shall therefore enter but very briefly into its history.

Although the victories of Condé and Turenne had gratified the national vanity and thrown a lustre on the administration of Anne of Austria and Mazarine, they had not been purchased without many sacrifices and privations. As a financier, Mazarine had neither skill nor conscience, and Eméri, his agent, was entirely unscrupulous. The taxes had been everywhere increased, and in some places, as Languedoc, it had been necessary to levy them by force. But it was the Parisians, and especially the sovereign courts, that had been chiefly incensed by the tyrannical proceedings of the cabinet, of which we only can select a few examples. In 1644 Eméri had thought proper to revive an obsolete edict, passed in 1548, soon after the invasion of Charles V., and inspired by the fear that the capital might be besieged, by which it was forbidden to erect any buildings outside the walls of Paris. Its operation, however, had subsided with the alarm which gave it birth, and the vacant space had been covered with the dwellings of the poorer classes of the population. The proprietors were now called upon to pay a tax in proportion to the space occupied; and in case of non-compliance they were threatened with the demolition of their houses. The president Barillon and several others, who pleaded in favour of these poor people, were snatched from their homes and incarcerated. Barillon was carried to Pignerol in Piedmont, where he soon after died. Among other odious ways of raising money, Mazarine resorted to a forced loan, and subjected to a duty all articles of consumption entering Paris. This last measure, as it touched the pockets of all, may be regarded as the principal cause of the disturbances which followed. Having thus disgusted the citizens, his next step was to alienate the magistrates. The guaranty of hereditary succession to offices that had been purchased, renewable every nine years, expired on January 1st 1648; and Mazarine, to insure the submission of the Parliament, and compel them to register his edicts, refused to renew it. As there were between 40,000 and 50,000 families in France dependent on these places, the discontent thus occasioned may be imagined. New magistrates were created, and the old ones were only

[1] This ridiculous name, which, however, is sufficiently characteristic of this half tragic, half comic disturbance, is said to have been derived from the slings used by the Parisian *gamins* in their sports.

continued in their places at a sacrifice of four years' income. In order, however, not to offend the whole Parliament, the edict was confined to such chambers as were not strictly courts of justice; as the *Chambre des Comptes*, the *Cour des Aides*, and the *Grand Conseil*. But these chambers called upon the Parliament to defend their rights; and by an *Arrêt d'Union*, deputies from all the chambers were appointed to meet together in the *Chambre de St. Louis*, and consult for the common good. The *Arrêt* was annulled by the Royal Council, yet the self-constituted chamber continued its sittings, and instead of confining itself to questions concerning the interest and jurisdiction of the Parliament, it now announced its object to be nothing less than the reformation of the State.

France seemed to be on the eve of a revolution, and the scenes then passing in England might well inspire the Queen and her minister with dread. After a little attempt at violence, Mazarine yielded, and allowed the Chamber of St. Louis to proceed. Nothing seemed wanting to the success of the movement but sincere and resolute leaders. But these were not forthcoming. The two chiefs of the Parliament, the advocate-general Omer Talon and the president Molé, were honest, well-intentioned men, but not of the stuff which makes revolutionists. How could a thorough reform proceed from the Parliament? Men with bought places which they regarded as an estate with succession to their heirs; bred up in all the forms of legal etiquette, and imbued with an unbounded reverence for the royal perogative.[2] Many, indeed, there were among the French princes and nobles willing to promote any disturbance that might overthrow Mazarine; for, if the people hated the Cardinal for his financial measures, the nobles both detested and despised him for his personal character. Mazarine had not that firmness which had at least made Richelieu respected. He could be worked upon only by fear or importunity; and even the promises extorted from him by these means were often broken. As a foreigner, too, he was naturally the object of suspicion and dislike, and from his ignorance and neglect of the ancient laws and customs of the country. At the head of the malcontent nobles was the King's uncle, Gaston d'Orléans. But the Catiline of the *Fronde* was the young and profligate abbé Francis Paul de Gondi, afterwards the celebrated Cardinal de Retz. Gondi, Count de

[2] Thus, at the beginning of the *Fronde*, when Anne of Austria, in an overbearing tone, demanded whether the Parliament pretended to control the King's will, the awe-stricken lawyers replied: "qu'ils ne peuvent, ils ne doivent décider une telle question, pour laquelle il faudrait *ouvrir les sceaux et les cachets de la royauté, pénétrer dans le secret du mystère de l'Empire.*" Michelet, *Richelieu et la Fronde*, p. 315.

Retz, of Italian origin, had come into France with Catherine de' Medici, and had, as we have seen,[3] been one of the principal advisers of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Since that period the family had been in almost hereditary possession of the archbishopric of Paris, and at the time of which we write the uncle of the abbé Gondi was in the enjoyment of that dignity. The nephew had attached himself to the Duke of Orléans, and Mazarine had endeavoured to gain him by making him coadjutor to his uncle, and consequently successor to the archbishopric; an unlucky step for Mazarine, since this post gave the abbé great influence with the Parisian clergy, and enabled him to excite through the pulpits the fanaticism of the populace.[4] The Coadjutor and the nobles with whom he acted had, however, no real sympathy either for the people or the Parliament; they were actuated only by vanity and self-interest, and the desire to wring as much as possible from the fears of the Court. Perhaps the only sincere leader of the movement was Broussel, an aged counsellor of the Parliament; a man of small means, who occupied an humble dwelling in the heart of the city, but whose firmness and resolution made him the idol of the populace. We cannot, however, detail at any length the intrigues of the Coadjutor and the events of the *Fronde*: how the Court, supported by the *éclat* of Condé's victory at Lens, caused some of the noisiest orators of the Parliament, and among them Broussel, to be arrested; how the people rose, barricaded the streets and compelled his release. Seeing that the populace were no longer under the control even of the Parliament, the pride of Anne of Austria began to yield to the influence of fear, and to the advice of the unfortunate Henrietta of England, who since 1644 had been residing in France. By the declaration of October 24th 1648, one of the crises of the *Fronde*, the Queen conceded all the demands of the Parliament. Thus, on the very same day when the French policy was completely successful abroad by the conclusion of the peace of Westphalia, the government at home was in a state of dissolution; and that triumph of diplomacy—so much were the minds of the people engrossed with their domestic affairs—passed almost unheeded.

The support of Condé, who had returned to Paris in September crowned with the prestige of victory, and who had helped to bring about the arrangement with the Parliament, was contested

[3] Vol. II. p. 208.

[4] It is from Gondi's own writings, the celebrated *Mémoires du Card. de Retz*, that we learn the part which he played in the *Fronde*; but it may be suspected that he has sometimes given an exaggerated description of his achievements. On this point see Ranke, *Französische Gesch.*, B. v. S. 194, ff.

by Mazarine and the Coadjutor. Condé was, however, a dangerous confederate. His character, except on the field of battle, did not show to much advantage; his judgment was unsteady, his temper violent and overbearing. As he had a great contempt for the Parisians, and detested the lawyers, the Court found little difficulty in buying him by the alienation of some of the royal domains. His conduct towards the Parliament soon brought matters to a crisis. That body having been convened for December 16th, to consider how the Court performed its engagements, some of the members complained of the quartering of troops in the neighbourhood of Paris. Condé, who attended the meeting as one of the guarantees of the Declaration of October, replied with menacing words and gestures, which were resented with a storm of groans and hisses. Condé, in great irritation, now went to the Queen, and pressed her to allow him to attack Paris with his troops; and after some deliberation it was resolved that, while the Spanish war was interrupted by the winter, Paris should be reduced to obedience by military force. On January 6th 1649, Anne of Austria gave the signal by retiring with the Court to St. Germain. A civil war was now begun. Condé blockaded Paris, and the Parliament on their side, after treating with contempt a royal order to transfer themselves to Montargis, declared Mazarine an enemy of France, and ordered him to quit the Court in twenty-four hours, and the kingdom in a week. They allied themselves with the other Parliaments of the kingdom, and took into their service many nobles with their retainers; among whom may be named Condé's brother, the Prince of Conti, the Dukes of Longueville, Elbœuf, Brissac, Bouillon, Beaufort, and the Marquis de la Boulaye. The Parisians chose Conti for their generalissimo; but they were no match for regular troops under a general like Condé. They were defeated in every skirmish; by February they began to feel the effects of famine; and on March 11th, they were glad to conclude a peace with the Queen, through the mediation of the Duke of Orléans, which, from its being negociated at the former seat of Richelieu, has been called the *Peace of Ruel.*

This peace, though ultimately abortive, arrested France on the brink of destruction. Turenne, who had been directed to remain with his army in Suabia till the spring, in order to insure the execution of the Peace of Westphalia, had signified to the Court his disapproval of the siege of Paris, had told Mazarine to rely no longer on his friendship, and had ended by placing himself and his army at the service of the Parliament and the public. Such a step on the part of the sedate Turenne seems almost inexplicable,

except, perhaps, from some personal resentment against Mazarine, and the desire to recover Sedan for his family, confiscated by Richelieu in 1642.[5] The Archduke Leopold, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, emboldened by these troubles, had advanced with his forces as far as the Aisne between Laon and Reims; but on learning the peace of Ruel he recrossed the frontier, and he and his lieutenants subsequently took Ypres and St. Venant. To wash out this disgrace, Mazarine directed against Cambrai the troops which had blockaded Paris, united with the ancient army of the Rhine; but Harcourt, who commanded (Condé had refused the post), though he gained some small successes, failed in the main enterprise. Meanwhile all was anarchy in France. In the provinces order and authority were shaken to their foundation; the taxes could not be regularly levied, and it was difficult to find money even for the expenses of the King's household. Provence and Guienne were in a state of revolt; Paris and its Parliament were still restive. It cannot be doubted that the consummation of the English rebellion had some influence on these troubles. At Paris it was the universal topic. Nothing was talked of but liberty and a republic; the monarchy, it was said, had grown decrepit, and must be abolished.[6]

As the best method of quelling these disturbances and procuring a little money, the Queen with the young King returned to Paris, August 18th, accompanied by Mazarine and Condé, and were well received by the Parisians. But Condé, by his pride and insolence, soon rendered himself insupportable, not only to the Queen and Mazarine but even to the *Fronde*.[7] The Cardinal availed himself of this latter circumstance to ruin the Prince. He persuaded Condé that the Coadjutor and the Duke of Beaufort, now one of the chief demagogues of Paris, intended to assassinate him. Condé's carriage was actually fired at while passing over the Pont Neuf, and a valet killed. Mazarine has been suspected of having concerted this affair; however that may be, he at least knew how to avail himself of it. Condé denounced the outrage to the Parliament, and involved himself in an implacable quarrel

[5] See Vol. II. p. 612.

[6] *Mémoires* de Montglat, p. 217; Martin, t. xii. p. 338.

[7] Condé treated Mazarine with personal insult. On one occasion "il lui passa la main devant le nez, comme pour lui donner une nasarde, et sortit en lui criant 'Adieu, Mars!'" Madame de Motteville, *Mém.*, p. 288. Of Mazarine's insensibility to insult, and the necessity of frightening him in order to make him keep his word, a strange story is told. "Miossens, à qui il avait promis de le faire maréchal, le rencontre sur le Pont Neuf, l'arrête, lui promet cent coups de bâton. 'A la bonne heure, dit-il, voilà qui est parler!' Il signe sa nomination. Miossens est *maréchal d'Albret*!" Michelet, *La Fronde*, p. 291.

with the heads of the *Fronde*. Thus deprived of supporters, Condé became an easy victim to the arts of Mazarine. It was determined to arrest him, together with his brother Conti, and his brother-in-law Longueville. The promise of a cardinal's hat for Gondi procured for the Court the assistance of the *Fronde*; the Duke of Orléans consented to the measure, and the three princes, when on the point of leaving a council that had been held at the *Palais Royal*, were arrested, and quietly conducted to Vincennes (January 18th 1650). It is said that the order for this arrest had been obtained from Condé himself, on pretence that it was to be used against some other person.[8]

This was the second crisis of the sedition. The old *Fronde* had expired; its leaders had sold themselves to the Court; but in its place sprang up the *New Fronde*, called also, from the affected airs of its leaders, the *Petits Maîtres*. The beautiful Duchess of Longueville was the soul of it, aided by her admirer, Marsillac, afterwards Duke de la Rochefoucauld, and by the Duke of Bouillon. On the arrest of her husband and her brother, the duchess had fled to Holland, and afterwards to Stenai; where she and Bouillon's brother, Turenne, who styled himself the "King's Lieutenant-General for the liberation of the Princes," entered into negociations with the Archduke Leopold. Bouillon himself had retired into Guienne, which province was alienated from the Court because Mazarine maintained as its governor the detested Epernon. In July, Bouillon and his allies publicly received a Spanish envoy at Bordeaux. Condé's wife and infant son had been received in that city with enthusiasm. But on the approach of Mazarine with the royal army, the inhabitants of Guienne, alarmed for their vintage, now approaching maturity, showed signs of submission; after a short siege Bordeaux surrendered, on condition of an amnesty, in which Bouillon and La Rochefoucauld were included; and the Princess of Condé was permitted to retire (October 1st 1650).

In the north, the *Frondeurs*, with their Spanish allies, seemed at first more successful. In the summer Leopold had entered Champagne, penetrated to Ferté Milon, and some of his marauding parties had even reached Dammartin. Turenne tried to persuade the Archduke to march to Vincennes and liberate the princes; but while he was hesitating, Gaston transferred the captives to Marcoussis, whence they were soon after conveyed to Havre. Leopold and Turenne, after a vain attempt to rouse the Parisians, retreated to the Meuse and laid siege to Mouzon. The Cardinal himself,

[8] Michelet. *La Fronde*, p. 333.

like his master Richelieu, now assumed the character of a general. Uniting with his troops in the north the army of Guienne, he took up his quarters at Rethel, which had been captured by Du Plessis Praslin. Hence he ordered an attack to be made on the Spaniards. In the battle which ensued, these were entirely defeated, many of their principal officers were captured, and even Turenne himself narrowly escaped the same fate (December 15th 1650).

The Cardinal's elation was unbounded. It was a great thing to have defeated Turenne, and though the victory was Du Plessis', Mazarine assumed all the credit of it. His head began to turn. He forgot that he owed his success to the leaders of the old *Fronde*, and especially to the Coadjutor; he neglected his promises to that intriguing prelate, though Gondi plainly declared that he must either be a prince of the Church or the head of a faction. Mazarine was also imprudent enough to offend the Parliament; and he compared them with that sitting at London—which indeed was doing them too much honour. The Coadjutor went over to the party of the princes, dragging with him the feeble-minded Orléans, who had himself been insulted by the Queen. Thus was produced a third phase of this singular sedition—the union of the old *Fronde* with the new.

The Parliament now clamoured for the liberation of the princes. As the Queen hesitated, Gaston bluntly declared that the dismissal of Mazarine was necessary to the restoration of peace; while the Parliament added to their former demand another for the Cardinal's banishment. Mazarine saw his mistake, and endeavoured to rectify it. He hastened to Havre in order to liberate the princes in person, and claim the merit of a spontaneous act. But it was too late; it was plain that he was acting only by constraint. The princes were conducted back in triumph to Paris by a large retinue sent to escort them. On February 25th 1651, their innocence was established by a royal declaration, and they were restored to all their dignities and charges.

Mazarine, meanwhile, who saw that for the present the game was lost, retired into exile; first into Bouillon, and afterwards to Brühl on the Rhine, where the Elector of Cologne offered him an asylum. From this place he corresponded with the Queen, and continued to direct her counsels.[9] The anarchy and confusion that had ensued in France were such as promised him a speedy return. Châteauneuf had ostensibly succeeded to his place; but Orléans and Condé ruled supreme, and ministers were dismissed

[9] Their correspondence has been published by the *Société de l'Histoire de France*.

and appointed at their pleasure. The Parliament in its turn wanted to establish a republic of the *robe*, and passed the most violent resolutions, which the Queen, who was a sort of prisoner at the Palais Royal, was obliged to confirm. Anne's situation, who was subjected on the one side to the dictation of the princes, on the other to the threats of the Parliament, became intolerable, and the Coadjutor availed himself of her distress to push his own interests. He promised to procure the recall of Mazarine on condition of receiving a cardinal's hat; a fact which can scarcely be doubted, though he pretends in his memoirs that he made no such engagement.[10]

To relieve herself from some of her embarrassments, the Queen Regent resolved to declare her son of age when he should have completed his thirteenth year on September 6th. This step would release her from the obtrusion of the Duke of Orléans; and at the same time her son would be able to confirm all that Mazarine had done in his name. Already in address, figure, and bearing, the youthful Louis XIV. was admirably fitted to sustain the part of a king; and everybody acknowledged that he was formed to rule a people which loves to see absolute power fitly represented, and surrounded with pomp and splendour. On the day after his birthday, his majority was declared in a solemn *Lit de Justice*; but he was compelled to promise that Mazarine should never return, and thus to inaugurate his reign with a falsehood.

In the same assembly was also published a *Justification* of Condé; yet that prince absented himself from the ceremony on the ground that the calumnies of his enemies prevented him from appearing before the King.[11] By his haughtiness and violence he had again completely isolated himself.[12] He had separated from the leaders of the *Fronde*; he had offended both the Court and the Parliament; nay, he had even alienated Turenne, who hastened to reconcile himself with the Queen and Mazarine. Anne had been advised again to arrest Condé; but he got notice of it, and fled to St. Maur. He had now no alternative but to throw himself into the arms of the enemies of his country; and all eyes were turned upon him, in anxious expectation of his movements.

At a meeting of his principal adherents held at Chantilli, Condé resolved upon war; and he proceeded at once to his government of Berri, and thence to Bordeaux (Sept. 22nd). Through his agent, Lenet, he had procured the support of the Spanish Government, which, besides promising considerable sums of money, engaged to send 30 vessels and 4000 men to Bordeaux, while 5000 more were

[10] Martin, t. xii. p. 377. [11] *Ibid.* p. 381. [12] Montglat, t. ii. p. 287.

to join the prince's partisans at Stenai. Eight Spanish ships actually arrived soon afterwards in the Gironde with troops and money; but ultimately Spain, always in want of means, did nothing of importance. The defection of Turenne spoilt Condé's plans, who wanted Turenne to march on Paris from the north, while he himself advanced from the south. The majority of Louis was also unfavourable to Condé: he had now to fight against the King in person, and the King's name was a tower of strength. Louis and his mother were with the royal army, which was commanded by the Count d'Harcourt. The struggle, which we need not enter into, lasted during the month of November. Condé, worsted in every rencounter, offered to treat on the basis of Mazarine's return; but the Cardinal, who saw that that event depended not on the Prince, refused to negociate. He had quitted Brühl towards the end of October, for Hui, in the territory of Liége, whence he had advanced to Dinant. He was in correspondence with the governors of provinces and places in the north of France, who were for the most part his creatures. La Vieuville —the same whom Richelieu had ousted—had again obtained the direction of the finances, and forwarded money to Mazarine; with which he levied soldiers in the electorate of Cologne and bishopric of Liége. After some anxious hesitation, Anne wrote to Mazarine, authorising him to return "for the succour of the King" (Nov. 17th). The Parliament were furious, and unanimously opposed his return. They were now in a singular situation. On the one hand they were obliged to pronounce Condé guilty of high treason; on the other, they were drawing up the most terrible resolutions against the minister who governed the Queen and country. They had to oppose on one side absolute power and ministerial despotism; on the other an oligarchy of princes, united only by selfish views, and utterly regardless of the national interests.

Meanwhile Mazarine pursued his march, and penetrated by Rhetel into Champagne. At this news the Parliament issued a decree, confiscating his estates, and even the income of his prebends. They caused his palace in Paris, together with the library and furniture, to be sold; and out of the proceeds they offered a reward of 150,000 livres to whomsoever should bring him to justice, "alive or dead." Nevertheless, Mazarine continued his advance towards Poitiers, where the Court was then residing. His guards wore his own colours (green). The King went a league out of the town to meet the Cardinal, who, the very next day, assumed the ostensible direction of affairs. Fortune, however, seemed once more to turn. Condé, reinforced by the troops of the

Duke of Orléans, and leaving his brother Conti and the Count de Marsin as his representatives in Guienne, marched against the royal forces under Hocquincourt, and defeated them near Bléneau (April 7th 1652). The royal army would have been annihilated, had not Turenne arrived in time to save it. At this juncture, Charles II. of England, who had fled to France with his brother the Duke of York, endeavoured to bring about an accommodation between the French Court and the princes; but a conference held at St. Germain towards the end of April, led to no result.

Condé having marched upon Paris, the stream of war was diverted towards the capital. During two or three months, Condé and Turenne displayed their generalship by countermarches and manœuvres about Paris, while the Court went from one place to another. At length on July 2nd, Turenne ventured an attack on Condé, who had entrenched himself in the faubourg St. Antoine. The young King, accompanied by Mazarine, had come to the heights of Charonne to view the battle; and Turenne, although from the strength of Condé's position, he would willingly have declined a battle, was neither willing to disappoint Louis, nor to awaken the suspicions of the mistrustful Cardinal. The Prince is said never to have displayed better generalship than on this occasion; yet he was on the point of being overcome, when he was saved by an unexpected incident. The Parliament, which had declared its neutrality, had intrusted the command of the Bastille to Mademoiselle de Montpensier, called in the memoirs of those times *La Grande Mademoiselle*, the stout-hearted daughter of the Duke of Orléans, who had distinguished herself by the defence of that city against the Royalists. She took, with great valour but little judgment, a distinguished part in these wars; and it was said that her object was to compel the King to marry her, though he was eleven years her junior. While her father shut himself up in the Luxemburg, and would give no orders, Mademoiselle exhorted the citizens to stand by the Prince, and directed on the royal forces the guns of the neutral fortress which she commanded, the first of which she is said to have fired with her own hand.[13] Even this circumstance, however, would not have saved Condé, had she not persuaded the citizens to open the gates and admit him and his troops; when Turenne was compelled to retreat. Louis XIV. never forgave the Princess, who had afterwards severely to expiate her conduct.

The result of this victory was that Paris declared in favour of the princes; a provisional government was organised in that

[13] *Mém. de Conrart*, p. 106 sq.; *Mém. de Mdlle. Montpensier*, 117 sq.

metropolis; the Duke of Orléans, though Louis was of age, was declared Lieutenant-General of the kingdom; and Condé, who still kept up his connection with Spain, was appointed generalissimo of the forces. The King having retired to Pontoise, summoned thither the Parliament of Paris, declaring null and void all that they should do in the metropolis. Only a few score members appeared at Pontoise, but they assumed all the functions of the legitimate Parliament. Louis had found himself compelled to announce his willingness that Mazarine should retire; but as the Cardinal was very loth to quit his post, the Parliament of Pontoise, by concert with the Court, drew up a remonstrance beseeching the King to remove every pretext for disaffection by dismissing his minister; and Louis, after pronouncing a pompous eulogium on Mazarine, permitted him to retire (Aug. 10th). The Cardinal now fixed his residence at Bouillon, close to the frontiers.

The King, who had betaken himself to Turenne's army at Compiègne, and who received from all sides assurances of loyalty and devotion, offered an amnesty to Condé and the Parisians; but though all desired peace, none were inclined to trust an offer dictated by the influence of the detested Cardinal. Condé, however, though the Dukes of Würtemberg and Lorraine had marched to his assistance, began to find his position untenable. All the magistrates of Paris had been changed; the Court had gained the Coadjutor, by procuring for him from the Pope a cardinal's hat; and while Condé despaired of the favour of the higher classes, De Retz caballed against him with the lower. The Parisians had sent some deputies to the King at Pontoise, who were delighted with their reception. Condé felt that it was time to fly. He quitted Paris for Flanders about the middle of October, and in the following month accepted from the Spanish general, Fuensaldaña, the bâton of generalissimo of the forces of Philip IV., with the red scarf which he had vanquished at Rocroi and Lens: thus degenerating from a rebel into a renegado. About the same time, the Queen and Louis XIV. entered Paris, escorted by the troops of Turenne. At their approach the Duke of Orléans retired to Blois, where he spent the remainder of his life in the obscurity befitting it. Mademoiselle de Montpensier was relegated to Bois le Comte; Broussel was incarcerated, and about a dozen members of the Parliament were banished to various places. An edict of amnesty was published, from which however the Prince of Condé, the Duke of Beaufort, and other leaders of the *Fronde*, were excepted. Subsequently, in 1654, Condé was sentenced to death by the Parliament, as a traitor.

Mazarine, however, still remained in exile. He could not yet rely on the disposition of the Parisians, especially so long as the arch intriguer, the Cardinal de Retz, remained among them. But that subtle prelate at length outwitted himself. The Queen on entering Paris had received him very graciously, and even attended one of his sermons at St. Germain l'Auxerrois. Deceived by these appearances, De Retz put too high a value on his services. In order to get rid of him, the Court offered him the management of the affairs of France at Rome; but De Retz demanded in addition, honours, governments and money for his friends; and when these were refused, he began to negociate with Condé. But the time for such pretensions was past. On December 19th, after paying a visit to the Queen, he was arrested by a captain of the guard, and confined at Vincennes; whence he was afterwards removed to Nantes. This was the end of his political career; for though he contrived to escape from Nantes, whence he proceeded into Spain, and afterwards to Rome, he was not allowed to return to France during the lifetime of Mazarine.[14] De Retz has preserved a great reputation chiefly through his literary talent. As a politician he had no patriotic, nor even definite views; he loved embroilment and disturbance, partly for their own sake, partly for the advantage he derived from them. After the pacification of Paris, the malcontents in the provinces were soon reduced. Bordeaux, where the *Fronde* had taken a singular turn under the name of *L'Ormée*, was one of the last places to submit.

While these things were going on, Mazarine had joined Turenne and his army near Bar; and towards the end of January 1653, he set out for Paris, which he entered February 3rd. Louis XIV. went out in state to meet him, and gave him a place in his own carriage. It is said that the Cardinal had distributed money among the leaders of the mob to cheer him on his entrance; it is certain that he was not only received with acclamation by the populace, but also feasted by the magistrates. The jurists of the Parliament displayed a grovelling servility, and he received the humble visits of some of those very counsellors who had set a price upon his head. Such was the end of the *Fronde*; a movement without grandeur or possible result, whose sterility only confirmed the power of the King and of the minister. From this time till the end of his life Mazarine reigned with absolute power; for he

[14] After the death of Mazarine, however, de Retz obtained the archbishopric of Paris. His uncle, the old Archbishop Gondi, died in 1654. The *Mémoires* of De Retz terminate in 1655. They have been completed by Champollion-Figeac. (See *Coll. Michaud*, Sér. iii. t. i.)

maintained the same influence over the young King as he had previously exerted ever Louis's mother. His avarice and despotism grew worse than before. The management of the finances was intrusted to the most unworthy persons, among whom Fouquet astonished Europe by his magnificence. Mazarine made the interests of France subordinate to his own avaricious views, and his plans for the advancement of his family. Fortune seemed to favour all his enterprises. His nieces, the Mancini, celebrated for their beauty and vivacity, were all married into princely houses; and Louis XIV. himself was with difficulty dissuaded from giving his hand to one of the six.

The *Fronde* is the last occasion on which we find the French nobles arrayed in open war against the Crown. Henceforth they became the mere satellites of the Court, whose power was supported, and whose splendour was increased, by their presence. How different from the great revolution which took place about the same time in England! The English reader hardly needs to be reminded that King Charles I., after a solemn trial, was publicly executed on the scaffold, January 20th 1649; that the House of Peers, as well as the monarchy, was abolished, and the government of the kingdom conducted by the Commons; that Cromwell gradually assumed the supreme power, both military and civil, and after reducing the Royalists by his victories in Ireland, Scotland, and England, and reviving by his vigorous foreign policy the lustre of the English name, he finally, in December 1653, caused himself to be named "Lord Protector."

Meanwhile the Spanish war had been going on, with disastrous consequences to the French. The Spaniards had good leaders in the Archduke Leopold William and Don John of Austria, to whom was now added the great Condé. They also received material assistance from the Emperor Ferdinand III. In spite of the peace of Westphalia, Ferdinand sent thousands of men into Flanders under the flag of Charles IV., Duke of Lorraine, who, since his quarrels with France, had become a sort of partisan chief. Don John, whose exploit in saving Naples from the French we have already related,[15] and who subsequently recovered from them the Tuscan ports, had in 1651 laid siege to Barcelona; which city, after a blockade of thirteen months both by sea and land, at length surrendered (October 12th 1652.) Girona, Palamos, Balaguer, and other places next fell; and all Catalonia was ultimately reunited to Spain, from which it had been separated during a period of thirteen years. In the same year the Spaniards wrested back from

[15] Vol. II. p. 631 sq.

the French Gravelines and Dunkirk. Their conquest of Dunkirk had been facilitated by the conduct of the English Government. The Parliament which then ruled in England had offered D'Estrades, the French commandant of Dunkirk, a large sum to put that place in their hands. D'Estrades honourably refused to accept the bribe, but referred the English agent to his own Court. Mazarine was inclined to cede Dunkirk to the English on condition of receiving 15,000 men and 50 vessels to act against the French rebels and the Spaniards; but Anne of Austria would not consent. In consequence of this refusal, the English fleet under Blake defeated a French fleet that was proceeding to the relief of Dunkirk (Sept. 14th 1652), and four days after D'Estrades was compelled to surrender to the Spaniards. Yet so fearful were the French Government of bringing upon them another enemy, that even this gross outrage failed to produce a war with England.

It would be tedious to relate in detail all the campaigns between the French and Spaniards, in which nothing decisive was achieved till in the year 1657, Cromwell threw the weight of England into the scale. The most prominent figures on the scene during this struggle were Condé and Turenne, who, like two Homeric heroes, seemed to hold in their hands the fortune of war. Their skill was conspicuously displayed in 1654, when Turenne compelled the Spaniards to raise the siege of Arras; but was prevented by the manœuvres of Condé from pursuing his advantage.[16] It was in this school that the youthful Louis XIV. served his apprenticeship in arms. The campaign of 1655 was almost wholly unimportant; but the reverses which the French suffered in the following year, as well as the failure of some negociations with Spain, because the Spanish Court would not consent to abandon Condé, induced Mazarine to enter into a close alliance with the Protector Cromwell.

France had not been so forward as Spain in recognising the new order of things in England. The French Court, connected with Charles I. by his marriage with Henrietta, had viewed the rebellion with displeasure; and had exhibited this feeling by prohibiting the importation of certain articles of English manufacture. The English Parliament had naturally resented this conduct, and the establishment of the Republic had not been announced to France, as to other countries. Subsequently, in 1650, Mazarine had even listened to the proposals of the Dutch Stadtholder, William II., to cooperate with him for the restoration of

[16] It was on this occasion that Philip IV. wrote to Condé: "I know that all was lost, and that you have saved all."

the Stuarts. The Spanish Cabinet, on the other hand, being desirous of the English alliance, had, immediately after the execution of Charles, acknowledged the Republic; and when Cromwell seized the supreme power, he was not only congratulated by Don Alonso de Cardenas, the Spanish ambassador, but even informed that if he should assume the crown, the King of Spain would venture his own to defend him in it.[17] At a later period, however, Mazarine, seeing the necessity for the English alliance, became a rival suitor for Cromwell's friendship. But the Protector, though well aware of the advantages of his position, was for some time prevented by a war with the Dutch from declaring for either nation.

Instead of that sympathy and support which the English Republicans might naturally have expected from the Dutch Commonwealth, which English blood and treasure had contributed to establish, the States-General had interposed to save the life of Charles I.; had acknowledged his son as lawful King of England, condoled with him on the "murder," as they styled it, of his royal father, and given him an asylum in their dominions.[18] This conduct was influenced by the youthful Stadtholder, William II., who, having married Mary, the eldest daughter of Charles I., was naturally in favour of the Stuarts; and he had at various times supplied Queen Henrietta with arms, ammunition, and soldiers in aid of her husband's cause. In this policy William was supported by the Dutch clergy and the populace; which, incited by its ministers, was so furious against the English Parliament, or "rebels," that Strickland, the Parliamentary envoy, durst not leave his lodgings; and on May 2nd 1649, Dr. Dorislaus, his colleague, was assassinated. The higher classes of the Dutch alone, and especially in the province of Holland, where the principles of an aristocratic republic prevailed, as well as with a view to commercial interests, were for the English Parliament, and advocated at least a strict neutrality. These principles had even threatened to bring the province of Holland into a dangerous collision with the Stadtholder. After the peace with Spain, the question had arisen as to the reduction of the army, and what regiments were to be dismissed; and on these points the States of Holland were at complete variance with the Stadtholder. They had shown a disposition to assert the right of self-government on these and other subjects, so that it even became a question whether the supreme power was to be vested in the States-General, or whether each province was to form an independent State. William attempted to decide this

[17] Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 759. [18] Harris, *Life of Cromwell*, p. 249.

question by force, and had despatched some of his troops against Amsterdam, while the citizens prepared to defend themselves by cutting the dykes; when the young prince was fortunately saved from his foolish enterprise by the advice of his relative, Van Beverweert, and the mediation of the States-General. William's negociations, before-mentioned, with the French Court for the restoration of the Stuarts,[19] which he had entered into without consulting the States, were cut short by death. He was carried off by the small-pox, November 6th 1650, in the twenty-fifth year of his age. A week after his death his wife gave birth to a son, William Henry, the future King of England.

The death of William was followed by a change in the constitution of the United Netherlands. In a great assembly of the States held at the Hague in January 1561, Holland succeeded in establishing the principle that, though the union should be maintained, there should be no Stadtholder of the United Netherlands; that each province should conduct its own affairs, and that the army should be under the direction of the States-General. In conformity with this decision, the office of Stadtholder remained vacant till 1672. These events, however, not having produced any sensible alteration in the general conduct of the Dutch towards England, the Parliament, with a view to change this disposition, sent St. John, Lord Chief Justice, and Mr. Walter Strickland, as ambassadors extraordinary to the Hague; and to prevent a repetition of the former violence, forty gentlemen were appointed to accompany them. The ambassadors were instructed to propose a complete union and coalition between the two republics, and to insist that no enemy of the English Commonwealth should be sheltered in the Dutch provinces. But they could not succeed in bringing the States into their views, and were even again publicly insulted in the streets.[20]

It must not be concealed that a good deal of commercial jealousy lay at the bottom of all these proceedings. The Dutch were now at the height of their commercial prosperity, and besides their large colonial trade, which often clashed with that of England, they almost monopolised the carrying trade of Europe. Sir Henry Vane, who was the chief instigator and director of all the transactions with the Dutch, declared it to be his fixed opinion that the commercial interests of Holland and England were irreconcilable, and that in order to a permanent peace, the two republics must either form a coalition, or else that the English must subjugate the

[19] On this subject see D'Estrades, *Lettres et Négociations.*

[20] Thurloe, *State Papers*, vol. i. p. 182; Ludlow, vol. i. p. 344.

United Netherlands, and reduce them to the condition of a province.[21] Soon after the return of the English ambassadors from their fruitless errand, the House of Commons passed the celebrated Navigation Act entitled "Goods from foreign parts by whom to be imported" (Oct. 9th 1651); by which it was ordained that goods from Asia, Africa, and America should be imported only in English bottoms, as also goods from any part of Europe, unless they were the produce or manufacture of the country to which the vessels belonged. The States-General sent ambassadors to London to endeavour to mitigate this law; but the Parliament, on its side, met their demands with others concerning the massacre that had been committed at Amboyna,[22] the fisheries, the right of the flag, &c.

It was during these negociations that an apparently accidental collision between the English and Dutch fleets produced a war between the countries. The renowned Dutch admiral Tromp, being compelled, as he alleged, by stress of weather to take refuge at Dover with a fleet of more than forty sail, there met with Admiral Blake, who commanded a far inferior force; a battle, by whomsoever provoked, ensued, and was fought with obstinacy till night parted the combatants; when the Dutch retired with some loss to their own coast (May 19th 1652). At the news of this affair the Parliament ordered all Dutch ships to be seized, and made preparations for a vigorous war. The Dutch sent the Pensionary Pauw to London to attempt a reconciliation; but the Parliament would listen to no explanations, demanded reparation, and on its being refused, declared war (July 1652).[23]

We shall not enter into the details of the naval war that followed, which are well known to most English readers. Suffice it to say, that in 1652 and the following year, several sanguinary battles were fought in which Blake, Ayscue, Monk, and Penn distinguished themselves on the side of the English; and Tromp, De Ruyter, and De Witt on that of the Dutch.[24] Victory sometimes favoured one side, sometimes the other; but on the whole the

[21] Stubbe, *Further Justification of the War with the United Netherlands*, p. 118, sqq. 4to. London, 1673.

[22] The Dutch had, in 1623, massacred the English settlers in Amboyna, on the pretence that they were engaged in a conspiracy, and had taken from England the little island of Polerone.

[23] The Dutch and English manifestoes in Dumont, t. vi. pt. ii. p. 28, 31; also, *Ordinance of the States-General, ib.* p. 35.

[24] The principal actions were, in 1652, between Sir G. Ayscue and De Ruyter, off Plymouth, August 16th (undecided), Bourne and Penn's victory over De Witt and De Ruyter, off the Kentish coast, September 28th; Tromp's victory over Blake in the Downs, November 28th, after which the Dutch admiral fixed a broom to his mainmast. In 1653 Blake and Monk defeated Tromp and De Ruyter off Portland, February 18th; the English also gained several smaller victories this year, besides the decisive one mentioned in the text.

Dutch suffered most, and especially in their commerce. They are said to have lost more during these two years than in the whole eighty years of their struggle with Spain. At length they were so crippled by the great action fought in July 1653, in which the gallant Tromp lost his life, that they were glad to accept of a peace on the terms dictated by England.

Cromwell had now attained to the supreme power in this country; in April he had turned out the Parliament, and in the following December he assumed the title of Lord Protector. Cromwell's foreign policy was as vigorous as his domestic. It was his hope, he used to say, to make the name of *Englishman* as much respected as ever that of *Roman* had been. He desired very much to obtain a footing on the Continent, both as a means of extending English trade and of supporting the Protestant interest in Europe. Hence when Beverningk came as ambassador from the States to treat for peace, the Protector, as the Parliament had done before, insisted on a union of the two republics; but this the Dutch immediately rejected as impracticable; nor would they listen to another proposition that there should be three Englishmen either in the Dutch Council of State, or in the States-General, and three Dutchmen in the English Council.[25] The English demands were also in other respects so high that the Dutch prepared to strengthen themselves with alliances in order to continue the war; and especially they entered into a treaty with Denmark, whose royal family was connected with the Stuarts; and that power engaged to shut the Sound against the English. De Witt, Grand Pensionary of Holland and President of the States-General, now almost directed the counsels of the United Netherlands. At the time of his election in 1653, he was only twenty-five years of age; but he had already displayed all the best qualities of a statesman, besides a love of literature and a philosophical talent which had been developed by the teaching of Descartes. Although public feeling in the Netherlands was very much inflamed against England, De Witt was so convinced of the necessity for a peace that he did not hesitate to stem the popular current, and as Cromwell also lowered his demands and abandoned the idea of a coalition, a treaty was at length concluded, April 15th 1654. A chief point of contention was, the sovereignty of the seas.[26] The Dutch yielded the honour of the flag, and agreed to salute English

[25] *Verhaal* van Beverningk, ap. Van Kampen, *Gesch. der Niederlande*, B. ii. S. 161.

[26] The English demands on this head were founded on Selden's *Mare Clausum*, which the Parliament had caused to be translated by Nedham; and it was published by special command in November 1652. Harris, *Life of Cromwell*, p. 264.

men-of-war by striking the flag and lowering the topsail; but the Protector, on his side, abated some of his former pretensions; as, for instance, that whole fleets should render these honours to a single man-of-war, and that the Dutch should not send more than a certain number of ships of war into the British seas without the express permission of England. The Dutch agreed to give no assistance to the Stuarts, and to make atonement and compensation for the massacre at Amboyna and the injury done to English trade in the East Indies and other places. The province of Holland alone, in a separate article, engaged that no prince of the House of Orange should ever be invested with the dignity of Stadtholder, or even be appointed Captain-General.[27] The King of Denmark was included in the treaty, the States-General engaging to make good any losses the English merchants had sustained by the seizure of their ships at Copenhagen.

After the conclusion of this peace, Cromwell was at liberty to take a part in the great debate between France and Spain, both which Powers were soliciting his friendship. The Protector himself, as well as most of his Council, preferred a war with Spain. An attack upon the Spanish trade and colonies afforded a tempting prospect, whilst a war with France offered no such advantages. Cromwell's religious views had also great influence in determining him against Spain; which, with Austria, was the chief supporter in Europe of that popery which the Puritans so much abhorred. The same feeling had embued the Protector with a great fondness and admiration of Sweden, distinguished among the northern nations as the champion of Protestantism; and therefore made him averse to a war with France, the close ally of Sweden. Thus, during this period, the foreign policy of the two maritime republics took an exactly opposite direction. After the Peace of Westphalia, it was no longer Spain, but France, as an ambitious and powerful neighbour, that became the object of apprehension in the United Netherlands; whilst in the great northern war entered into by Sweden about this time against Poland, Denmark, and their allies, the Dutch, in the interests of their Baltic commerce, opposed the Swedes and supported the Danes.

In the course of 1654, Cromwell made some advantageous commercial treaties with Sweden, Portugal, and Denmark; Portugal especially granted the English an exclusive right of commerce with herself and her colonies.[28] The negociations were continued with the Spanish Cabinet, which made the Protector the most dazzling offers. Besides the personal bait of assisting him to the

[27] Dumont, t. vi. pt. ii. p. 74.

[28] *Ibid.* p. 80 sqq.

crown of England, Spain offered to aid him in taking Calais, provided he would help Condé in a descent upon Guyenne. But, while Cromwell pretended to listen to these offers, his resolution had been already taken. His demands upon Spain were such as it was impossible for that power to grant—free trade with the Spanish Indies, and complete exemption for British subjects from the jurisdiction of the Inquisition.[29] The Spanish ambassador said that "to ask a liberty from the Inquisition and free sailing to the West Indies, was to ask his master's two eyes." In the winter of 1654–5, two fleets left the shores of England whose destination was unknown. One commanded by Penn, with a body of troops under Venables, sailed to the West Indies with the design of seizing the Spanish colony of Hispaniola. It failed in that enterprise, and though it took Jamaica, both commanders were on their return incarcerated in the Tower. The other fleet, under Blake, which entered the Mediterranean, had a sort of roving commission. It employed itself in taking some French ships, in exacting reparation from the Grand Duke of Tuscany for some alleged former losses, while the Pope trembled at its neighbourhood; it then sailed to the coast of Africa, to chastise the deys of Algiers and Tunis for their piracies. But its principal object was the seizure of the Spanish American galleons. The Spaniards, on receiving the news of the unwarrantable attack upon their West Indian possessions, immediately declared war against England, and Blake received fresh instructions to lie in wait for their American fleet. For want of water he was compelled to abandon the enterprise to one of his captains, who succeeded in capturing two galleons and destroying others; and Blake himself soon after met his death in another and more honourable enterprise against the Spaniards in the Canaries.

Although Cromwell had broken with Spain, he had not yet made any alliance with France. The two countries were for some time kept apart by a religious question. Early in 1655 the Duke of Savoy had commenced a bloody persecution against the Vaudois who dwelt in the High Alps of Piedmont. The numbers of these poor people had increased so much that there was no longer any room for them in the three upper valleys, in which alone their religious liberties were guaranteed, and they had consequently descended lower down the mountains. In the middle of winter appeared an edict ordering them, under pain of death, to quit their new abodes

[29] British merchants enjoyed an immunity from the jurisdiction of that tribunal, provided they caused no scandal; but Cromwell wanted this clause abolished. Thurloe, vol. i. p. 706. For the negociations with France and Spain, *Ibid.* p. 759 sqq.

in three days, unless they could make it appear within twenty days that they were become Roman Catholics. Exasperated at this cruel proceeding, their brethren in the High Alps flew to arms, and solicited the assistance of the Vaudois of Dauphiné and of the Protestants of Geneva and Switzerland; but before help could arrive, they were attacked, and many of them massacred, by the Piedmontese troops, in conjunction with some French troops of the army of Lombardy. How the news of this act was received by the Protestants of Europe may be imagined; the feeling excited in England is shown by Milton's sonnet on the subject.[30] Cromwell immediately ordered a general fast, and set on foot a subscription for the sufferers, which produced nearly 40,000*l.* He also desired Mazarine to put an end to the persecution. He told the Cardinal that he well knew that the Duke of Savoy was in the power of the French Court, and that if they did not restrain that sovereign, he must presently break with them. Mazarine, though he promised to use his good offices, at first demurred to this demand as unreasonable; but dreading the vigorous steps which Cromwell was preparing to take, and being apprehensive of the effect of his applications to the Kings of Sweden and Denmark, the States-General, and the Swiss Protestant cantons, the Cardinal obtained from the Duke of Savoy an amnesty for the insurgents, and an indemnity for the families which had been expelled from the lower valleys (August 1655).

Soon after the settlement of this affair, a treaty of peace and commerce was concluded between England and France (Nov. 3rd).[31] The most important provision of it, with regard to political matters, was that the Stuarts and their adherents were not to be harboured in France. Although England was now at war with Spain, no military alliance was concluded between England and France. Mazarine was not yet prepared to pay Cromwell's price for it—the surrender of Dunkirk, when captured, to England. Hence probably an attempt of the Cardinal's to negociate with Spain in 1656; on the failure of which he again resorted to Cromwell, prepared to submit to his conditions. On the 23rd of

[30] *Sonnet* xviii. An account of this massacre will be found in Sir Samuel Morland's *Hist. of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piedmont.* Morland was the agent employed by Cromwell to settle the concerns of the Vaudois. Milton also wrote, as Latin secretary, several state letters on the occasion; one of them is to the Duke of Savoy. See also *Articles accordés par Charles Emmanuel à ses sujets habitants des vallées de Piedmont,* in Dumont, t. vi. pt. ii. p. 114.

[31] Dumont, t. vi. pt. ii. p. 121. It is a singular feature of this treaty that mutual guarantees are given against piracy. The police of the seas was not even yet properly established, and the right of private maritime war was under certain circumstances still recognised.

March 1657, a treaty was accordingly signed at Paris, by which it was agreed that 6000 English foot, half to be paid by France and half by England, should join the French army in Flanders. Gravelines, Mardyck, and Dunkirk were to be attacked with the aid of an English fleet; Dunkirk, when taken, was to be delivered to the English; and the other two towns, if captured previously, were to be placed in the hands of England, as security till the condition respecting Dunkirk should be fulfilled.[32]

The assistance of the English troops under General Reynolds, and of the English fleet, turned the war in Flanders to the advantage of the French. In the campaign of 1657, Montmédy, St. Venant, and Mardyck were taken; when Mardyck, in the capture of which an English fleet had assisted, was, according to treaty, put into the hands of the English. Early in the following spring, Cromwell compelled Mazarine reluctantly to fulfil his engagements by ordering the siege of Dunkirk. It was a common opinion that Mazarine would have directed the allied forces against Cambrai, in order to make himself bishop and prince of that city, and the attention of the Spaniards had been chiefly turned towards the defence of that place. Don John of Austria was now Governor of the Spanish Netherlands. In 1656, the Emperor Ferdinand, with the view of pleasing the cabinet of Madrid, and in the hope of marrying his son to the heiress of the Spanish crown, had made room for Don John by recalling the Archduke Leopold William from Flanders, and at the same time Fuensaldãna, Leopold's lieutenant, was replaced by Caracena. A jealousy between Condé and Leopold had prevented them from acting cordially together; but the haughty and impracticable Bourbon did not cooperate much better with the new governor. The Spaniards were astonished to find that Dunkirk, instead of Cambrai, was the point of attack. Turenne, after a long and difficult march, had invested that place (May 25th 1658). Don John, aware too late of his mistake, flew to its relief in such haste that he left his baggage and artillery a day's march in the rear, and encamped in presence of the enemy without the means of fortifying his position. In vain had Condé remonstrated; his sure and experienced eye foresaw the inevitable result. Next day, when Turenne marched out from his lines to engage the Spaniards, Condé inquired of the Duke of Gloucester, the younger brother of Charles II., who was by his side, "Have you ever seen a battle?" "Not yet." "Then in half an hour you will see us lose one."[33] His prediction was speedily verified. The artillery of Turenne, aided by that of some

[32] Dumont, t. vi. pt. ii. p. 224.

[33] *Mem. du duc d'York.*

English frigates on the coast, to which the Spaniards had not the means of replying, had already thrown them into disorder before the engagement became general. The charge of three or four thousand of Cromwell's veterans, composing the left wing under Lockhart, decided the fortune of the day. The Spaniards attempted to rally, but were dispersed by the French cavalry. On the right the French infantry were equally successful, in spite of all the efforts of Condé. The rout was complete; 1000 Spaniards and Germans were killed or wounded, 3000 or 4000 more were made prisoners, including many general officers; Condé himself escaped with difficulty. This battle, fought on the 14th of June 1658, called the "Battle of the Dunes," from its being fought on the *dunes* or sand hills which line the coast in that neighbourhood, decided the fate of Dunkirk. That place capitulated on the 23rd, and on the 25th, Louis XIV. in person surrendered it to Lockhart. Lord Fauconberg, Cromwell's son-in-law, who was sent to compliment Louis, was received with princely honours; and in return, the Duke of Créqui and Mazarine's nephew, Mancini, were despatched to the Protector with the present of a magnificent sword, and an apology from the Cardinal for not coming in person to pay his respects to so great a man!

The remainder of the campaign of 1658 was equally fortunate for Turenne. In a short time he took Bergues, Furnes, Gravelines and other places, and overran all Flanders to within a few leagues of Brussels. These reverses, coupled with others in Italy and in the war with the Portuguese, induced the Spanish Cabinet to think of a pacification; especially as Spain had now become in a manner isolated through the death of the Emperor Ferdinand III. and the policy of France with regard to the Rhenish League. But to explain this, we must cast a retrospective glance on the affairs of the German Empire.

The situation of Germany after the Peace of Westphalia was eminently favourable to French interests. Sweden, the close ally of France, held large possessions in the empire, which gave her a voice in the imperial diet. The German princes had become more independent of the Emperor, and several of them looked up to France for support and protection. In 1651, two leagues had been formed in Germany, with the professed object of carrying out the Peace of Westphalia. The first of these leagues was occasioned by the disorders committed by the troops of the Duke of Lorraine; who, as we have seen, was the instrument through whom the Emperor assisted Spain in her struggle with France. To avert this scourge the German princes most exposed to it,

namely, the Electors of Mentz, Trèves, and Cologne, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, and the Bishop of Münster, formed a League at Frankfort (March 1651); and they subsequently induced the circles of Suabia, Franconia, and Lower Saxony to join it. This union, from the religion of those who formed it, was called the *Catholic League*. About the same time, in Northern Germany, the Queen of Sweden, as Duchess of Bremen, the Dukes of Brunswick and Luneburg, and the Landgravine of Hesse also entered into a treaty, called the *Protestant League*, on the pretext of maintaining their territories and upholding the Peace of Westphalia. These leagues afforded Mazarine an opportunity to meddle in the affairs of Germany. He demanded that France should be admitted into them as guarantee of the treaties of Westphalia, and he subsequently made them the basis of the *Rhenish League*, in which French influence was predominant. These leagues were naturally regarded with suspicion and dislike by the Emperor; who, alarmed by the prospect of further coalitions, caused the provisions of the treaties of Münster and Osnabrück to be confirmed by the Diet of Ratisbon in 1654.[34] This was called the *Complement of the Peace of Westphalia*, and served as the groundwork of the capitulation subsequently extorted from Ferdinand's son and successor, Leopold. Treaties in 1656, with the Elector of Brandenburg and the Elector Palatine, neither of whom had joined the leagues, served further to strengthen French influence in Germany. The Palatine had in fact sold himself for three years to France, in consideration of an annual pension.

Such being the state of things at the time of the somewhat sudden death of the Emperor Ferdinand III.[35] (April 2nd 1657), Mazarine formed the plan of wresting the imperial crown from the House of Austria, and even of obtaining it for Louis XIV. The opportunity was rendered more promising by the circumstances of the Imperial House. Ferdinand's eldest son, whom he had procured to be elected King of the Romans, with the title of Ferdinand IV., had died in 1654; and the Emperor had not since succeeded in procuring that dignity, a necessary passport to the

[34] This is the last Diet ever presided over by an Emperor in person, and its recess the last ever drawn up. The next Diet lasted till the dissolution of the Empire, and closed without a recess. Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. iv. S. 303.

[35] Ferdinand's death was caused, or at least hastened, by an accident. When confined to bed by illness, a fire broke out near his apartments and those of his youngest son, a child of three months. Ferdinand would not suffer himself to be removed till he saw his son in safety. A man who had snatched up the cradle in the confusion of the moment ran with it against the wall so violently that the cradle broke, and he and the child fell to the ground together. The Emperor survived the shock only a few hours. Hormayr, *Oestr. Plutarch*, ap. Menzel, *Ibid.* S. 305.

imperial crown, for his second son, Leopold Ignatius, who was now only seventeen years of age, and consequently still a minor. The situation was further embarrassed by the circumstance that the Emperor, only two days before his death, had signed an alliance with John Casimir, King of Poland, and had pledged himself to assist that monarch in the war then going on between him and Charles X., King of Sweden;[36] a policy which was adopted by the Archduke Leopold William, the uncle and guardian of the youthful heir of the House of Austria.

When the news of Ferdinand III.'s death reached Paris, Mazarine despatched the Marquis de Lionne and Marshal Gramont into Germany to canvass for the imperial crown, under the ostensible pretext of demanding reparation for some violations of the Peace of Westphalia. Lionne was a dexterous and practised diplomatist; but the real weight of the embassy rested with Gramont, a man of wit and of the world, who, with manners at once agreeable and dignified, united all the qualities of a jovial companion. His task it was to gain by his social qualities the good will of the German electors and princes in those interminable banquets and drinking bouts which sometimes lasted from midday almost to midnight. It is probable that Mazarine never seriously thought that he should be able to obtain the imperial crown for Louis. His real design seems to have been to transfer it to the Elector of Bavaria, or at all events to wrest it in any other manner from the House of Austria; and the canvassing for Louis would serve at least to create division and to gain time. The French ambassadors, on their way through Heidelberg, renewed the alliance with the Elector Palatine, who for a further sum of 140,000 crowns, and a yearly payment of 40,000 more for three years, placed himself entirely at their disposal. France might also reckon on the three spiritual electors; among whom the Elector of Mentz alone was actuated by honest, and what he deemed patriotic, motives. Thus half the electoral college had been gained, but not the most influential half. Of the other four electors, John George II. of Saxony,[37] was for the House of Austria, out of love for precedent and custom, and also it is said from the

[36] See the next chapter.

[37] Gramont, in his *Mémoires*, has left an amusing account of this prince, and of the German courts in general at this period. John George II. was distinguished only by his zeal for Lutheranism, his hatred of the Calvinists, and his almost constant drunkenness. The following is a description of a dinner at Count Fürstemberg's: "Le dîner dura depuis midi jusqu'à neuf heures de soir, au bruit des trompettes et des timbales, qu'on eut toujours dans les oreilles: on y but bien 2000 ou 3000 santés; la table fut étayée, tous les électeurs dansèrent dessus; le maréchal (Gramont) qui étoit boiteux, y menoît le branle; tous les convives s'énivrèrent." Petitot, t. lvi. p. 463. (2nde Sér.)

hope, which everybody but himself saw to be chimerical, of marrying his daughter to the youthful Leopold. Frederick William of Brandenburg, was also in favour of Leopold. Political motives connected with the invasion of Poland by Charles X. of Sweden, and his own views on the duchy of Prussia, had now induced the far-seeing Elector of Brandenburg to renounce the Swedish alliance, and consequently that of France, for a league with the House of Austria and the Poles, as will be explained in the following chapter. Leopold himself, as hereditary King of Bohemia, the crown of which country, as well as that of Hungary, he had received during his father's lifetime, possessed the Bohemian Electorate; but being a minor, his vote was not yet valid. The eighth and last elector, Ferdinand Maria of Bavaria, was hesitating and undecided.

It was not without great opposition that the French ambassadors were admitted into the Electoral Diet, and they soon perceived that Louis's chance was hopeless. The Elector of Mentz, however, was as desirous as the French Court itself to divert the Austrian succession. At his suggestion, Gramont proceeded to Munich, urged the young Elector to become a candidate for the imperial crown, and offered him a yearly pension of a million crowns from France in support of that dignity. Ferdinand Maria, who then held the Bavarian Electorate, was timid, quiet, and devout; and though urged by his consort, a princess of the energetic and ever-aspiring House of Savoy, to seize the glittering prize, he listened in preference to his confessor, and to his mother, an Austrian archduchess, who dissuaded him from the attempt. The Elector of Mentz now made another effort to separate the empire from its immediate connexion with the Austrian monarchy, by proposing that Leopold's uncle, the Archduke Leopold William, the former governor of the Spanish Netherlands, should assume the imperial crown; but this also was declined, and Leopold requested that the votes destined for himself should be transferred to his nephew.

As it was now plain that the empire must fall into the hands of Ferdinand's son, the French Court directed all its endeavours to cripple his power, by imposing on him a rigorous capitulation through the German princes, who were indeed themselves desirous to restrain the imperial authority. At his election, which took place July 18th 1658, he engaged, among many other articles which regarded Germany, not to furnish the enemies of France with arms, money, troops, provisions, or other commodities; not to afford lodgings, winter quarters, or passage to any troops intended to act against any power comprised in the treaties of Osnabrück

and Münster; nor to interfere in any way in the war then going on in Italy and the circle of Burgundy.[38]

Leopold I. received the imperial crown, July 31st, after an interregnum of about sixteen months. He had now completed his eighteenth year, and was therefore, according to the Golden Bull, no longer a minor. As a younger son, he had been destined for the Church, and his education had been intrusted to the Jesuits; so that when his destination was changed by the death of his brother, there was not perhaps a more learned sovereign in Europe. He had displayed from his youth a remarkable piety, and his only amusements as a boy were to build altars, keep church, and dress out images of saints. He appears to have been a well-meaning prince, but of narrow mind and little spirit, the slave of forms and ceremonies, which he willingly adopted to avoid contact with the outer world, and he was glad to let his Lord Chamberlain rule in his stead.

The imperial capitulation would have been of little service to France without some material guarantees for its observance; and these Mazarine provided by converting the two German Leagues already mentioned into one, styled the Rhenish League. Within a month of the imperial coronation, this union, purporting to be for the maintenance of the Peace of Westphalia, was signed by the three Spiritual Electors, the Bishop of Münster, the Count Palatine of Neuburg, the Dukes of Brunswick, the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and the King of Sweden on the one part, and by the King of France on the other. The Confederates pledged themselves, without regard to difference of religion, to stand truly by one another, and to unite in case of an attack; and with this view to keep continually on foot an army of 2,300 horse and 4,900 foot. Louis XIV. on his side engaged to hold in readiness 800 horse and 1,600 foot, and five guns, whenever they should be required. These forces were styled "the Army of his Most Christian Majesty and of the allied Electors and Princes."[39] A Directory of the League was established at Frankfort, under the presidency of the Elector of Mentz, to watch over the common interests. The Rhenish League was the culminating point of French policy with regard to Germany. Its immediate object was to prevent the Emperor from interfering in the war in Flanders and Italy; and hence the French ambassadors regarded it as a complete compensation for their failure with regard to the imperial crown—indeed, as a triumph. The accession to it of so many Catholic prelates and

[38] The capitulation is in Dumont, t. vi. pt. ii. p. 226 sq.

[39] Londorp, *Acta Publ.*, Th. viii. p. 417 sq., ap. Menzel, B. iv. S. 309.

princes, much to the vexation of Pope Alexander VII. and the Court of Rome, showed that the old spirit of intolerance was dying out, and that the traces of the religious war of Germany were obliterated, never more to be revived. The League was renewed for three years in August 1660, and went on a long while extending and consolidating itself, but at the expense of France, which not only paid the princes belonging to it, but also their ministers and mistresses. Leopold returned no answer to the ambassadors of the Confederates sent to acquaint him with the establishment of the League; yet he subsequently gave it a sort of tacit recognition, by demanding from Louis XIV., as a member of it, a contingent of troops to act against the Turks. Louis sent double the number demanded, and it was indeed the French who, in the Turkish campaign of 1664, carried away the chief honour.

The interregnum in the German Empire, the subsequent capitulation of the new Emperor, the Rhenish League, and the alliance of the House of Austria with John Casimir of Poland, and its consequent share in the war against the Swedes, were all circumstances that precluded the Spaniards from the hope of any further assistance from Germany; and this circumstance, coupled with the losses and reverses already mentioned, made them anxious for a peace. On the other hand, these events were encouraging to France, and might well have induced her to prolong the war and complete the conquest of Flanders. But France herself was exhausted, and her finances in disorder; Mazarine, with increasing years, was become more desirous of peace; and Anne of Austria, who wished not to see her native country too much abased, was incessant in her entreaties that he should put an end to the war. The Queen-Mother had also another motive; she wished to marry Louis to the Spanish Infanta. An obstacle which had stood in the way of this union during the negociations of 1656 was now removed. At that time, Maria Theresa was sole heiress of the Spanish crown; and for this reason a marriage between her and the King of France was of course distasteful to the Spaniards. But in 1657, Philip IV. had had a son born to him, afterwards Charles II., and the objection mentioned had consequently in a great measure disappeared, though the chances of the Spanish succession were still strong enough to be alluring to the French Cabinet. Such a succession would be far more than equivalent to any advantages that might be expected from continuing the war; especially as it was held that in any event the Spanish Netherlands would, according to the customs of those countries, fall to the Infanta, as Philip's child by his first consort.

Under these circumstances, negociations were renewed between the French and Spanish Courts in 1658. The dilatoriness of Philip IV. was hastened by a stratagem. Mazarine entered into negociations with the Duke of Savoy for a marriage between Margaret, daughter of that prince, and Louis XIV.; and the Courts of France and Turin met at Lyon in November 1658. The fear that this union would be accomplished, and that France would then carry on the war to extremities, induced Philip IV. to send Don Antonio Pimentel, as his ambassador to Lyon, to offer the Infanta's hand to the French King. The Piedmontese princess, whose feelings had thus been trifled with, was now dismissed with a promise of marriage in case the negociations should fail;[40] the preliminaries of a peace were discussed with Pimentel at Lyon, and subsequently arranged at Paris, and in May 1659, a suspension of arms was concluded. But now another obstacle arose where it might have been least expected. Louis XIV. had fallen desperately in love with Mazarine's niece, Mary Mancini, a young lady of no great beauty, but clever, forward, ardent, fond of poetry and literature. Louis flatly proposed a marriage—a severe trial to the Cardinal! It was no doubt the Queen-Mother who put an end to this unsuitable amour; yet, whatever may have been Mazarine's real feelings, his letters to the young King on this subject display the soundest sense conveyed in the noblest language.[41] He sent off Mary Mancini to La Rochelle on June 21st,[42] and on the following day he himself left Paris for the frontiers to negociate the peace. He and the Spanish minister, Don Louis de Haro, held their conferences in the Isle of Pheasants in the Bidassoa, near Andaye, which was neutral ground; for Haro would not yield precedence by going to the Cardinal at St. John de Luz. Mazarine displayed at these conferences a regal splendour which quite threw the Spanish minister into the shade. At the first interview the Cardinal appeared with twenty-seven court carriages, each drawn by six horses and filled with French nobles; while he was attended by a splendid retinue of pages, guards, and livery servants.

The question respecting the Prince of Condé formed a difficult point in the negociations. Spain, in her treaty with that prince, had engaged to effect his restoration to all his honours and governments. After Condé's treasons, this was a hard morsel for the French Court to digest; Mazarine, moreover, owed the Prince

[40] *Mém. de Gramont*, t. ii. p. 184.

[41] See particularly his letter of August 28th 1659. *Lettres de Mazarin*, t. i. p. 303 sqq. (ed. Amst. 1745.)

[42] It was on this occasion that she addressed to Louis the well-known words: "Vous êtes Roi, vous pleurez, et je pars!" *Mém. de Montglat*, p. 351.

a grudge for his personal insults. The Cardinal, however, receded so far from the preliminaries as to promise that Condé should have the Government of Burgundy, and his son the place of Lord High Chamberlain; but in return for these concessions he exacted the towns of Avesnes, Philippeville, and Marienburg in the Netherlands, and the county of Conflans in the Pyrenees. When the negociations had made some progress, Gramont went in state to Madrid to demand the hand of the Infanta for his royal master. Louis had a rival in the young Emperor Leopold, who, in spite of his capitulation, had offered to declare war against France in return for the Infanta's hand. But peace had now become a necessity for Spain, and the offer of Louis was accepted.

The TREATY OF THE PYRENEES, which restored peace to France and Spain, was signed November 7th 1659. The conditions were almost entirely in favour of France. Spain ceded in the north all Artois, except St. Omer and Aire, and several towns in Flanders, Hainault and Luxembourg, together with Marienburg, Philippeville, and Avesnes between the Sambre and Meuse; in the south she abandoned Rousillon and Conflans, except the places on the Spanish side of the Pyrenees, and that part of Cerdagne lying on the French side of the same mountains. On the other hand, Spain recovered what she had lost in Italy. Louis engaged not to assist the Portuguese; and this had been a great allurement to the Spaniards to conclude the treaty, who were in hopes to subdue Portugal after the peace. Spain in a great degree abandoned her ally, the Duke of Lorraine; for though Charles IV. was restored to his dominions, a considerable part of them, namely, Moyenvic, the Duchy of Bar, and the county of Clermont, was incorporated with France.[43] The Duke had attended the conferences in the vain hope of procuring better terms. Charles II. of England had also appeared on the Bidassoa. Cromwell was now dead; his son Richard had resigned the Protectorate, and the English Government was again in the hands of the Parliament. Don Louis de Haro wished to draw Mazarine into an alliance for Charles's restoration; but though the Cardinal dreaded the permanent establishment of the English Republic, he was not prepared to oppose it by entering into a war.

The Treaty of the Pyrenees was followed by a marriage contract between Louis and the Infanta. In this instrument, Maria Theresa made that famous renunciation of all her prospective rights to the Spanish Crown which afterwards led to the war of the Spanish Succession. It is probable that even the Spanish

[43] Dumont, t. vi. pt. ii. p. 264.

Court itself was not sincere in thinking that this renunciation would be observed. The wording of the very clause in which it was contained was calculated to raise questions likely to produce a war. The renunciation was made to depend on the payment of the dowry, and to extend to all inheritances and successions, whatever were their title, known or unknown.[44]

The marriage could not be immediately celebrated, as, on account of the relationship of the parties, it was first necessary to procure a dispensation from Rome. Philip IV., too, who was then in bad health, wished to accompany his daughter to the frontiers. The French Court therefore lingered during the winter in Provence; for which it had another motive in a wish to display its authority in those parts, which had been in a state of fermentation ever since the Fronde. Condé, who had written to the Cardinal in the most obsequious terms to desire a reconciliation, visited the Court at Aix in January 1660. In the spring the French Court proceeded slowly through Perpignan to St. Jean de Luz, where it arrived May 8th; and three days afterwards Philip IV. came to St. Sebastian. The French and Spanish ministers, however, were delayed more than three weeks in settling some points with regard to the treaty; and it was not till June 3rd that Don Louis de Haro, being provided with the procuration of the French King, espoused the Infanta in his name at Fontarabia. On the following day Philip IV. met his sister, Anne of Austria, in the Isle of Pheasants. They had not seen each other during forty-five years. On this occasion the Infanta accompanied her father, and Louis XIV., concealed *incognito* among the young lords in his mother's suite, obtained the first view of his bride. Next day the Kings of Spain and France met upon the island and swore to the observance of the treaties. On June 7th the Infanta was delivered to her husband, and on the 9th the marriage was consummated at St. Jean de Luz. The Court then proceeded by easy journies to Paris, which they entered in state August 26th.

The Peace of the Pyrenees was the last important act of Mazarine, whose life was now drawing to a close. By this treaty he completed the policy of Richelieu, and put the finishing hand to the diplomatic triumphs of Münster and Osnabrück. It has been objected that this policy was not ultimately advantageous to France, and that the Spanish match even became a source of misfortune to her.[45] But to require that Mazarine should have foreseen these results seems too great a demand on human wis-

[44] Garden, t. ii. p. 29; Dumont, t. vi. pt. ii. p. 283.

[45] See Michelet, *Richelieu et La Fronde*, p. 407.

dom; and it is sufficient for his fame that he successfully achieved what at the time appeared to most men a very desirable object of ambition.[46] It cannot be doubted that the Peace of Westphalia and of the Pyrenees secured for some time the supremacy of France. The credit of both these measures is due to Mazarine; and some of the chief advantages of the latter were secured by the personal exercise of his extraordinary diplomatic talent.[47] That he made France pay dearly for these triumphs must be allowed. He enriched himself unscrupulously at her expense, and amassed so large a fortune that, in order to avert the envy of it, he made it over in his last days to the King; though doubtless in the confident anticipation of Louis' generosity and munificence in restoring it. Yet what could have been expected from a political adventurer and professed gambler,[48] raised to the absolute control of a great kingdom in which he was by birth an alien? To Louis at least he appears to have discharged his duties with fidelity. Some of his last days were spent in advising the young King as to his future course, and rendering him fit to assume the sole control of his kingdom; and he recommended to Louis Le Tellier, Colbert, Pomponne, and other ministers who achieved so much for the greatness of France. The young monarch was already impatient to seize the administration. The control of Mazarine was becoming irksome to him; and the very next day after the Cardinal's death he announced to his Council, "For the future I shall be my own prime minister."

Cardinal Mazarine died March 8th 1661, at the age of fifty-nine. Like Richelieu, he had conducted the affairs of France during a period of eighteen years.

[46] The Parliament of Paris complimented the Cardinal on the great service he had done to France.

[47] See the account of his negociations with the Spanish Minister at the Isle of Pheasants in Garden, *Hist. des Traités de Paix*, t. ii.

[48] He is described by Mdme. de Motteville as gambling even on his death-bed, and amusing himself with weighing the pistoles he had gained, in order to stake the light ones again at play. *Mémoires*, p. 504. The ruling passion strong in death.

CHAPTER II.

Having thus described the manner in which France pursued the advantages which she had obtained at the Peace of Westphalia, we will now turn to Sweden, the companion of her policy, and partaker of the spoils.

We have already recorded the accession of Christina, daughter of Gustavus Adolphus, to the Swedish throne in December 1644.[1] Christina, in the first years of her reign, displayed great industry and application to business, as well as extraordinary ability. She regularly attended the meetings of her Council, over which she acquired an astonishing influence; she made herself mistress of the questions to be discussed, by perusing the state papers, whatever might be their length; and she had the faculty of stating the conclusions at which she arrived with great clearness and discrimination. She was resolved to govern by herself, and to discharge worthily the high functions to which she was called. She gave audience to all foreign ambassadors, and she is said to have taken a large personal share in effecting the Peace of Westphalia.[2] She also possessed uncommon literary talent. To an acquaintance with the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew tongues she added a knowledge of German, French, Italian, and Spanish; which she assures us that she acquired without the aid of masters.[3] Her patronage of literature attracted to Stockholm a crowd of learned men, among whom may be named Grotius, Isaac Vossius, Meibomius, Gerdesius, and others; and among them was René Descartes, the most original thinker of the age, who visited Stockholm in 1649, and died there in the following year. But unfortunately these pursuits disqualified Christina for her more serious duties. The foreigners by whom she was surrounded, by their description of southern climates and southern art, created in her an aversion for her wintry realm, and the rustic simplicity of her subjects; whilst their more philosophical discussions inspired her, if not with positive atheism, at least with an

[1] Vol. II. p. 619.

[2] See a character of Christina in Ranke's *Popes*, B. 8. § ix.

[3] *Vie de Christine, faite par elle-même*, p. 53. (In Arckenholtz, *Mém. de Christine*, t. iii.)

indifference for all religion, unless it were an inclination to enter the Roman Catholic Church, as most indulgent to sins like hers. Hence she began gradually to entertain the idea of laying down the crown, the duties of which seemed to debar her from those scenes and studies that were congenial to her temper.

Other motives led her in the same direction. Besides her literary pursuits, Christina had a taste for show and splendour. She was fond of masques and mythological ballets, in which she sometimes took a part herself, in costumes not remarkable for decorum. Her extravagance was so great that she was often in want of money for her daily expenses. She bestowed with a lavish hand the royal domains on her courtiers and favourites, in order that they might appear at her feasts and revels with princely splendour, and thus deprived the monarchy of resources which were afterwards employed by the nobles to establish their own power at the expense of the crown. The necessities in which she thus became involved strengthened her wish to quit a land whose climate, customs, and religion were alike distasteful to her. Already in 1651 she had proposed to abdicate, but had been diverted from the project by the advice of her counsellors. Three years later her embarrassments became so great that she determined to throw the burden from her shoulders, and to transfer the crown to her cousin, Charles Gustavus.

We have already had occasion to mention this prince in the narrative of the Thirty Years' War.[4] He was son of the Count Palatine, John Casimir, by Catherine, sister of Gustavus Adolphus; and was born at the castle of Nyköping, Nov. 8th 1622. All Sweden had desired a marriage between their Queen and the nephew of their great monarch, and in 1647 the States had earnestly pressed Christina to marry; when she declared that if ever she did so, she would give the preference to her cousin, who had already proposed for her hand and been refused. In 1649, when the States renewed their request, Christina signified her resolution to remain single, but at the same time named her cousin as her successor on the throne. In the following year she was crowned with a splendour hitherto unseen in Sweden. The nomination of Charles Gustavus did not give general satisfaction. It was much opposed by the nobles, and especially by the now aged Oxenstiern, who could never be brought to give his consent. Nevertheless the States recognised Charles Gustavus, who, however, was obliged to promise Christina's privy counsellors that he would protect and maintain them in all the gifts they had received from

[4] See Vol. II. p. 622.

her, and to come under all sort of engagements both towards the Queen and the States.

On her abdication in June 1654, Christina stipulated that she should not be considered as a subject, nor be made responsible for the debts of the crown; and she reserved as the source of her revenues several towns, provinces, and islands. Nobody then certainly knew that she had renounced the religion of her fathers; but her conversion to the Roman Catholic faith was suspected, nor was it long before she openly declared it.[5] The manner of her abdication resembled rather the flight of a criminal than the departure of a queen. Instead of proceeding to Germany in the fleet appointed to convey her with becoming state, she hastened through Denmark into the Netherlands, as if she were flying from shame.[6]

Charles X., for such was the title of the new monarch, found Sweden in a terrible state of exhaustion; which had arisen not only from Christina's expensive habits, but also from the position taken by Sweden as a conquering nation, and by efforts in the Thirty Years' War more than commensurate with its strength. The difficulty of the situation was enhanced by the peculiar constitution of the Assembly of the States, and by the great difference that prevailed between the provinces composing the kingdom, which rendered it difficult to levy any general taxes, while it was almost impossible to make the nobles and clergy contribute their shares. Christina, by her lavish expenditure, had not only exhausted the ready money and credit of the State, but also by the alienation of the crown lands had sapped the very foundation of the public property. Thus Charles found the kingdom in a state in which he must either declare a bankruptcy, or else endeavour to free himself from his burdens by a war that should maintain itself; for no small part of his expenses was occasioned by the maintenance of a numerous army of Swedes and German mercenaries, that had been kept on foot since the Thirty Years' War. Nor was he averse to the latter alternative. Naturally of a warlike disposition, his service under Torstenson had fitted him to become an able commander; he was now in the flower of his age, and was filled with the ambition of executing the plans of his uncle, and extending the Swedish dominion over all the countries contiguous to the Baltic.

[5] She was solemnly received into the Romish Church at Innsbrück, in November 1655.

[6] Christina, after wandering over great part of the Continent, ultimately died at Rome in 1689. In the interval she twice revisited Sweden; in 1660 and 1667. To describe her way of life after her abdication belongs not to a general history, and would reflect but little credit on her character.

Charles never doubted that he must begin a war, the only point for deliberation was against what country he should first direct his arms. Denmark seemed to offer an easy prey. Ruled by a turbulent and powerful oligarchy, who applied to their own purposes the resources of the State, and opposed even the wisest and most useful measures of the King, that country seemed fast drifting to ruin. It was moreover totally destitute of any permanent and well-organised military force that could be opposed to the Swedish veterans trained in the Thirty Years' War by the greatest captains of the age. But an attack upon Denmark was feasible at any time, and a more important project seemed first to claim the attention of Charles. He contemplated seizing those provinces on the Baltic, held by the Elector of Brandenburg and the King of Poland, that interrupted the communication between Livonia and Pomerania, provinces of which he was already in possession. The Dukes of Courland and Prussia, who were vassals of Poland, were to be compelled to acknowledge the sovereignty of Sweden; the mouths of the Vistula were to be seized, as well as Polish Prussia and Dantzic; and the House of Brandenburg was to be offered in Poland a compensation for ceding Eastern Pomerania, which would connect together all these conquests. When these plans had been accomplished, the subjugation of Denmark would complete Charles's empire in the Baltic, and render that sea a Swedish lake.[7]

While Charles was still in suspense, he was decided by a step taken by John Casimir II. of Poland. That monarch, annoyed at seeing the Swedish crown, formerly worn by his father, pass into a foreign house, yet without the power to assert his claim to it by arms, was foolish enough to afford Charles a pretext for war by protesting against his accession. Under the circumstances of Poland at that time, nothing could have been more imprudent than such a step. Since the accession of John Casimir in 1648, Poland, which under the rule of his brother and predecessor, Ladislaus IV., had still enjoyed some reputation, had fallen into a state of decay and almost of dissolution. It was with difficulty that John Casimir could defend his frontiers against the Cossacks his subjects, and the Tartars his neighbours; while the internal factions with which Poland was rent scarcely allowed him to maintain himself upon the throne.

The kingdom, or as the Poles themselves called it, the Republic, of Poland, required, from its peculiar constitution, the greatest vigour and ability in the prince who governed it. The only class

[7] Puffendorf, *De Rebus a Carolo Gust. gestis*, t. i. p. 39 sqq.

of Poles that enjoyed any political rights was the nobles, comprising some 100,000 families. The rest of the population was composed either of serfs, who were entirely at the disposal of their masters, or the inhabitants of towns, who, though free, could neither hold public office nor exercise any legislative power. Hence the nobles alone composed the State; but these were themselves divided into four very different classes. The first class, consisting of a few princely families, who possessed whole provinces, enjoyed large revenues, and had the privilege of maintaining troops, were often at deadly feud with one another, and carried on their quarrels with the aid of foreign mercenaries and foreign gold. Under them were the Voyvodes, Starosts, and Bishops, who administered the higher temporal and spiritual offices. These two classes alone were properly the rulers of the State. The third class consisted of holders of prebends, and castellanies. The nobles of the fourth and last class, by far the most numerous, were poor, and for the most part depended on those above them for employment and subsistence.

The Diet, chosen only by the nobles, possessed the whole power of the Government; it elected the king, made the laws, and even took a part in the executive administration. For although the King was nominally the head of the State, yet he had so little real power that the three greatest officers, namely, the Grand Chancellor, who administered the law, the Grand Treasurer, who presided over the finances, and the Grand Marshal, who directed the political affairs of the kingdom, were not responsible to him for the discharge of their functions. Notwithstanding, however, that the Diet possessed such extensive powers, it lay at the mercy of any single member, who, by virtue of what was called the *Liberum Veto*, might annul its proceedings. The nobles had also the right of forming *Confederations*, which raised troops and decided by arms contested political questions. When the anarchy thus created became too intolerable to be endured, recourse was had to a *General Confederation*; a sort of military dictatorship, whose leader usurped all the functions of government. Enrolment in such a confederation was compulsory on every noble, on pain of forfeiting his privileges.

Poland was also exposed to anarchy through the religious parties into which it was divided; for though most of the nobles were Roman Catholics, a considerable number belonged to the Protestant, and some to the Greek confession. These were called *Dissidents*, or dissenters. They enjoyed the same political privileges as the other nobles; of which, however, the priests and

Jesuits were continually seeking to deprive them; an object in which, in the following century, they at length succeeded.

Bred as a monk and imbued with all the bigotry of the cloister, John Casimir was wholly unfitted to rule a kingdom like Poland. He was himself governed by his Queen, Lotiisa Maria di Gongaza; which circumstance, together with the preference which he showed for French manners, caused a large party to regard him as unworthy to reign over a warlike nobility. In the year 1652, the opposition to his government had been displayed in the strongest manner. The *Liberum Veto* was then first used, and whole provinces seemed inclined to place themselves under foreign protection. In the same year, Jerome Radzejowski, Vice-chancellor of Poland, and one of the principal leaders of the malcontents, fled his country and took refuge at the Court of Sweden; where he incited Charles, by the promise of his assistance, to deliver the Poles from the domination of a pusillanimous king and an imperious woman. Charles might also expect to find a strong party in the Protestant malcontents, among whom was prince Radzivill, grand general of Lithuania.

All these circumstances seemed to favour an attack on Poland, and more than all these, the war in which that country was then engaged with Russia. The Czar Michael, the founder of the House of Romanoff,[8] had died in July 1645, and was succeeded by his son Alexis, then sixteen years of age. Russia had now recovered from her domestic troubles, and began to feel her strength. Alexis had commenced those plans for civilising the Russians, and enabling them to play a part in the affairs of Europe, which were afterwards carried out by his son, Peter the Great; he had partly organised his army on the European model, and had introduced foreign artisans to instruct his people in handicrafts and manufactures. To this ambitious and enterprising prince, the disputes between the Poles and the Cossacks of the Ukraine seemed to offer a favourable opportunity for extending his dominions.

These Cossacks,[9] who must be distinguished from those of the Don, inhabited a country lying on the Dnieper about forty leagues broad, and situated between the 50th and 53rd degrees of N. latitude. The Sclavonic name of *Ukraine* is identical with the German *Mark*, and the French *Marche*, and signifies a *boundary* or *frontier*; for anciently the Ukraine formed a boundary between four states: Russia, Poland, Turkey, and Little Tartary. From

[8] See Vol. II. p. 521.

[9] For the history of this people see Engel, *Gesch. der Ukraine und der Cosacken.*

its being governed by the Grand Dukes of Lithuania, it also obtained the name of *Little Russia*, in contradistinction to the Russia governed by the Muscovite Sovereigns; and hence when Jagellon, Grand Duke of Lithuania, was elected to the throne of Poland in 1386, the Ukraine became united under the same prince with Poland. In 1569, when Lithuania was regularly incorporated with Poland, the Palatine and Castellan of Kiev, in the Ukraine, took their places among the senators of the Republic.

A few years afterwards, Stephen Bathori gave the Cossacks a more regular organisation. He divided them into regiments of 1000 men, distributed under *Sotnas* (*banners*) or companies, each of which had a permanent chief. All the regiments were under a sole commander, called *Hetman*, whom the King invested in his command with the flag, a horsetail, a bâton, and a mirror. But Sigismund III. Augustus, who succeeded Bathori on the Polish throne, quite alienated the Cossacks by his impolitic measures. He reduced their military force from 40,000 men to 6000; forbade their marauding expeditions, and made their Hetman subordinate to the general of the Crown. Sigismund was also imprudent enough to shock their religious prejudices; and being governed by the priests, did all that lay in his power to bring the Cossacks, who belonged to the Greek communion, under the dominion of the Pope. These innovations excited a discontent which broke out more than once into open rebellion, and produced a series of wars, which were prolonged with varying success through the reigns of Sigismund and his successor Ladislaus. At length an imprudent step on the part of the latter monarch prepared the events which for ever separated the Ukraine from Poland.

The Diet having refused Ladislaus a corps of foreign troops for the war which he meditated against the Turks, that monarch resolved to gain the affection and assistance of the Cossacks by restoring to them their ancient privileges. But this he endeavoured to effect by engaging their leader, Chmelnicki, in a sort of sham conspiracy against his own kingdom. The Tartars were to be secretly induced to attack Poland in conjunction with the Cossacks; and when the Diet should have provided Ladislaus with troops and money to repel the invasion, the Cossacks were to make common cause with him, and, after driving out the enemy, to establish the King's authority on a solid basis. The plan was carried out. In 1647 the Cossacks rose; in May 1648, with the assistance of the Khan of the Tartars, they defeated a Polish army; and Chmelnicki, as had been arranged, addressed a letter to the

Polish King, demanding for the Cossacks a redress of grievances and the re-establishment of their ancient constitution.

Unfortunately, however, for the success of this project Ladislaus had expired before the letter was delivered; and the Diet which assembled in July, after some stormy debates, resolved to use force against the Cossacks: but the Polish army disbanded itself on their approach. John Casimir, therefore, when elected to the Polish crown, had no alternative but to conclude an armistice with them, and in the following year he restored to them most of their privileges. This agreement, however, was not observed; the Cossacks again rose, but, with their allies the Tartars, were defeated by the Poles, July 1651; when they were compelled to accept a convention much less favourable than the former one. The strength of their army was reduced to 20,000 men, and they were obliged to admit, as collectors and agents of the King, the Jews who had been formerly banished. Such a state of things was in the highest degree unpalatable to a warlike people accustomed to treat with arms in their hands. Their leader, Chmelnicki, who had three or four years before sought the aid of the Russians, with whom the Cossacks were connected by a common origin and a conformity of language and religion, persuaded them, in 1654, to place themselves by a formal treaty under the protection of the Czar Alexis;[10] who eagerly seized the occasion to reunite to his empire provinces which had been separated from it since the 14th century. This step involved Alexis in a war with Poland; which he strove to justify with foreign Powers by the most childish complaints of errors committed by the Poles in the titles given by them to himself and his father; the authors of which errors, he said, he had in vain required to be capitally punished.[11] The Czar in person laid siege to and captured Smolensko, Sept. 10th 1654, and soon after Vitepsk and other towns; another Russian army entered Lithuania and took several places, while a third occupied Kiev and all the Ukraine. The Poles, who did not take the field till late in the year, being reinforced by 18,000 Tatars, blockaded Chmelnicki in his fortified camp at Ochmatoff till February 1655; when that intrepid chieftain cut his way through their ranks sword in hand and rejoined the Russians.

Such was the state of Poland at the time of Charles X.'s contemplated expedition against that kingdom. In vain had John Casimir despatched ambassadors to Stockholm to avert it; who

[10] Engel, S. 191.

[11] "Ipsum Czarem missis Legatis sæpius postulasse, ut qui tales errores admiserint capite plecterentur." Puffendorf, *De Rebus Suec.*, lib. xxvi. § 8.

in excuse for their master's having assumed the title of King of Sweden alleged the example of the English sovereigns, who bore the title of Kings of France; of the King of Denmark, who called himself King of the Goths and Vandals; and of Henry III. of France, who had continued till the end of his life to use the title of King of Poland. Charles remained inexorable. He wanted a pretext for war, and this was the best that he could find. There was nothing in the state of Europe to deter him from his project. The Emperor was occupied with the internal affairs of the Empire; Denmark, as we have said, was weakened by internal discord; Holland, the State most likely to oppose the designs of Charles, had just terminated an expensive war with England, and was also crippled by dissensions at home; France and Spain were entirely occupied with the war then raging between them; and the Protector Cromwell had no wish to arrest the progress of Sweden; a State which, besides being energetically Protestant, was also the decided opponent of Holland. A treaty was even concluded between England and Sweden, by which Charles X. promised to favour the Baltic commerce of the English rather than that of the Dutch; while Cromwell engaged, so long as it should be necessary, to put twenty ships of war at the service of Sweden, and to allow recruits for that country to be levied in England and Scotland.[12]

Charles X.'s plan was to break in two directions through Pomerania and Livonia into Poland, already weakened by the attacks of the Russians and Cossacks; and by means also of its internal dissensions to induce some of its provinces to come under a voluntary subjection. Dantzic, which enjoyed an independent government, was to be blockaded by the Swedish fleet, which, as in the time of Gustavus Adolphus, was to levy dues, and thus in time compel that city to submit to Sweden. In July 1655, Field-marshal Count Wittenberg, governor of Swedish Pomerania, received instructions to enter Great Poland with 17,000 men. A Polish army, under the Palatines of Posen and Kalisch, offered to dispute the passage of the Netze, when Radzejowski, who accompanied Wittenberg, persuaded the Polish commanders to place their Palatinates under the protection of Sweden. Charles X. himself, with an army of 15,000 veterans, landed near Wolgast towards the end of July and proceded to Stettin. The fleet which had conveyed him, consisting of forty vessels of war under Charles Gustavus Wrangel, was then despatched to blockade the road of Dantzic. The King entered Poland early in August, passed the Netze at Czarnikow, and

[12] A considerable number of British troops and officers fought under the Swedish banners in this war, as they had done in the time of Gustavus Adolphus.

formed a junction with Wittenberg at Conin-on-the-Warta. His march resembled rather a triumphal procession than a hostile inroad. The nobles flocked from all sides to claim his protection, and compared him to "their good king Ladislaus." The many enemies by which John Casimir was attacked had compelled him to divide his forces. One division under Potocki opposed the Cossacks; Radzivill, with a second, was defending Lithuania against the Russians; whilst the King himself, with a third, marched against the Swedes, whom he met at Sobota, August 23rd. Here John Casimir was entirely defeated, and Charles, leaving Wittenberg to pursue him, marched directly on Warsaw, which surrendered unconditionally, August 30th. He had only just anticipated an attempt on the same city by the Russians, who had despatched some troops thither from Grodno. John Casimir after his defeat had retreated towards Cracow and attempted to surprise Wittenberg's camp; but that general having been rejoined by the King, the Poles were again defeated at Zarnowa. After these events, the greater part of the Polish cavalry dispersed; the Swedes pursued John Casimir with forced marches, and again defeated him on the river Donajek, near Cracow, September 21st. The Polish King now lost all hope, and fled to Oppeln in Silesia, to behold from a distance the misfortunes of his country. Cracow, which had been bravely defended by Stephen Czarnecki, opened its gates to the Swedes, October 8th. Soon after the Polish standing army called *Quartians*,[31] took the oath of fidelity to Charles X. Poland seemed now in a state of utter dissolution. Most of the Polish nobles made their submission to Charles in person at Cracow, or to his representatives at Warsaw; though twenty-two of the senators offered the Polish crown to the Emperor. The army of Potocki, which had been beaten by the Cossacks, submitted to the Swedes. Horn, landing at Stettin with reinforcements, had occupied Pomerelia and secured the King of Sweden's rear. Field-marshal Stenbock, crossing the Bug at its confluence with the Vistula, had defeated the army of Vasovia, and secured that province. In Lithuania, Minsk, Grodno, and Wilna having been taken by the Russians, Radzivill submitted to De la Gardie, the Swedish governor of Livonia. Charles was recognised as Grand Duke of Lithuania, and the States of that province, as well as of Samogitia, made their formal submission in October.

Conquests so rapid and extensive seemed almost to place this expedition of Charles X. on a par with that of his great pre-

[31] So called because a fourth part of the crown lands was set apart for their maintenance. Among their colonels who took the oath to Charles was John Sobieski, afterwards King of Poland.

decessor Gustavus Adolphus to the Rhine. Yet the Swedish King did not feel himself altogether secure. The Tartars were reported to be in motion. The Russians, who now held the greater part of Lithuania, were dangerous neighbours; and the Czar announced, by the assumption of the titles of "Grand Prince of Lithuania, White Russia, Volhynia, and Podolia,"[14] that he did not intend to resign his conquests. The Poles themselves could not be confidently relied on, and Prussia, one of the chief objects of the war, had not yet been reduced. Above all, Charles was anxious about the conduct of the Elector of Brandenburg, who had been negociating with his enemies, John Casimir and the Dutch, and had finally entered West Prussia with 8000 men; where calling the States together, he made a treaty with them to resist any attempt on the part of the Swedes to obtain possession of Prussia. As the events of this Swedish invasion, and the policy adopted by the Elector of Brandenburg with regard to it, are among the chief causes which finally led to the establishment of the Prussian monarchy, it will be useful to examine with some attention the character, motives, and actions of that prince.

We have already recorded[15] the accession of Frederick William, commonly called the "Great Elector," to the electorate of Brandenburg in 1640. His dominions were then exposed to all the risks and dangers of the Thirty Years' War; but the first steps of the young Elector, for he was only twenty years of age at the time of his accession, were marked by the greatest prudence and circumspection. He hastened to conclude an armistice with Sweden, which he the more readily obtained as a marriage was at that time in contemplation between him and Christina, the heiress of the Swedish throne. The conduct of the Elector during the remainder of the war was such as to procure him, as we have already seen, very favourable terms at the Peace of Westphalia. One of the most remarkable features of Frederick William's character was his piety. He had adopted the Calvinistic faith, the religion of his grandfather, John Sigismund; but he rejected its most characteristic feature, that of election and predestination, and he required that the doctrine of universal grace should be preached in all the churches of the Mark. Every morning and evening he had prayers in his apartments; on Sundays he twice attended church; he often took the Sacrament with the congregation; he strictly observed the four yearly fasts; and he forbade any mythological images to be used upon his coins. His chief study was the Bible,

[14] Herrman, *Gesch. Russlands*, B. iii. S. 629 Anm.

[15] Vol. II. p. 610.

which he always carried with him on his journeys; and even his motto was selected from the holy volume: "Cause me to know the way wherein I should walk."(Psalm cxliii.)

Frederick William had paid particular attention to his finances, which were in a flourishing condition. He was very sparing in his personal expenses; but the political exigencies of the time compelled him to maintain a standing army, which had been gradually increased from 8000 men, till at the time of the Swedish invasion it numbered 26,000, with 72 guns. As his States were opposed to so heavy a charge, he had been sometimes obliged to resort to compulsion, and act against the law and the mediæval rights which stood in his way; for his political conscience was somewhat broad, and allowed him, in spite of his motto, to choose the path which seemed most advantageous; to join the stronger party and loose himself from the weaker, as interest dictated. One of the chief objects of his ambition was to shake off the feudal bonds by which he held his duchy of Prussia under the elective kings of Poland, whose weakness he despised. He had at first wished to arrange the differences between Sweden and Poland in an amicable manner; but seeing war inevitable, he consulted how he might best turn it to his advantage. His military strength made him a desirable ally for either party, and he had also fortified himself by an alliance with the Dutch. The Rhenish possessions which had fallen to him by the succession of Juliers rendered the friendship of that people important to him; but the negociations had been so long protracted, that the Swedish invasion of Poland gave a new object to them, and induced the States-General to league themselves with the Elector. On the 27th of July 1655 a treaty was concluded at the Hague for mutual defence, to include the Elector's possessions on the Baltic; and Frederick William engaged to protect the Dutch commerce in that sea.

While these negociations were going on with the States, Charles X. had also been endeavouring to bring over the Elector to his side. Conferences had taken place at Stettin, in which the Brandenburg plenipotentiaries had tried to dissuade the Swedish King from his projects; but finding him resolved, had offered to unite the Electoral forces with his, if Charles would engage to free Prussia from Polish vassalage. But this agreed not at that time with Charles's plans, and the success of his arms rendered him every day less conciliating. Frederick William, on his side, reckoning that the Poles might be able to hold out till the spring, when aid might be expected from all sides, had been induced, as already related, to enter West Prussia with his forces, and in

November 1655, he concluded with the Prussian nobles an agreement for the defence of the duchy; but the towns of Dantzic, Elbing, and Thorn kept aloof.[16]

This step of the Elector's gave great offence to the King of Sweden, and afforded another motive for marching into Prussia. He himself, having recruited his army with 7000 Poles, set out from Warsaw; Stenbock with his division preceding him down the Vistula, while De la Gardie marched in the same direction from Lithuania. Thorn and Elbing soon opened their gates to the Swedish forces. Charles then marched against the Elector, and having taken Welau on the Pregel (Dec. 15th), compelled him to shut himself up in Königsberg, the capital of his duchy. Frederick William, finding that he could expect no assistance from the Dutch, was now compelled to yield; and he authorised his ministers to sign with the Swedish Chancellor, Eric Oxenstiern, a treaty by which he recognised himself as the vassal of Sweden instead of Poland; bound himself to assist the Swedes in their wars, and to allow them free passage through the Duchy of Prussia, with the use of the ports, &c. After its execution the Elector visited the King at Bartenstein, where they spent some days together in great apparent friendship.

All Charles's plans seemed now to be crowned with complete success, and nothing appeared necessary to his recognition as King of Poland except a coronation. But his conquests were too rapid to be lasting, and had, indeed, been conducted in a manner which entailed their loss. The Polish nobles had been offended by Charles's haughtiness; the people were incited by the priests to defend their religion against the heretic Swedes; and they were naturally anxious to preserve their property, which in many instances had been seized by Charles for the support of his troops. The embers of lurking discontent were busily stirred by John Casimir, and during the absence of Charles in Prussia they burst into an open flame. The Swedes were massacred wherever they were the smaller number. Potocki's troops, who had submitted with reluctance to the Swedes, suddenly broke up from Lublin, and marched towards Red Russia (Gallicia), calling on the Poles to arm. A confederacy had been formed at Tyrcowicz, which was confirmed by John Casimir, Jan. 5th 1656. That monarch had recrossed the Polish borders with a small body of cavalry towards the end of the year, and having joined the force under Lubomirski, had marched to join Potocki and the Tartars, who were announced to be hastening to his assistance.

Although it was mid winter, the King of Sweden, when he heard

[16] Puffendorf, *De Rebus Gest. Frid. Wilhelmi*, p. 252 sqq.

of these movements, quitted Prussia to suppress them. Crossing the Vistula on the ice, he defeated with great loss near Golumbo a Polish force of 12,000 men under Stephen Czarnecki (Feb. 8th). He then overran the Palatinates of Lublin, Belz, and Sandomier. But he soon discovered that his resources were unequal to the enterprise he had undertaken. As fast as he left a conquered province the inhabitants again rose against him; large numbers of the Polish troops called *Quartians* deserted his standards; while many of his Swedish troops perished of hunger and cold, or at the hands of the peasantry. Under these circumstances, Charles was compelled, towards the middle of March, to commence a retreat to Warsaw, during which he experienced the greatest difficulties and dangers from the state of the roads, and especially from having to cross the river Sau in the face of the enemy. His brother-in-law, the Margrave Frederick of Baden, who was bringing some reinforcements to his aid, was defeated by the Poles near Warka on the Pilsa, March 28th. Charles reached Warsaw April 5th; and leaving that city under the command of Wittenberg, he returned into Prussia with the view of taking Dantzic, which city, however, resisted all his attempts for that purpose.

The ill-success of the Swedish King determined him to draw closer his alliance with the Elector of Brandenburg, with the view of reducing Poland by their joint arms. Charles now contemplated a partition of that country something similar to what took place about a century later. By the treaty of Marienburg, June 15th 1656, the two sovereigns entered into an offensive and defensive alliance, by which Frederick William agreed to assist Charles then with all his forces, and at other times with 4000 men; while Charles undertook to defend the Elector's territories with 6000 men. By another secret treaty, signed on the same day, the King ceded to Frederick William in full sovereignty the four Palatinates of Posen, Kalisch, Siradia, and Lencicia. The rest of Poland was abandoned to the Russians, the Cossacks, and George Rakoczi, Prince of Transylvania; Charles reserving for himself only Prussia, the real object of the war.

After this treaty had been signed, the King, the Elector, and the Margrave of Baden, who had arrived from Pomerania with fresh troops, marched to the relief of Warsaw, where Wittenberg had been six weeks besieged by a large Polish and Tartar force, animated by the presence of John Casimir; but before the allies could reach that city, Wittenberg had been compelled to capitulate (June 21st). So weak was the authority of John Casimir over these barbarous hordes, that he could not prevent the capitulation from

being violated; and though the garrison had stipulated for an unmolested retreat to Thorn, Wittenberg and several other Swedish generals were made prisoners, and numbers of their soldiers were killed or maltreated. It was not till towards the end of July that the King of Sweden and the Elector had formed a junction at Nowydwor, near the confluence of the Bug and Vistula. Hence they marched on Praga—a suburb of Warsaw on the right bank of the Vistula—where John Casimir, with his Poles and Tartars, offered them battle. A desperate struggle ensued, which lasted three days; when at length the Polish troops, though twice as numerous as their opponents, were compelled to yield to the superior science and bravery of the Swedes and Germans. Warsaw was now again recovered and occupied by the Swedes, while John Casimir retired to Lublin. But Charles was prevented from pursuing the enemy and reaping all the fruits of his victory by the politic remissness of Frederick William; who pleaded the incursions of the Poles into Prussia as an excuse for leading back his army thither, leaving only 4000 men with the King of Sweden, as he was bound to do by treaty; and after his return, he began to negociate in a very suspicious manner with the Poles, the Danes, and the Emperor. He seems to have perceived that Charles had entered on an enterprise too vast for his strength, and to have resolved to turn his indiscretion to advantage. It was at first thought that John Casimir would have come to some terms after his defeat; but the invasion by the Russians of the Swedish province of Livonia, and the hope held out to him of some support from the Emperor, caused him to alter his mind.

The peace of Stolbova[17] between the Swedes and Russians, in 1617, had been so disadvantageous to the latter, that it was not unnatural they should wish to break it. By this treaty, Ingria and part of Carelia were ceded to Sweden; and as this Power had previously obtained Livonia by the treaty of Teusin, in 1595, the Russians were thus entirely excluded from the Baltic, sequestered as it were from European commerce, and reduced almost to the condition of an Asiatic Power. It was a conviction that the Czar would endeavour to escape from such a state of things and regain a footing on the Baltic,[18] that had induced Charles X., before he invaded Poland, and with the view of conciliating the Russian sovereign, to despatch to him an embassy. But the vanity and presumption which characterised the Russian Court before it had been civilised by European intercourse, rendered this embassy one of the causes of the war which it was intended to

[17] See Vol. II. p. 521.

[18] Puffendorf, *De Rebus Carol. Gust.*, lib. i. § 53.

avert. Alexis, after his conquests in Poland, had not only added the names of the subdued provinces to his titles, but had also assumed that of "Lord of many lands to the North, East, and West, and heir of his ancestors and predecessors." As it was plain that by this oriental bombast he indicated his pretensions to Livonia, Ingria, and Carelia, Charles refused to acknowledge these titles, which implied a claim on his own dominions; a want of condescension which gave great offence to the Czar, who seized and imprisoned the Swedish ambassadors. Alexis, though himself at war with Poland, was also displeased at the invasion of that country by the Swedes, which seemed to rob him of part of his destined booty; and several acts of hostility had occurred between the Russian and Swedish troops, intent on occupying the same places in Lithuania.

If Alexis could have agreed with the King of Sweden and the Elector of Brandenburg, the partition of Poland might perhaps then have been effected, instead of being postponed till the following century. But the Czar was jealous of the occupation of Lithuania by the Swedes, and his ministers urged him to seize the pretext of Charles's refusal to acknowledge his titles to declare war against Sweden, and to recover the provinces which had formerly been lost. Their representations were seconded by the Dutch merchants; while the Court of Vienna offered its mediation to procure for the Czar a truce with Poland, so that he might direct all his efforts against the Swedes. Without awaiting the result of these negociations, Alexis, in June 1656, ordered his troops to enter Ingria and Carelia; whence, after ravaging those provinces, they penetrated to the extremity of Finland. Alexis himself, at the head of 100,000 men, invaded Livonia, seized Dunaburg and Kokenhausen, the garrisons of which places were put to the sword, and invested Riga. From the last place, defended by De la Gardie, he was repulsed with great loss; but Dorpat having capitulated October 26th, the Russians were enabled to penetrate into the country and devastate everything with fire and sword.

The Emperor Ferdinand III. had viewed with uneasiness the progress of the Swedes, which not only threatened the Roman Catholic religion in Poland, but even endangered his own hereditary dominions. The desire to divert their arms had led him to incite the Czar to enter Livonia. He was not himself prepared to declare war against Charles; but he accorded to John Casimir an asylum, where he might prepare the means of re-entering his kingdom. He even made an alliance with that prince, and

engaged to use his good offices with the Elector, as well as with the Cossacks, in his favour. A truce was also concluded through Ferdinand's mediation between the Poles and Russians at Wilna, November 3rd 1656. The Czar, jealous of the victories of the Swedes, readily listened to the proposals of John Casimir, especially as hopes were held out to him of succeeding to the Polish throne.[19]

The Elector of Brandenburg skilfully availed himself of the embarrassment occasioned to Charles by the Russian war to obtain the secret object of his policy, the sovereignty of Prussia. Charles was very averse to accede to an arrangement by which the contiguity of his provinces on the Baltic was for ever broken: but at length (November 20th 1656) he signed the Treaty of Labiau, which may be said to have laid the first stone of the Prussian monarchy. By this treaty, Frederick William and his heirs male were recognised as legitimate and independent sovereigns of Prussia and Ermeland. In any future peace, the Elector was to use his endeavours that West, or Royal, Prussia, Pomerelia and part of Cassubia, together with Semigallia, Samogitia, Livonia and Courland, should be assigned to Sweden. The Elector renounced his pretensions to the four Polish palatinates, and agreed to afford to the King of Sweden the same aid as stipulated by the treaty of Marienburg.[20]

Charles had also turned to other quarters for assistance, and among them to England, perhaps the only Power that viewed his progress without displeasure or alarm. But though Cromwell had said that the Swedes, for aught he cared, might extend their conquests to the Caspian Sea, he was not disposed to give them any active assistance; and all that they obtained by a treaty concluded at London in July 1656, was permission to recruit in Great Britain. With George Ragoczi, Prince of Transylvania, Charles was more successful. Ragoczi, who wished to obtain a share of the Polish provinces, if not the crown of Poland itself, which had been offered to him by a party of the malcontents, had sent an embassy to Charles early in 1656, with the view of making an alliance. The ill turn which Charles's affairs subsequently took, and especially the Russian war, having rendered such an ally very desirable, a treaty was concluded in December, in which nearly all the terms demanded by Ragoczi were granted. He was to have Red Russia, Podolia, Volhynia and all the southern provinces of Poland as far as the Narew and the Bug, with the titles of King of Little Poland, or Eastern Poland, and Grand Duke of Lithuania. His allies the Cossacks were to be maintained in possession of the

[19] Hermann, *Gesch. Russland*, B. iii. S. 636. [20] Dumont, t. vi. pt. ii. p. 148.

Ukraine. Such was the eagerness of Ragoczi to secure these acquisitions, that before the treaty had been ratified he began his march with 18,000 horse and 5000 foot; to which were added 20,000 Cossacks and 6000 Moldavians and Wallachians. Charles set out from Prussia to meet his new ally. The junction was effected near Sandomier, April 2nd 1657, and the united forces proceeded to lay siege to Brzesc in Lithuania, which surrendered May 13th. But during the siege Charles received intelligence that the Danes were preparing to make war upon him; an event which entirely altered his plans.

Frederick III. of Denmark was well aware that chance alone had prevented his dominions, instead of Poland, being attacked by the Swedes. He knew that he was destined to be the next prey of their rapacity; he had therefore fortified himself with alliances, and awaited a favourable opportunity to strike the first blow. He was continually complaining of the toll established by the Swedes at the mouth of the Vistula, as annoying the navigation of the Baltic and prejudicial to Danish interests in the Sound dues. The toll was still more hurtful to the Dutch, on account of their valuable commerce with Prussia; and in June 1656 a Dutch fleet had appeared in Dantzic roads, and compelled the raising of the blockade. Frederick III. sent ten vessels to join this fleet, and concluded a treaty with the States-General for the defence of the Baltic navigation. Charles, however, soon afterwards found means to pacify the Dutch by a treaty in which he granted them very favourable terms. At this epoch the Danish finances were in a terrible state; the fortresses were dilapidated, and there was scarcely any regular army. Such had been the sad result of the Danish oligarchical constitution. The nobles diverted to their own use the money that should have been applied to maintain the defences of the kingdom, and refused to keep on foot any numerous force lest it should be employed to annul the capitulation which they had imposed upon the King. Nevertheless the aspect of affairs in the spring of 1657, and especially the accession of a new sovereign of the House of Habsburg, who seemed disposed to take a more active part against the Swedes, induced the Danish monarch to declare war against Charles. The invasion of Poland by Ragoczi had determined Leopold, who (as before related) had recently succeeded to the Austrian hereditary dominions, to enter into the Polish war. In May 1657, he concluded at Vienna an alliance with John Casimir and the Republic of Poland, and undertook to send 12,000 men into the field.[21] The King of

[21] Dumont, t. vi. pt. ii. p. 179.

Denmark also concluded, two months later, an alliance with John Casimir, but he commenced his attack upon the Swedes before the treaty was signed. He was no doubt further confirmed in this resolution by the prospect of assistance from the Elector of Brandenburg.

When Charles received at Brzesc the news of these events, he immediately resolved to hasten back with the greater part of his troops to the succour of his German possessions, before the Danes, supported by the Austrians, should cut off his retreat. His apprehensions were also excited by the conduct of the Elector of Brandenburg, who had withdrawn his contingent from the Swedish army. Ragoczi, in spite of Charles's repeated warnings to him to keep nearer to his own dominions, had persisted in marching to Warsaw. A part of the Swedish troops were already on their way to the North; and Charles, leaving the command in Poland to his brother, John Adolphus, now withdrew the rest of his army from that of his Transylvanian ally (June 13th). Enraged at this desertion, Ragoczi overloaded Charles with reproaches, and hastened to regain his frontiers; but being overtaken by Czarnecki, was compelled to sign a disgraceful capitulation, by which he engaged to send ambassadors to apologise to the Republic of Poland, the King of Hungary (Leopold), and the Ottoman Porte, and to pay 400,000 ducats for the damage he had occasioned. The Swedes, on their side, hastened northwards, burning all on their road to Thorn, to prevent the Poles from following them. They arrived at Stettin early in July, reduced to about 6000 ragged men, but full of ardour and burning to revenge themselves on the Danes. After their retreat, the Protestants in Poland were subjected to the most cruel persecution. They were accused of having enticed the Swedes into Poland; their estates were plundered and their churches desecrated; they were excluded from the Diet, and many of them were even put to death.

After Charles's failure in Poland, the Elector of Brandenburg began to throw off the mask. He had, indeed, never sincerely embraced the Swedish cause. He foresaw that he should ultimately lose his share of Pomerania, as well as his Prussian duchy, if Charles succeeded in his gigantic projects; those provinces being indispensable to the completion of the Swedish empire on the Baltic. Leopold was aware of the Elector's views on this subject, and he was encouraged by them to mediate a peace between him and Poland. Frederick William stipulated that, in return for his active support, the independent sovereignty of Prussia, granted to him by Sweden, should be confirmed; and the Poles were at

length induced, by the success of Charles in Denmark, which we shall presently relate, to accede to this condition. Thus by the TREATY OF WELAU, signed September 19th 1657, Frederick William became sovereign duke of Prussia. On his side he engaged to restore all that he occupied in Poland, Lithuania, and Warmia, either by force of arms or by treaty with Sweden.[22]

The war between Denmark and Sweden commenced at sea. A Danish fleet of forty sail took its station at Bornholm; another squadron blockaded Gothenburg. The plan was to shut up all the Swedish harbours. Frederick III. was impressed with the idea that Charles would hasten to return to Sweden with his shattered army. Hoping to intercept him, Frederick himself went on board the Danish fleet with the greatest secrecy; but when he arrived off Dantzic, he was surprised with the news that the Swedish King had entered Pomerania; on hearing which he hastened back to his dominions.

The Danes had crossed the Elbe early in July at Glückstadt and Harburg, and another division had entered Mecklenburg and penetrated as far as Wismar. Many rencounters subsequently took place in those parts, mostly to the advantage of the Swedes, but which we forbear to relate, as the issue of the war depended on Charles's invasion of Denmark. That monarch had mustered his army at Demmin, July 10th, and on the 18th, to the astonishment of all Europe, he stood on the frontiers of Holstein. This rapid march was not accomplished without the loss of many hundred horses. The Danes retreated before him, and did not even attempt to defend the pass of Möln, the entrance into Holstein. At Ottensen, near Altona, he made a short halt, and compelled the Hamburgers to equip his army. So rapid and unexpected had been his march that he still found the Danish forces separated by the Elbe. Wrangel was despatched into the duchy of Bremen, and in a fortnight drove the Danes from every place except Bremervörde. Charles himself began his march northwards, August 3rd. He had accompanied Torstenson during the campaign in Holstein and Jutland in 1644; he had thus become acquainted with the scene of his future exploits, and had discussed with Torstenson those plans which now gave him the victory. His progress was rapid. The raw Danish levies, commanded by inexperienced officers, were unable to withstand the Swedish veterans. Charles traversed Holstein and Schleswic almost without resistance. On the 23rd of August he stood before Fridericksodde in Jutland, a strongly fortified place which commands the Lesser Belt. The

[22] Dumont, t. vi. pt. i. p. 191.

greater part of Jutland was now in his power; but as he foresaw that Fridericksodde would require a long siege, he resigned the command to Wrangel, and retired to Wismar, in order to watch the movements of the Poles and Austrians. In spite of his success, his position had become extremely critical. He was at open war with Poland, Russia, Denmark, and Austria, while Holland and Brandenburg were covert enemies. The Austrian army had begun to move northwards. The Swedish general Würtz had surrendered Cracow to them on condition of an unmolested retreat; a place, indeed, which from its distance from the other Swedish possessions was not worth retaining. An Austrian corps was marching towards Prussia; and Czarnecki, with 4000 Poles, had entered Swedish Pomerania, and devastated everything as far as Uckermünde. Another motive with Charles for going to Wismar was that he might superintend the operations of the fleet. Ships were indispensable to his attack upon the Danish islands. The Swedish fleet was not ready till the beginning of September; and on the 12th of that month it engaged the Danish fleet off the Isle of Möen in a battle which lasted two days and left the victory undecided. The Swedish ships then entered the harbour of Wismar.

The siege of Fridericksodde lasted till the 24th of October, when Wrangel became master of it by a bold and successful manœuvre. The town lies on a tongue of land, and on one of its sides is protected by the sea; and on this side some palisades were its only defence. Wrangel, taking advantage of a periodical recess of the sea and the shades of night, ordered some of his cavalry to destroy the palisades and enter the town on that side, whilst he himself stormed it with all his forces on the other. This method proved entirely successful; most of the garrison were killed or made prisoners, and in the morning the Swedish flag floated upon the walls.

The possession of Fridericksodde was indispensable to the Swedish army, in order to pass over to Funen. The passage, however, could not be effected without the assistance of the fleet; and that of the Danes, though terribly maltreated in the late engagement, having been reinforced with eighteen Dutch ships, was still the mistress of the seas. Charles had been disappointed of the aid of an English fleet. He had proposed to Cromwell a plan for the partition of Denmark, by which that kingdom would have been entirely obliterated; but though the Protector was desirous of obtaining some German State, in order that he might have a voice in the affairs of the Empire, he did not wish to see Denmark

completely crushed; and he had observed to the Dutch ambassador that the times were past when it was permitted to destroy whole monarchies.[23] Cromwell would have preferred a triple alliance, with Sweden and Denmark, against the House of Austria; and he declared himself ready to join Sweden and the German Protestant States against Leopold. Both England and France had offered to mediate between Denmark and Sweden; but both these Powers were then disinclined to a peace, and Charles X. especially did all that lay in his power to defeat the negociations.

Under these circumstances, the capture of Fridericksodde would have been of no avail to Charles, had not the powers of nature stepped in to his assistance. After he had suffered some months of anxiety, a severe frost covered the Baltic with ice, and suggested to him an idea by which he might excel the exploits of any former conqueror. He resolved to cross the sea on the ice, although the persons whom he consulted denounced the enterprise as impracticable. The strength of the current near Middlefahrt, where the Little Belt is narrowest, rendered it unadvisable to cross at that point; the passage to Funen was therefore effected some miles lower down towards Hadersleben; where, though the Belt is six or seven miles broad, the ice was more secure, while the little island of Brandsö in the middle of the channel materially assisted the operation. On the night of the 30th January 1658, the King himself and Wrangel led the cavalry and artillery, while the Count De la Gardie, at the head of the infantry, crossed between Stenderup and Tybring. After passing the island of Brandsö, the cavalry advanced in order of battle towards the headland of Ivernäs, now Wedelsborg, on the coast of Funen. In this operation several squadrons of cavalry sank beneath the ice; but the main body arrived in safety and defeated a Danish corps which attempted to arrest their progress. The Swedes occupied Funen without further resistance, and Charles entered Odensée, the chief town, on the 31st of January. The more hazardous enterprise of crossing over the Great Belt into Zealand still remained to be achieved. The shortest route was from Nyborg to Corsöer; but it was determined to adopt the safer, though more circuitous one, across the islands which lie between the southern extremities of Funen and Zealand. The channel between Funen and Langeland was passed on the night of February 5th, and on the following one the still broader channel between Langeland and Laaland. On the 8th, Guldborg Sound was crossed, which separates Laaland from Falster. In Falster it was necessary to wait

[23] Puffendorf, *De Reb. Carol. Gust.*, Lib. iv. § 84.

for the infantry and artillery, which arrived at Stubkiöping on the 10th; and on the two following days the whole army passed over into Zealand.[24]

Nothing could equal the consternation of the Danes at the news of this successful and unexpected invasion. Copenhagen was in so wretched a state of defence as to be entirely at the mercy of the conqueror. Charles, flushed with the triumph of one of the most extraordinary military enterprises ever achieved, debated whether he should put an end to the Danish monarchy by incorporating it with Sweden, or whether he should content himself with seizing some of its finest provinces. The first of these projects he is said to have relinquished only through fear that the more agreeable climate of Zealand might induce some of his successors to make it their residence, and that Denmark might thus become the seat of empire, whilst Sweden sank down into a mere Danish province.

But whatever the exultation of Charles, and however brilliant his situation, he could not be insensible to its danger. Czarnecki and his Poles, after wasting Pomerania and threatening to penetrate into Holstein, had indeed returned home to secure their booty, instead of marching to the assistance of the King of Denmark; but, on the other hand, a more dangerous enemy had been added to those who had declared against Charles. The Elector of Brandenburg had concluded an offensive alliance with Denmark, November 10th 1657. That prince might soon come to the aid of the Danish King; besides which, it was known that the Dutch were preparing to come to the relief of Copenhagen, as soon as the ice broke up, with a fleet of twenty-five ships and 7000 men. The apprehension of these events led Charles to refuse any suspension of arms for the purpose of negociation, and to hasten his march towards the Danish capital. He did not, however, reject the mediation pressed upon him by England and France. The Danish plenipotentiaries had been instructed to agree to the best terms they could obtain, and the preliminaries of a peace were signed at Tostrup towards the end of February, which led to the definitive Treaty of Roskild, March 8th 1658. By this treaty Denmark was isolated from her allies, as each party agreed to renounce all alliances contracted to the prejudice of the other, and the Baltic was to be closed to the fleets of the enemies of either Power. This last article was particularly offensive to the Dutch, and caused Van Beuningen, the Dutch minister, to strain every nerve to upset the treaty. Denmark

[24] See for this expedition, besides Puffendorf, the *Mémoires* of the Chev. de Terlon, the French ambassador.

ceded to Sweden Halland, Schonen, Blekingen, and the Isle of Bornholm with their dependencies, the cities of Bahus and Drontheim, together with some rights in the Isle of Rügen. Conquests made during the war were mutually restored.[25]

In spite of this treaty it soon became evident that the war was not at an end. Charles X. still felt the cravings of a conqueror. It was a saying of his that a great prince should be always at war, both to occupy his subjects and to render himself formidable to his neighbours. His plans were on the most gigantic scale. After rendering himself master of the Scandinavian kingdoms and of the Baltic, he proposed to maintain a fleet of 100 ships and an army of 100,000 men; and it is said that he entertained the idea of then marching to Italy and founding there, like another Alaric, a new kingdom of the Goths. These schemes are characteristic of a sovereign who has obtained the name of the "Pyrrhus of the North;" but they were singularly out of proportion to his means. Authorities differ as to the precise period at which he had determined to renew the war with Denmark. His historian, Puffendorf, says that he did not come to that resolution till the middle of June; but Dalberg, a favourite officer of Charles, and one of the chief agents in some of his most daring and important achievements, says in his "Journal," that the King had already determined on a renewal of hostilities by the middle of April.[26] All Charles's actions show indeed that in his secret heart he had never meant to observe the peace. The maintenance of his army rendered war necessary to him. It was for the most part composed of foreign mercenaries, who, if once disbanded, could never be called together again; yet his means did not permit him to maintain them except in an enemy's country. Thus, after the conclusion of the treaty of Roskild, his troops were still kept in the Danish provinces; and though in May Wrangel was ordered to withdraw the divisions in Zealand, those that occupied Funen, Jutland, and Holstein were not recalled. It was alleged in excuse for this occupation that several points in the treaty had not been finally arranged. One of the most important of these regarded Charles's father-in-law, the Duke of Holstein Gottorp. The Duchies of Schleswic and Holstein were held by a younger branch of the House of Holstein, but under the suzerainty of the regal branch, or kings of Denmark; and disputes had frequently arisen as to the extent of the royal jurisdiction in Schleswic, for Holstein was a fief of the German Empire. Frederick, the reigning duke, had taken advantage of his son-in-law's invasion of Denmark to

[25] Dumont, t. vi. pt. ii. p. 208. [26] Apud Carlson, *Gesch. Schwedens*, B. iv. S. 307.

assert his independence of that kingdom. The matter had not been settled by the Treaty of Roskild; but a commission had been appointed to consider the Duke's claims, and in May 1658 he was recognised as independent sovereign of Schleswic and the Isle of Fehmern. There were still, however, some other unsettled points with regard to the treaty of Roskild which afforded Charles a pretext for keeping his army in Denmark, and especially a question respecting the little Isle of Hveen, the possession of which was important to Sweden, as it commanded the approach to the port of Landskrona. Meanwhile Charles, who was at Gothenburg, kept the Swedish states assembled in readiness for any emergency. He was persuaded, as well from his own recent success as from the facility with which Frederick III. had yielded to all his demands, that Denmark was too weak to resist his arms; and he had already in imagination disposed of his future conquest. Denmark was to be annihilated as an independent kingdom, and to be reduced to the condition of a Swedish province. Nay, he even debated with his Council how homage should be done to him and what titles he should assume when his conquest was completed; and it was arranged that he should be called "King of Sweden and the Goths, of Denmark, Norway, and the Vandals."[27]

Early in August Charles was ready to take the field. He coloured his breach of the peace by charging the King of Denmark with not having fulfilled all the conditions of the Treaty of Roskild; with being the direct or indirect cause of the oppression of the Protestants in Livonia by the Russians, and the taking of Thorn by the Poles; and with having promoted the election of Leopold, the enemy of Sweden, as Emperor of Germany. He embarked with his army at Kiel, August 5th. He had at first proposed to go directly to Copenhagen, which he might then probably have taken, as everything depended on expedition; but instead of this he was advised to land at Corsoer, several days' march from the capital, which had thus an opportunity to prepare for its defence. Frederick III., who, with his son, afterwards Christian V., was in Copenhagen at this conjuncture, displayed a firmness which excited the admiration of all Europe. When advised to escape into Norway, he replied that he would die, like the bird, in his nest. He inspired the inhabitants with the same courage that animated himself. The citizens and students armed; the magistrates declared their readiness to die with him; the suburbs were burnt and the outworks abandoned. Nevertheless, so small was the regular garrison, and so dilapidated were the fortifications of

[27] Carlson, *Gesch. Schwedens*, p. 309.

Copenhagen, that had Charles, when he appeared before it, ordered an immediate assault, as advised by Dalberg, the city would most probably have been taken; but the King listened in preference to the advice of Wrangel, to attack Kronenborg first. The siege of this place lasted from August 16th till September 6th, when it surrendered; a delay most valuable to the Danes, as it enabled them to repair their defences, and to augment and train their garrison. After the surrender of Kronenborg, Copenhagen was regularly invested by the Swedes, and the guns taken at the former place were employed against it. But Frederick and his loyal citizens made a vigorous defence, and repulsed every assault, till at length a Dutch fleet of thirty-five vessels, under Opdam, arrived to their relief. Opdam had appeared at the entrance of the Sound October 20th, but was prevented by contrary winds from entering it till the 29th, when he engaged and defeated the Swedish fleet, and compelled it to retire to Landskrona. The Dutch now revictualled Copenhagen, landed a reinforcement of 2000 men, and supplied Frederick with a loan of three million guilders. The Swedes withdrew to a height within a few miles of Copenhagen, and converted the siege into a blockade.

Meanwhile, in September, the Elector of Brandenburg, with an army of 30,000 men, half of which were his own troops and the rest Austrians under Montecuculi and Polish cavalry under Czarnecki, had marched to the assistance of Frederick. They reached the Isle of Alsen, but the rigour of the season having prevented them from embarking on the fleet which Frederick had sent to convey them into Zealand, they penetrated into Jutland, and took Kolding by storm on Christmas-day; and they proceeded to drive the Swedes from other parts of that province. Thus while Charles X. was blockading Copenhagen, he was in fact himself blockaded; at sea, by the Dutch and Danish fleet, on land, by the army of the allies. Towards the close of the year he had been tantalised by the appearance of an English fleet, which, however, was obliged to return home on account of the cold and the unfavourable winds. On the night of the 10th February 1659, Charles endeavoured to make himself master of Copenhagen by a desperate assault, which was repulsed with great loss, including several generals, among whom was Count Erin Stenbock; and the Swedes were compelled to retire to their fortified camp.

The only favourable circumstance in Charles's situation was, that he had succeeded in effecting a three years' truce with the Russians, December 20th 1658. Little of importance had occurred in the war between the Swedes and Russians since the taking of

Dorpat, before recorded, except the battle of Walk, June 19th 1657, in which a corps of 10,000 Russians was entirely defeated. The successes of the Swedes in Denmark disposed the Czar to peace; a suspension of arms had been agreed upon in April 1658, and subsequently the truce just mentioned. The events of the war with the Poles, Austrians, and Brandenburgers had been unfavourable. Thorn had surrendered December 21st 1658, after a siege of eighteen months by 40,000 Poles. At the time of its capitulation the garrison numbered only 300 men. The Elector of Brandenburg, as we have seen, was victorious in Jutland; but as he could not find the means to transport his army into Funen, he left 4000 men in Jutland, and marched with the remainder of his troops into Swedish Pomerania, where in the course of 1659 most of the principal towns yielded to his arms and those of the Austrians. In Prussia also, at the end of the same year, the only places remaining in possession of the Swedes were Elbing and Marienburg.

Meanwhile the Maritime Powers had interfered to put an end to the war in Denmark. Early in April, an English fleet of forty-three vessels, under Admiral Montague, had appeared in the Sound; and as some negociations had been going on between Sweden and England, then governed by Richard Cromwell, respecting the cession of certain countries to England for a loan, Charles at first thought that the English fleet was come to his assistance. But Admiral Montague and Meadows, the English minister, declared both to the Kings of Sweden and Denmark that their instructions were to negociate the re-establishment of the Peace of Roskild, with the exception of the article that forbad the entrance of any foreign fleet into the Baltic; and that they were authorised to declare war against either monarch that refused to treat. Neither Frederick III. nor Charles X. was, however, disposed to listen to these proposals: the negociations were protracted; and meanwhile, a revolution in England compelled Richard Cromwell to resign the Protectorate, and the new Parliament subsequently resolved to take no part in the Northern War.

In May 1659 an agreement was entered into at the Hague, between England, France, and the Dutch States, to enforce the Peace of Roskild on the terms already mentioned. This agreement, known as the First Convention of the Hague, was succeeded in July by a second, to which France was no party, and on August 14th, by a third, the conditions of which were essentially the same as in the first. If the belligerent monarchs did not agree to a peace within a fortnight after the receipt of the demands of this new

convention, the fleets were to be employed against the party or parties refusing.[28] This was the first attempt in European policy to coerce a conquering nation by forcing upon it a treaty; and it was afterwards repeated against France by the Triple Alliance. Both the Danish and Swedish King were at first indignant at this coercion. Frederick III., however, soon accepted the proffered terms; but Charles obstinately rejected them, and insisted that all negociations should be carried on between the two belligerent Powers only. The English admiral, who had been instructed not to interfere, then sailed home, while De Ruyter, the commander of the Dutch fleet, commenced hostilities against the Swedes. He carried over to Funen about 4000 men of the allied army, who, having joined a Danish corps at Odensée, completely defeated the Swedes near Nyeborg, to whom, indeed, they were much superior in number (Nov. 14th 1659). Next day, De Ruyter bombarded Nyeborg, where the routed Swedes had taken refuge, and compelled it to surrender.

Negociations had been commenced between Sweden and Denmark in some tents pitched between Copenhagen and the Swedish camp; but Charles X. did not live to see their conclusion. He had retired to Gothenburg, where he was seized with a malignant fever, the result, probably, of anxiety and disappointment, of which he expired February 13th 1660. In his short reign of about five years he had performed many extraordinary exploits, which, however, redounded more to his own military reputation than to the solid advantage of his people. He left a son only four years of age, during whose minority he appointed by his will a regency consisting of his wife, his brother, and four senators. The provisions of the will were, however, modified by the States, who ultimately appointed a government consisting of the Queen-Mother, with two votes; the Lord High Steward, Peter Brahe; the Lord High Admiral, Charles Gustavus Wrangel; the Lord High Chancellor, Count Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie; and the Lord High Treasurer, Gustavus Bonde.

Before the negociations between Sweden and Denmark were brought to a conclusion, a peace had been effected between Poland and Sweden. The Poles were suspicious of their allies, the Emperor Leopold and the Elector of Brandenburg; for about this time a project was often talked of for a partition of Poland between those Powers and Russia; while on the side of Sweden, the distress of the Swedish garrisons in Prussia was a pressing motive for concluding a peace. Austria and Brandenburg used

[28] Dumont, t. vi. pt. ii. p. 252 sqq.

every endeavour to thwart the negociations, which were conducted under French mediation in the convent of Oliva, near Dantzic. The Treaty of Oliva, which is as celebrated in the North of Europe as those of Münster and Osnabrück in the South, was signed May 3rd 1660. John Casimir renounced his claim to the Swedish crown, but was allowed to retain the title of King of Sweden, which, however, was not to be borne by his successors. Thus an end was put to the pretensions of the Polish Wasas. All Livonia beyond the Dwina was ceded to Sweden, but Poland retained the southern and western districts. The Duke of Courland, whom Charles had carried off, was to be liberated and restored to his dominions, and Sweden gave up all the places which she had seized in Prussia.[29]

The Treaty of Oliva also established peace between the Emperor Leopold, the Elector of Brandenburg, and Sweden. The Emperor restored to Sweden all the places in Mecklenburg and Pomerania occupied by his troops. Sweden abandoned to the Elector her claim of suzerainty for the Duchy of Prussia; and thus the ambitious scheme of Charles X. for uniting his German possessions with those on the Gulf of Finland was finally frustrated.

The Treaty of Copenhagen between Sweden and Denmark, after being long adjourned, not only by the disputes of the principals, but also of the three mediators, France, England, and Holland, was at length signed, June 6th 1660. It was essentially a confirmation of the Treaty of Roskild, but with the omission of the clause which shut the Baltic to foreign fleets, as well as of that which gave Sweden an immunity from the Sound dues. Sweden restored all her Danish conquests.[30]

The war still continued between Russia and Poland, nor had any definitive treaty of peace yet been made between Sweden and Russia. In 1658 the Poles, being no longer in danger from the Swedes, had renewed the war with Russia: they seemed to forget the promise of their throne to the son of Alexis, and assisted the revolted Cossacks against him. The campaign of 1660, after the Peace of Oliva, was very disastrous to the Russians, who were defeated in several battles. The Czar now became desirous of a definitive arrangement with Sweden. Negociations were opened at Kardis on the frontiers of Esthonia, but it was not till July 1st 1661, that the Peace of Kardis was signed.[31] By this

[29] Dumont, t. vi. pt. ii. p. 303.

[30] *Theatrum Europ.*, t. viii. p. 1269; Dumont, vi. pt. ii. p. 319.

[31] There is an extract of the Treaty of Kardis, or Pleyssemond, in Dumont, *Ibid.* p. 363. It has never been printed entire. Cf. Koch and Schoell, *Hist. des Traités*, t. xiii. p. 25.

treaty the Russians restored all that they had taken in Livonia, and the treaty of Stolbova was confirmed, except in a few points.

After this, the war between the Poles and Russians lingered on some years, without any very remarkable events; till at length, in January 1667, both parties being equally weary of the struggle, a truce of thirteen years was concluded at Andrusoff, to terminate in June 1680.[32] The Cossacks were now divided into two tribes, one under Polish government, the other under that of Russia; with two distinct *Hetmans* to be named respectively by the King of Poland and the Czar.

This thirteen years' war with Poland (1654—1667) first stamped Russia as a European Power. While the old system of warfare was partly retained by the Russians, modern improvements had been introduced which placed it on a new basis; but these were still very imperfect.

[32] Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p. 4.

CHAPTER III.

One of the principal motives with the Spanish Court for concluding the Treaty of the Pyrenees, before recorded, was the desire to prosecute with vigour the war with Portugal, and again to reduce that kingdom under the crown of Spain. The Portuguese throne was now occupied by a new sovereign. John IV., the founder of the House of Braganza, had died in 1656; and as his eldest son Theodosio had gone before him to the tomb, he was succeeded by his second son, Alphonso VI., then only thirteen years of age. In the Queen-Mother, Donna Luisa de Gusman, who now assumed the reins of government for her minor son, Portugal acquired both a spirited and a prudent Regent. Of such a ruler she stood much in need. Besides the Spanish war, she now became involved in another with the Dutch. The relations between Portugal and the United Netherlands had been for many years of the most singular kind. The Dutch, as already related,[1] had supported the Portuguese revolution and declaration of independence, events which were highly favourable to them in their war with Spain; in June 1641 a truce of ten years had been concluded between the two nations, and they mutually agreed to assist each other against the common enemy with a fleet of twenty ships.[2] But this truce did not extend to America and the East Indies. Although the Portuguese colonies had, like the mother country, thrown off the Spanish yoke, and declared for the House of Braganza, yet the Dutch continued to attack them; and this colonial warfare was carried on many years with varying success, without any breach of the peace between the two nations in Europe. At the time when John IV. ascended the throne of Portugal, the Dutch had succeeded in wresting half Brazil from the Spaniards; but the Portuguese colonists, without any aid from the mother country, gradually recovered it, and in 1654 had entirely expelled the Dutch from that colony: a success which they owed in no small degree to the threatening attitude assumed by England towards the United Netherlands, and the naval war which subsequently broke out between these two countries. The

[1] Vol. II. p. 606.

[2] Dumont, t. vi. pt. i. p. 215.

Portuguese had also recovered Angola and St. Thomas, whilst, on the other hand, the Dutch had made themselves masters of the Cape of Good Hope and of Colombo in Ceylon.

In this state of things, the death of John IV. of Portugal, and the accession of a minor King under the guardianship of his mother, inspired the States-General with the hope of extorting favourable conditions by means of a formidable demonstration. A fleet of fourteen Dutch ships of war, under Wassenaar, appeared in the Tagus to demand from the Regent the restoration of the Portuguese conquests in Africa and Brazil, together with an indemnification for losses suffered; and when these terms were refused, the Dutch ambassadors quitted Lisbon after making a formal declaration of war. De Ruyter, who had been cruising in the Mediterranean, now came to the assistance of Wassenaar; the combined fleets cruised on the coasts of Portugal, molested her Brazilian commerce, and blockaded her harbours, so that in 1658, the trade of Lisbon was almost annihilated.[3]

Meanwhile the war between Spain and Portugal still continued, but without any memorable or decisive events. It was expected that the Peace of the Pyrenees would enable Spain to crush her adversary; but the Portuguese Regent averted such a catastrophe by forming alliances with France and England. Louis XIV. still dreaded that Spain, with whose utter exhaustion he was unacquainted, might again become formidable if she succeeded in reuniting Portugal under her sceptre; and he resolved, in spite of the Treaty of the Pyrenees, secretly to assist the Portuguese Regent. This princess formed a still closer alliance with England, where Charles II., with the assistance of General Monk, had remounted the throne of his ancestors, May 29th 1660. The Portuguese Regent induced Charles to conclude a marriage contract with her eldest daughter, Catherine; by which he was to receive, besides a dowry of half a million sterling, the settlements of Tangiers in Africa and Bombay in the East Indies; whilst he in turn engaged to succour Portugal with 3000 men and ten ships of war.[4] The marriage was consummated in May 1662. So far was Louis from feeling any jealousy of this connection, and the introduction of the English into the Mediterranean, that he promoted the marriage as favourable to his policy with regard to Spain, and agreeable to the alliance which he had formed with the House of Stuart. In March 1661, his brother

[3] Southey, *Hist. of Brazil*, vol. ii. p. 243 sqq. Van Kampen, *Gesch. der Niederlande*, B. ii. S. 162 f.

[4] The treaty is in La Clède, *Hist. Générale de Portugal*, t. viii. p. 307.

Philip had married Henrietta, sister of Charles II., and had been invested on the occasion with the Duchy of Orléans.

This clandestine and this open alliance enabled Portugal to withstand all the assaults of her enemies. Through the mediation of England she concluded a peace with the Dutch in August 1661. This treaty, however, only freed her from immediate annoyance in Europe. Disputes arose about its ratification; the Dutch availed themselves of the delay to make conquests in the Portuguese colonies, and it was not till July 1669 that a definitive treaty of peace was signed at the Hague.[5] Portugal derived more assistance from her allies against the Spaniards. In 1661 Louis despatched Marshal Schönberg, a German, to Lisbon with 4000 men; and when Philip IV. complained of this proceeding, as an infringement of the Treaty of the Pyrenees, he was answered that the French Government had no concern in it; that Schönberg and most of his men were foreigners over whom they had no control; and though decrees were issued against enlistment and volunteering, care was taken that they should not take effect till the men had reached Portugal. The French and English troops under Schönberg proved the salvation of Portugal. Philip IV.'s natural son, Don John of Austria, who commanded the Spanish army, was at first successful and took Evora; but being defeated at Estrenoz in 1663, he retired from the command. His successor, the Marquis de Caracena, sustained a complete defeat at Villa Viciosa in 1665.

This was the last remarkable event during the reign of Alphonso VI., a prince who had disgraced himself by a life of the lowest profligacy, and who was hurled from the throne by a plot so atrocious in its nature and circumstances, that nothing but his own infamous conduct could have insured its success. Alphonso's consort, a princess of the house of Nemours, had fixed her affections on his younger brother, Don Pedro; and in the autumn of 1667 she retired to a convent, declaring that, in consequence of her husband's impotence, her marriage with him had never been consummated, and was consequently void. Don Pedro, who had secured a considerable party, now induced Alphonso, by threats and remonstrances, to sign an act of abdication; upon which he was banished to Terceira, and subsequently removed to the castle of Cintra, where he died in 1683. After his brother's abdication, Don Pedro was proclaimed Regent; and he soon

[5] Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p. 114. The Dutch retained all their conquests, and Portugal engaged to give salt to the value of a million florins for Brazil.

afterwards married his sister-in-law after she had procured a divorce from the Pope on the ground already mentioned.

Meanwhile Louis XIV. was beginning to display that overbearing pride and ambition which during so many years disturbed the peace of Europe. Agreeably to his maxim, *l'état c'est moi*, he seemed to regard himself as the vicegerent of the Almighty upon earth, and responsible to Him alone; in accordance with which principle he required from his subjects a blind and unlimited obedience.[6] The tone which he adopted towards foreign Powers was equally haughty and uncompromising. Thus he dismissed M. de Pomponne, an able negociator, because he had not sufficient force and grandeur for the representative of so great a monarch; and, in spite of the remonstrances of Colbert, he sacrificed the commercial interests of France in the treaty of Nimeguen for the sake of some clauses which only flattered his pride.[7] His lofty pretensions were manifested in his very bearing. He affected a peculiar gait, and even when playing at billiards retained the air of the master of the world. His bigotry was almost as remarkable as his pride. His religious education had been conducted by his mother, who had inspired him with all the prejudices of a Spanish devotee.[8] Yet he did not suffer even these to stand in the way of his absolute authority. He required as implicit a submission from his clergy as from his other subjects; and we shall have to record several instances in which he disputed and opposed the authority of the Pope.

These are the darker shades in Louis's character. He possessed, on the other hand, many solid as well as brilliant qualities, which gained him the admiration, if not the love, of his subjects, and entitled him, in their view at least, to the appellation of "Louis le Grand." He was one of the handsomest men in his kingdom, and excelled in all bodily exercises, especially dancing. With a grave and dignified deportment he united affability and politeness towards his own sex, and a refined gallantry in his intercourse with ladies. His apprehension was quick, his judgment sound; and to these qualities were added great strength of will, and an indefatigable

[6] According to his own words: "Il faut assurément demeurer d'accord que, quelque mauvais que puisse être un prince, la révolte de ses sujets est toujours infiniment criminelle. Celui qui a donné des rois aux hommes, a voulu qu'on les respectât comme ses lieutenants, se réservant à lui seul le droit d'examiner leur conduite. Sa volonté est que quiconque est né sujet obéisse *sans discernement*." *Instructions pour le Dauphin, Œuvres*, t. ii. p. 336.

[7] Lémontey, *Œuvres*, t. v. p. 82, 120. Versailles was decorated with the apotheosis of Louis; and it is even said that during three years the family of La Feuillade burned incense before his statue, till pious scruples urged him to abolish the practice. *Ibid.* p. 122.

[8] Thus he counselled his grandson, Philip V., to maintain the Spanish Inquisition; advice which Philip followed so well that he burned between two and three thousand heretics. Llorente, t. iv p. 29.

industry and application.[9] He entered his cabinet at 10 o'clock every morning, and remained in it with his ministers till 12. He also gave them separate audiences in the evening. By his patronage of literature and art he procured the reputation of a connoisseur; while the victories of his generals, often ascribed by popular flattery to himself, threw a military lustre over his reign.

Louis had very early given some unequivocal specimens of his haughtiness. He had instructed his ambassadors always to assert their precedence over those of Spain; and the Spanish ambassador at London having, in October 1661, carried off this privilege through the assistance of an English mob, Louis compelled Philip IV., by threatening him with hostilities, solemnly to renounce all such pretensions in future; a concession which Louis recorded in presence of the assembled diplomatic body. Soon afterwards a somewhat similiar occurrence took place at Rome. The Duke of Créqui, the French ambassador in that city, had offended the Papal Government by his haughtiness; an affray took place in consequence between the Pope's Corsican guard and Créqui's people, in which the latter were worsted, and the ambassador himself was insulted and fired upon. But Louis took up the cause of his representative with so much vigour, that the Pope, Alexander VII., was obliged to dismiss his Corsicans, and to erect before their former guardhouse a pyramid with an inscription recording the decree by which they had been expelled. Alexander also consented to send his nephew Cardinal Chigi into France to make excuses; the first legate of the Court of Rome who had ever been employed on such a mission.[10]

These transactions showed the vigour that might be expected in the foreign policy of the young King of France. Ever since his marriage his views had been directed towards reaping the eventual succession of the Spanish crown. He had never regarded the Treaty of the Pyrenees but as a step towards further acquisitions; and all his measures had been calculated to assert his claims when the proper opportunity should arrive. The death of the young brother of his consort, the heir of the Spanish crowns, in June 1661, seemed to clear the way to this succession, but in the following November it was again barred by the birth of another sickly infant, the future Charles II.

The death of Philip IV. of Spain in September 1665, supposed to have been accelerated by the battle gained by the Portuguese at Villa Viciosa, opened out to Louis the prospect of realising at least part of his plans. Franche Comté and the Spanish Netherlands,

[9] See the Report of the Nuncio Chigi, in the *Archives Curieuses de l'Hist. de France*, t. xi.

[10] Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.*, ch. 7.

transferred by Philip II. to his daughter Clara Eugenia,[11] had, on the death of that princess without heirs, in 1633, reverted to Philip IV. Philip's first consort was then alive, and the only surviving issue by this marriage at the time of Philip's death was Maria Theresa, the Queen of France. Now by a law of the countries in question, called the *Jus Devolutionis*, the children of the first bed, whether male or female, were entitled, on the death of their father, to inherit his real estate; and on this law Louis founded the claim of his consort to the provinces of Brabant, Mechlin, Antwerp, Upper Gelderland, Namur, Limburg, Hainault, Artois, the Cambrésis, a fourth part of Luxembourg, and a third of Franche Comté, to the exclusion of Charles II., who, though Philip's male heir, was the offspring of a second bed. The Spaniards, on the other hand, pleaded that the *Jus Devolutionis* concerned only private persons, and could not abrogate the fundamental laws of Spain, which established the indivisibility of the monarchy; and they further urged the renunciation made by Maria Theresa, at the time of her marriage, of all rights to her father's inheritance. To this it was replied, that the French Queen when she made the renunciation was not of age, and consequently not capable of renouncing her legitimate rights; and moreover, that the renunciatory clause had been rendered null by the non-payment of the dowry of 500,000 gold crowns, in consideration of which the renunciation had been made. On this point some discussions had taken place between the French and Spanish Cabinets in 1661, when Louis declared that if the dowry was not paid he should regard his consort's renunciation as cancelled.

It was with a view to secure the Flemish provinces of Spain that Louis had concluded with the Dutch, in April 1662, a treaty of commerce and alliance. Towards the close of the same year, the recovery of Dunkirk, disgracefully sold to him by Charles II., gave France additional strength in that quarter. Louis had also placed his army on a most effective footing, both by reforming its constitution and discipline, and by gradually raising its numbers through secret levies that attracted no attention. In addition to all these circumstances, the long minority of Charles II., an infant of three years, seemed to favour the projects which he had formed against Spain. The government of that country had been assumed by the Queen-Mother, Maria Anna, daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand III.; but she in turn was ruled by her German confessor, the Jesuit Nietard.

Louis, however, did not feel himself in a position to prosecute

[11] See Vol. II. p. 374.

his claims immediately and by force. The chief obstacle arose out of that very alliance with the Dutch which he had entered into with the view of facilitating his operations. A war had broken out between England and the United Netherlands, and the Pensionary De Witt claimed the assistance of France by virtue of the treaty of 1662.

We shall not relate at any length the naval struggle between England and Holland, which lasted from 1665 to 1667, and which must be familiar to most English readers. Few wars have been commenced so lightly, or have produced such memorable events in so short a period. It was entered into both by the English Court and people from interested motives, though of a different kind. The King encouraged it as a pretence to get subsidies from his Parliament, and also as a means to place his nephew, the Prince of Orange, at the head of the Dutch Republic. Charles showed that he would accept very moderate conditions, provided he could attain this last object. De Witt, as well from hatred of England, which after the Restoration knew no bounds, as from his extreme republican opinions, opposed the nomination of the Prince even as Captain-General; though in order to please the friends of the House of Orange, he had caused William to be adopted as "Child of the State," and had taken upon himself the care of his education. Both Charles II. and De Witt resorted to unworthy means to gratify their enmity. Charles is said to have incited a Jesuit to murder De Witt; while the Pensionary on his side sought to revive the civil war in England through Ludlow and Algernon Sydney.[12]

While such were the motives of the King, his brother, the Duke of York, was incited to encourage the war by the prospect of employment and the hope of distinguishing himself as an admiral. Lastly, the nation was envious of the commercial prosperity of the Dutch. In April 1664 the Commons had passed a resolution that the vexations and indignities offered by the Dutch to English subjects in the Indies, Africa, and elsewhere, were intolerable; and they promised to assist the King with their lives and fortunes in suppressing them. A fleet was soon after despatched under Admiral Holmes to Africa, who seized the Dutch forts in Guinea, and the Isle of Goree, besides a number of ships. Holmes then proceeded to America, and reduced the Dutch possessions there, which were re-named New York. These aggressions, however, did not pass unavenged. De Ruyter succeeded in recapturing the places on the Guinea coast, and though he was not successful in America, he

[12] De Witt's *Letters*, ap. Van Kampen, *Gesch. der Niederlande*, B. ii. S. 195.

molested the English East India commerce. Meanwhile, in Europe, upwards of one hundred and thirty Dutch vessels were seized, and that without any declaration of war, which was not formally made till March 4th 1665. On June 13th following, was fought the battle of Lowestoff, in which, after a brave and obstinate resistance, the Dutch, under Admiral Opdam, were totally defeated with great loss.

Under these circumstances, the Dutch called upon Louis to assist them, agreeably to the treaty of 1662. Such an application was very unwelcome to the French King, especially when the situation of affairs became complicated by the death of Philip IV. He endeavoured, but in vain, to extort from the Dutch a recognition of his claims on the Spanish Netherlands; and in order to gain time, he sent an embassy to London to attempt a mediation between the belligerents. This having failed, he could find no further excuses for postponing that assistance which he had bound himself to afford to the Dutch, and he accordingly declared war against England January 26th 1666. Louis took this step with the greatest reluctance, and he even assured Charles that nothing should have constrained him to it but the necessity of keeping his word. In this profession he was doubtless sincere. Throughout the war the French fleet kept at a distance from the scene of combat, and the only loss which it suffered was that of a frigate taken by the English while endeavouring to run into Brest. Louis, however, was compelled by this state of affairs to postpone his designs upon the Spanish Netherlands; for a war at once with Great Britain and Spain, and probably also with the Emperor, was not to be lightly ventured.

Besides the aid of the French, the Dutch had also procured that of the King of Denmark, with whom a treaty was concluded, February 1666; and this alliance was extended and confirmed by another treaty at the Hague in the following October, to which the Duke of Brunswick Lüneburg acceded. The States had also formed an alliance with the Elector of Brandenburg at Clèves, in February of the same year. But these Powers were of more use to the Dutch in the war which they were then waging with the Bishop of Münster than in their contest with England. Louis XIV. also had rendered the Dutch a more loyal assistance in the former war, and in April 1666 the warlike Prelate, who was in the pay of England, and who had cruelly ravaged some of the Dutch provinces, was compelled to lay down his arms. The naval war of that year had, on the whole, gone in favour of England. The memorable battle off the North Foreland, which commenced on the 1st of June and lasted four days, was indeed left undecided;

but the Dutch had been defeated in a subsequent action, July 25th, and the English appeared to be masters of the seas. These advantages, however, had not been purchased without severe losses, which were aggravated by the hand of fortune or Providence. London, after being ravaged by a dreadful pestilence, had been almost destroyed by the Great Fire. Under these circumstances, the English Cabinet was disposed to peace. In February 1667 an envoy was despatched to Paris to discuss the preliminaries of a conference; and in the following April a secret agreement was concluded between the French and English Courts, by which Louis engaged to withdraw his assistance from the Dutch. This agreement, in itself a breach of faith towards the Dutch Republic, was however accompanied with a perfidy that was highly disastrous to England. Whilst Louis assured the English Cabinet that the Dutch would have no fleet at sea that summer, he pressed the latter to fit out their ships, and encouraged them by promising to join them with his own,[13] though he had not the smallest intention of executing that promise. The fatal effects to England are well known. Relying on Louis's word, as well as on the negociations for a peace already begun at Breda, under the mediation of the King of Sweden, no preparations were made for defence; in June 1667 the Dutch sailed up the Thames without opposition, took Sheerness, destroyed our ships in the Medway, infested our coasts, and threatened the safety of the capital itself.

While these disasters accelerated the conclusion of the Peace of Breda on the part of the English, the unexpected march of Louis XIV. into the Spanish Netherlands, in May 1667, had the same effect on the Dutch. On the 31st of July three treaties of peace were signed between England on the one side, and Holland, France, and Denmark on the other. The basis adopted in the Dutch treaty was the *status quo* from the 10th to the 20th May 1667. Hence the English retained New York and New Jersey, while Surinam, and the Isle of Polerone in the Moluccas, remained to the Dutch. The Navigation Act was so far modified, that all merchandise coming down the Rhine was allowed to be imported into England in Dutch vessels; a measure which rendered the Dutch masters of great part of the commerce of Germany. In the treaty with France, this Power restored to England the Isle of St. Christopher's, which she had seized, and ceded Antigua and Montserrat, while she recovered Acadia and Cayenne. The chief difficulty with Denmark was the Sound dues. By a clause

[13] Mignet, *Succession d'Espagne*, in the *Documens inédits sur l'Hist. de France*, t. ii. p. 40 sqq.; Harris, *Life of Charles II.*, vol. ii. p. 195.

in the treaty, Denmark reserved her right to the Orkney Isles, anciently pledged by the Kings of Norway to the Kings of Scotland.[14]

By the invasion of the Spanish Netherlands, Louis took all parties by surprise. He had fortified himself for that step by a new offensive alliance with Portugal (March 31st 1667), by which he engaged to pay to that Power a subsidy of 1,800,000 livres annually, till he should himself declare war against Spain.[15] The death of Louis's mother, Anne of Austria, who expired January 20th 1666, had removed one obstacle to his enterprise. Anne's political influence in her later years was not very great; but she had exerted what she had to prevent a war between her son and the house from which she sprang. Louis had succeeded in blinding the Regent of Spain and her incompetent minister and confessor. Up to the 1st of May he had given them the most pacific assurances; on the 8th he announced to the Regent his intention of marching in person into the Netherlands to possess himself of what belonged to him in right of his consort. The Dutch were equally taken by surprise. As late as the 27th of April Louis had assured De Witt that nothing should be undertaken without his knowledge. It was indeed a question of vital importance to the United Netherlands, which might next be swallowed up if the barrier between them and France were removed. Long and anxious negociations on the subject had been going on between the two countries, but without result. At first a plan had been discussed to erect the Spanish Netherlands into a republic under the joint protection of France and the States, and this had been succeeded by another, to divide them between these two Powers, which, however, could not agree, either as to the method or the time of the division.

Louis XIV. had accompanied his announcement to the Spanish Regent with a little treatise, in which were set forth his pretensions not only to the Burgundian provinces, but also eventually to the whole Spanish monarchy. This treatise, which was in fact a sort of manifesto, was also forwarded to all the European Governments. The claim to the Spanish Netherlands was not rested on the law of devolution alone. By confounding the Kingdom of France with that of the Franks, it was asserted that the people of the Netherlands were Louis's natural subjects.[16] This was only another form of those claims which France had so often urged,

[14] The treaties are in Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p. 40 sqq.

[15] *Ibid.* p. 17.

[16] See Mignet, *Succession d'Espagne*, t. ii. p. 58 sqq.

sometimes on the ground of natural boundaries, sometimes of nationalities. It was plain that she meant to seize the Spanish provinces, and would always be able to find a justification.

Louis placed himself at the head of his army on May 20th. He had announced his invasion of the Netherlands to the European Powers simply as a "journey," as if he were going to occupy possessions that were his undisputed own. Armentières, Binch, Charleroi, Ath, Bergues, Furnes, Tournai, Douai, Courtrai, Oudenarde, Alost were occupied without resistance, or capitulated after a short siege; Lille made a better defence, but surrendered on August 28th. The united French army now appeared before Ghent. But the rainy season had set in; it was doubtful whether the Flemish towns would surrender so readily as the Walloon, which were better inclined to the French, and spoke their language; Louis, too, was desirous of avoiding a breach with the Dutch; and for all these reasons he determined to do no more this year. He had accompanied Turenne's division of the army, and had taken a personal share in some of the sieges, where he had displayed no lack of courage.

Louis had, however, determined to strike a blow in another direction. Franche Comté, though nominally a Spanish province, was in fact almost an independent state. Being completely isolated from the Spanish possessions, the Government of Spain found it necessary to accord great privileges to the inhabitants, lest they should transfer their allegiance elsewhere. Although ostensibly subject to the Governor of the Netherlands, the real authority lay with the Governor of the province, who was elected from among its nobles, and with the Parliament of Dôle, which enjoyed the chief share in the administration. Franche Comté yielded but a trifling revenue to Spain, and little care had consequently been taken for its defence. Its reduction was intrusted to the Prince of Condé, who, as Governor of Burgundy, was advantageously situated for that purpose. A considerable body of troops was secretly assembled; the attention of the Swiss was diverted, who, like the Dutch, did not wish to have the French for their neighbours; and on February 3rd 1668, Condé's forces invaded Franche Comté. Louis hastened from Paris to the scene of action, and joined Condé before Dôle February 9th. That capital surrendered on the 13th, and in a fortnight the whole province was reduced. Louis now placed the two re-united Burgundies under the government of Condé.

These rapid conquests inspired not only Spain, but all Europe with alarm. To give any efficient aid to the Netherlands was

totally out of the power of the Spanish Government. It was impossible to raise fresh taxes in Spain; the galleons which brought the American tribute were not due till the end of the year; a national subscription was tried, but failed;[17] and to add to these embarrassments, the Portuguese, at the instigation of the French King, invaded Estremadura. Spain declared war against France July 14th 1667, but without the means to carry it on. She appealed to all Europe for assistance, but nobody was inclined to give her any active succour. She had recently concluded a commercial treaty with England, on terms favourable to this country, but she was not permitted to levy soldiers in Great Britain. The Elector of Brandenburg resolved to maintain a neutral position. The Emperor Leopold, to whom Spain might have looked with more confidence, was actually negociating with France, as we shall explain further on. The Marquis of Castel Rodrigo, the Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, in vain invoked the aid of the Dutch States, and offered to give up the tolls on the Maes and Scheldt for a loan of two million gilders. The Spanish ambassador, Gamarra, proposed still more tempting conditions, and engaged to place Bruges, Ostend, Damme, and the forts of St. Isabella and St. Donas in the hands of the Dutch, in return for a loan of one million gilders, and the aid of 12,000 men. These negociations form a turning point in the career of De Witt. They affect not only his fame as a statesman, but may even be said to have been the cause of his death. His situation, no doubt, was one of extreme difficulty. He knew that a league with Spain would be considered by France as a declaration of war; nor did the weakness of Spain, and the lukewarmness of her Belgian subjects, offer much encouragement to embark with her in such a contest. On the other hand, it should be considered that a war with France would have been popular with the Dutch, who for the most part detested the French; and that to allow the latter to fix themselves in the Spanish Netherlands was only to facilitate a future attack on the United Provinces themselves. In these circumstances De Witt adopted the dangerous expedient of a compromise. He resolved to avoid an immediate breach with France, and yet to force her to set a bound to her conquests, though he could not but have been aware how offensive such a course would be to a young and ambitious monarch like Louis XIV. Such was the policy he followed in the alliance with England and Sweden, which we have now to relate.

After the Peace of Breda Louis had endeavoured to conciliate England by enticing offers. He held out the baits of a treaty of

[17] Mignet, *Succession d'Espagne*, t. ii. p. 121 sqq.

commerce, subsidies, the cession of a Flemish port, the abandonment of Spanish America to the English arms, provided he might be allowed to occupy the Spanish Netherlands without opposition. Charles himself was lured with the offer of aid in case of need against his rebellious subjects.[18] But, though Clarendon had been disgraced, the time was not yet ripe for so intimate a connection between the French and English Crowns. The English Cabinet listened in preference to the envoys of the United Provinces, who were continually pressing Charles to join them in interposing between France and Spain. In December 1667, Sir William Temple, the British resident at Brussels, received instructions to proceed to the Hague and negociate a treaty with the States. In his conferences with De Witt, Temple urged him to conclude an offensive alliance, by which France should be compelled to relinquish all her recent conquests. But the policy of De Witt was, as we have said, more temporising. He dreaded an open breach with France, and wished to have Louis for a friend, though not for a neighbour. Temple yielded to his representations, and after a few days' negociations an alliance was concluded at the Hague, January 23rd 1668, which, from the accession to it of Sweden, has been called the Triple Alliance. There were two treaties:[19] one established a defensive alliance between Great Britain and the States; the other, with a reservation for the accession of Sweden, erected those two Powers into mediators between the belligerent Crowns. France was to be persuaded to an armistice; Spain was to be forced to accept one of the alternatives already offered by Louis: namely, that he should be left in possession of all the places he had conquered in 1667; or that he should have instead of them either the Duchy of Luxembourg or Franche Comté; and together with either of these provinces, the Cambrésis, Douai, Aire, St. Omer, and Furnes. There were also three secret Articles: 1. That no question should be raised about the renunciation of Maria Theresa; 2. That if the war should continue between Spain and Portugal, France should respect the neutrality of the States; 3. That if France rejected a Peace on these conditions, England and the States should assist Spain till matters were restored to the footing established by the Peace of the Pyrenees. This last clause, which came to the knowledge of Louis, occasioned him great irritation. Dohna, the Swedish envoy, acceded to the treaty on the day of its execution; but the object of it was attained before it was formally ratified by Sweden. The key to this change of policy on the part of the Swedish Court, after an alliance of nearly half a

[18] Mignet, t. ii. p. 509.

[19] Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p. 66 sqq.

century with France, lies in the circumstance that the latter Power had withdrawn the subsidies which she formerly paid to Sweden, and that the Dutch had undertaken to furnish them.

About the same time a peace was concluded between Spain and Portugal. After the War of Devolution had broken out, Spain became inclined to listen to English offers of mediation, and the negociations for a peace were conducted during the revolution in Portugal already described. Don Pedro, the new Regent of Portugal, though secretly inclined to France, whose interest it was that the war should be prolonged, was compelled by the Cortès to sign the Treaty of Lisbon, February 13th 1668. The independence of Portugal was acknowledged, and all conquests were restored on both sides, except Ceuta, which was ceded to the Spaniards.[20] Thus was at length concluded a war that had lasted more than a quarter of a century.

The peace between Spain and Portugal had the effect of facilitating in some degree the negociations between France and the allies. Louis did not learn the conclusion of the Triple Alliance till he had completed the conquest of Franche Comté. The question of pushing the war with vigour, or submitting to the arbitrament of the allies, was discussed with great warmth and much difference of opinion among Louis's generals and ministers; but the King himself was inclined to abide by the alternatives which he had offered. Louis consented to a fresh truce till the end of May, and a Congress was opened at Aix-la-Chapelle; but the negociations were really conducted at St. Germain. The Marquis of Castel Rodrigo accepted, as Spanish plenipotentiary, the first of the two alternatives already specified, and a preliminary treaty was signed at St. Germain, April 15th 1668.[21] This injudicious choice, which placed in the hands of France the keys of the Netherlands, is said to have been made by Spain in order to compel the allies, from the desperate nature of her situation, and the danger with which it threatened the Dutch provinces, to aid her in case of further attack.[22] After the Treaty of St. Germain, the definitive treaty signed at Aix-la-Chapelle May 2nd was little more than a form. France retained all her conquests in the North, and restored Franche Comté to Spain,[23] the integrity of whose other possessions was guaranteed. England proposed to make the Triple Alliance permanent, and to obtain the accession of Spain;

[20] Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p. 70. Cf. *Mémoires* d'Ablancourt, the French envoy in Portugal, p. 253.

[21] Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p. 88.

[22] See for these negociations Sir William Temple's *Letters*.

[23] Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p. 89.

but De Witt either feared to offend France too far, or distrusted the security of the British Cabinet.

The conduct of the Dutch, as might have been foreseen, had inflicted on the pride of Louis a wound too deep to be easily forgiven. His heart was bent on revenge, and his whole policy was directed to obtain it. His anger was further inflamed by the boasting of the Dutch. That little republic had now reached the summit of her good fortune, and had begun to grow somewhat dizzy with her eminence. She had not only achieved her own independence against the colossal power of Spain, but had also vindicated the rights of other nations, including those of Spain herself. She had saved Denmark from the grasp of Sweden; she had fought at least a drawn battle with England for the dominion of the seas; and now she had prescribed bounds to the haughty and powerful monarch of France. There was nothing therefore but what was strictly true in the inscription on the medal which the Council of State caused to be struck in commemoration of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in which credit was taken for having assisted, defended, and conciliated kings, for having vindicated the liberty of the seas, conquered by arms an advantageous peace, and established the tranquillity of Europe.[24] The assertion of having done all this was, however, far from being the less offensive because it was true. Matters were rendered worse by the loud and offensive boasting of the Dutch journals, and even by the personal bearing of Van Beuningen, the ambassador of the States at the French Court, whose republican frankness, not to say rudeness, was offensive to Louis and his ministers.

It was not, however, merely from personal feeling that Louis wished to humble or destroy the Dutch Republic. He had political motives also. He hated the United Netherlands because they were the asylum of civil and religious liberty, and the centre of those ideas which were directly opposed to his own principles and institutions. Another cause of complaint was that the importation of French goods and manufactures, except wine, into the United Provinces had been prohibited, or at all events allowed only under very exorbitant duties; though this, indeed, was only a retaliation for the policy of Colbert. Add that the Dutch were the chief obstacle that prevented Louis from seizing the whole of the Spanish

[24] The medal represented the Maid of the Netherlands, the image of the Dutch Republic, treading chains under her feet, having the cap of liberty on a spear, and resting on a trophy, with ships in the distance. On the reverse was the following inscription: "Assertis legibus, emendatis sacris, adjutis, defensis, conciliatis regibus, vindicata marium libertate, pace egregia virtute armorum parta, stabilita Orbis Europæi quiete." See Van Loon, *Hist. métallique des Pays Bas*, t. iii. p. 22.

provinces, and we need not be surprised at his determination to ruin them. As a preliminary step, however, the Triple Alliance must be dissolved. Louis first attempted to effect this by means of the Dutch themselves; but De Witt resisted all Pomponne's endeavours for that purpose.[25] After this failure, which embittered Louis all the more against the Dutch, he turned his views to England and Sweden. De Witt, who saw the danger to which he had exposed his country, endeavoured, when it was too late, to disarm the French King by advances and propositions of various kinds; but Louis had made up his mind, though he kept up an appearance of negociation in order to amuse the Dutch. His kingly pride was deeply offended by the idea that a few republican traders should attempt to arbitrate between two of the greatest monarchs of Europe.[26]

The chief aim of Louis was to cement a firm alliance with England, in which Charles II. was disposed to meet him half way. After the disgrace of Clarendon, Charles fell more and more into the hands of Buckingham, Arlington, and the other members of the Cabal cabinet. The few religious ideas that ever entered the head of Charles were in favour of the Roman Catholic Church. He harboured, as is well known, a sort of waking dream of re-establishing some day or other, with the aid of the French King, that worship in his dominions; a project which, however chimerical, contributed to form a bond of union between the two monarchs. Want of money, however, was the chief motive with Charles to form the French alliance. While his exchequer was always empty, that of Louis was always overflowing, and the surplus at the disposal of such princes or ministers as were willing to be bought. In December 1669, Charles offered his services to Louis on terms which show that if he and his advisers were ready to barter away the civil and religious liberties of England, they were at the same time anxious to promote her foreign interests, at least as they were then understood. They claimed, besides large money payments, a considerable eventual share in the Spanish succession;[27] and from the spoils of the Dutch Republic, Sluys and the Isles of Walcheren and Cadsand. These claims were afterwards modified. Charles consented to postpone the question of the Spanish succession, and to reduce his pecuniary demands; and on May 22nd 1670, a secret

[25] D'Estrades, *Lettres, Mémoires, et Négociations*, t. vi. p. 444.

[26] Thus, in a despatch to the French ambassador in Holland, Lionne writes: "Il n'appartient pas à des marchands, qui sont eux-mêmes des usurpateurs, de décider souverainement des intérêts des deux plus grands monarques de la Chrétienté." Mignet, t. iii. p. 583 sqq.

[27] Minorca, Ostend, and Spanish America. *Ibid.* p. 120.

treaty was arranged at Dover between Charles and his sister, Henrietta of Orléans, who had come thither on pretence of a friendly visit. Charles engaged to declare himself a Roman Catholic, on condition of Louis giving him two million livres, and supporting him with 6000 foot against the consequences which might ensue. Charles was to declare his conversion at what time he pleased, and after his declaration had been made, to join Louis in a war against the Dutch whenever the latter monarch should think proper. He was to assist Louis with 6000 foot and the English fleet, to which were to be added thirty French ships of at least forty guns; and Charles was to receive a subsidy of three million livres a year during the war. The treaty was signed by Colbert de Croissi, the French ambassador, and on the part of Charles by four commissioners, all Catholics.[28] Louis ratified it by an autograph letter to Charles, June 10th. Charles gave his sister to understand that he would permit the French King to attack Holland before he had declared his own conversion, notwithstanding the article to the contrary in the treaty. The good will of Charles had been conciliated by ministering to one of his foibles. Henrietta had brought in her suite a beautiful young lady, Mademoiselle de Kerhouël, with whom Charles was immediately captivated. She departed with the Duchess of Orléans, but was persuaded without much difficulty to return to England, where she became the noted Duchess of Portsmouth; and as Charles's mistress contributed to keep alive the good understanding between him and the French Court.

Charles was probably never sincere in the design of publicly changing his religion; but the treaty seems to have encouraged his brother, the Duke of York, openly to profess his adherence to the Catholic faith, and may thus be considered as having prepared the fall of the Stuart dynasty. A second treaty, intended to be made public when the war should break out, and relating therefore only to the affairs of Holland, was signed on the 31st of the following December by Colbert de Croissi and those of Charles's ministers who were not in the secret of his contemplated apostasy.[29]

[28] The Lords Arlington and Arundel, Sir Thomas Clifford, and R. Bellings. This secret treaty, which was in the possession of the Clifford family, was first published by Dr. Lingard, by permission of Lord Clifford, in 1830. It will be found in his *Hist. of England*, vol. ix. App. note B. (ed. 1849). By subsequent agreements the English share of the Dutch conquests was to be augmented by the Isles of Voorne and Goree, thus giving England the command of the Scheldt and the Maes.

[29] By this treaty Charles was to receive five million livres instead of three; but in a secret article, unknown to Buckingham, it was acknowledged that two of these were the price of his conversion. Lingard, vol. ix. p. 185.

Louis was in hopes to have begun the war in the spring of 1671, but the state of his negociations in Germany and elsewhere induced him to put it off till the following year. In order to facilitate his attack on the United Netherlands he had seized the duchy of Lorraine (September 1670). The restless Duke Charles IV. had afforded the French King a pretext for this aggression by having, in contravention of the treaty of the Pyrenees, revoked his engagement that his dominions should fall to France after his death; as well as by levying troops, fortifying several places, and contracting alliances without the knowledge of the King.[30] The occupation of Lorraine caused a great sensation in Europe, and especially among the Dutch, to whom it presaged the coming storm. The acquisition was of great importance to France not only from its magnitude, but also strategically, as the communication between the Netherlands and Franche Comté was thus intercepted. Charles IV., who was closely connected with the imperial family, fled to Vienna, and afterwards served against Louis in the Dutch war. Leopold addressed to the French Court some remonstrances in his favour; but though this occurrence produced for some time a coldness between the Emperor and Louis, it did not eventually put an end to the good understanding which we have already mentioned as subsisting between them at this period, the origin of which we must now relate.

Leopold had married Margaret Theresa, a younger daughter of Philip IV. of Spain, who, like her sister, Maria Theresa, the Queen of France, had been compelled to renounce all claims to the Spanish succession. Leopold, therefore, was much in the same condition with respect to this inheritance as Louis; who, on the strength of this circumstance, had, early in 1667, made proposals to the Emperor for dividing between them the dominions of Spain in the event of the death, without issue, of the sickly young monarch Don Carlos II. Another object of Louis in these negociations was to prevent the Emperor from interfering in his designs upon the Spanish Netherlands. Leopold could not consistently dispute the asserted invalidity of the renunciation made by the Queen of France and at the same time maintain the nullity of that of his own consort; and as he was at that time governed by his minister, Auersberg, who was in the pay of Louis, he was easily induced to enter into the views of the French monarch. In January 1668, a secret treaty was accordingly concluded at Vienna with Gremonville, the French ambassador; by which it was agreed that in the event already specified, the Emperor should

[30] *Theatrum Europ.*, t. x. pt. ii. p. 347.

have Spain, except Navarre and Rosas, the Milanese, certain places in Tuscany, the Balearic Isles, Sardinia, the Canaries, and the Spanish West India possessions; whilst Louis's share was to be the Catholic Netherlands, Franche Comté, Navarre, Rosas, Oran, Melilla, Ceuta, &c. in Africa, the two Sicilies, and the Philippine Isles.[31] Soon after this treaty, Auersberg was dismissed from Leopold's service, his subserviency to France having become only too manifest by the attempt of Louis to procure for him a cardinal's hat from Pope Clement X. His successor, Lobkowitz, was however, equally sold to Louis; and down to that monarch's actual invasion of Holland, and in fact till 1674, no step was taken by Leopold to oppose the progress of the French. The leagues of the Emperor in January and June 1672, with the Electors of Mentz, Trèves, Saxony and Brandenburg, Brunswick Lüneburg, Hesse Cassel, and other German Powers, as well as Denmark, were purely defensive, and to prevent the Empire from being attacked; and though an Austrian force under Montecuculi was sent to the Rhine in June, Gremonville was assured that it would not act offensively. Indeed, the true politics of Lobkowitz and the Imperial Court at this juncture are shown by another treaty with France, November 1st 1671; by which it was agreed that neither the Emperor nor the French King should support the other's enemies; and that Leopold should not interfere in any war arising out of the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and carried on without the boundaries of the Empire.[32]

It was manifest from this treaty that any coolness between the two Powers was now at an end, and that Louis had nothing to apprehend from the Emperor in his enterprise against the Dutch. The position of most of the other German Powers was equally encouraging to Louis. The Elector of Bavaria was entirely in the interests of France. The ill state of health of the Emperor Leopold had caused Louis to imagine that the imperial crown, as well as that of Spain, would soon be vacant; the Elector had promised the French King his vote, and in 1670, a secret treaty had been concluded between them, the main feature of which was a marriage between the Dauphin and the Elector's daughter. The Elector Palatine followed this example, and was recompensed for his adherence to France by the marriage of his daughter to the King's brother the Duke of Orléans; whose consort Henrietta had expired soon after her visit to Dover. The Duke of Hanover and the

[31] Mignet, t. ii. p. 441 sqq. This treaty is not in the usual collections; but it is avowed by Louis himself in a *Mém. d'Instruction* to the Marquis d'Harcourt. See Garden, *Hist. des Traités*, t. ii. p. 190.

[32] *Theatrum Europ.*, t. xi. p. 37.

Bishop of Osnaburg espoused Louis's cause so warmly that they granted him the exclusive right to levy troops in their dominions. The Elector of Cologne and the Bishop of Münster, with a view to self-interest, were still more ardent in his cause. They drew closer their former relations with France by a new treaty in January 1672; by which the Elector engaged to aid the King against the Dutch with an army of 18,000 men for a subsidy of 8000 crowns a month, and in consideration of a sum of 400,000 livres to admit a French garrison into Neuss. The Bishop promised to unite his forces with those of the Elector, and both were to receive a share of the future conquests. Among the German princes, the politic Elector Frederick William of Brandenburg seemed to hang doubtful as to which side he should favour. In December 1669, he had concluded a treaty with Louis, by which he agreed not to join the Triple Alliance, and to support the King's claims to the Spanish Netherlands; but he would make no promise with regard to Holland. The ruin of that republic appeared to him to be too great a peril both for Protestantism and for Germany to be ventured on. Yet he had not much reason to be satisfied with the Dutch, who withheld from him Wesel, Rees, Emmerich, and two or three other places in the Duchy of Clèves, which they had taken from the Spaniards during the Thirty Years' War; while Louis endeavoured to entice him to their ruin by the most tempting offers. The French King proposed that the Dutch Republic should be dissolved; that France should take the provinces to the west of the Meuse; that the Elector of Brandenburg should have Gelderland and Zutphen; the Elector of Cologne Utrecht, Münster, and Ober Yssel; the Duke of Luneburg Friesland; the Duke of Neuburg Gröningen; while Holland and Zealand were to fall to the House of Orange; and all these provinces were to form a Confederate State.[33] But Frederick William was not to be dazzled; and eventually he threw in his lot with the Dutch, by concluding with them, in April 1672, the Treaty of Cologne-sur-Sprée. By this treaty he engaged to assist them with 20,000 men.

Among the few German potentates adverse to France, the Elector of Mentz took the leading part. This prince had formerly been a warm friend of that country, and had been the principal agent in establishing the Rhenish League; but when the War of Devolution made him better acquainted with the views of Louis, he altered his politics; and it was through his influence that the

[33] Puffendorf, *De. Reb. Gest. Frid. Wilh.*, lib. xi. § 5.

League had been dissolved in January 1668.[34] He succeeded in negociating an alliance concluded at Marienburg in 1672, with the Electors of Trèves and Saxony and the Margrave of Baireuth, which was also joined by the Emperor. This league, however, was a purely defensive one; the whole force which it proposed to raise did not much exceed 10,000 men, to guard the Empire from attack; and thus even the Bishop of Münster, though leagued with the French against the Dutch, conceived himself at liberty to join it.

Secure on the side of England and Germany, Sweden was the only other Power that Louis was desirous of gaining. As Denmark was the firm ally of the States-General, and as the posture of the Elector of Brandenburg became every day more hostile to France, it became highly important to Louis to secure the friendship of the Swedish Government. With that needy but ambitious Power, money was the grand instrument of negociation. When in 1667, France ceased to pay Sweden the subsidies stipulated under the treaty of January 1663, she abandoned, as we have seen, her ancient ally, and attached herself to England and the Dutch. The offer of 400,000 rix dollars in ready money, and a yearly subsidy of 600,000 during the war, sufficed to gain her back to France. The Treaty of Stockholm, concluded April 14th 1672,[35] purported to be for the maintenance of the Peace of Westphalia, of which the two contracting Powers were guarantees; but the secret articles showed that it was directed against the Dutch, as Sweden engaged to assist Louis in case he should be attacked by the Emperor, or any German Power, during his war with the United Netherlands.

While thus abandoned by almost all the world, the Dutch fixed their chief hopes of support in an alliance with the Spaniards, their ancient masters and oppressors. A revolution had now taken place in the Spanish Government. The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle and the acknowledgment of Portuguese independence had excited great indignation against the Regent and her Jesuit minister; and Don John of Austria availed himself of this feeling to drive Niethard from power. Don John had been appointed

[34] It was the Elector of Mentz who attempted to divert Louis from his enterprise against the United Netherlands, by a counter-project for the conquest of Egypt; a scheme which had originated in the fertile brain of the celebrated philosopher Leibnitz, then a young man of five-and-twenty. The Elector sent Leibnitz to Paris to persuade Louis to engage in it; but the French King could not be induced to leave his destined prey for so distant and doubtful an undertaking. See Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. iv. S. 427 f.

[35] Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p. 166. The treaty was for three years, and was renewed in April 1675. *Ibid.* p. 291. Sweden engaged to act in Pomerania with 16,000 men against those who should assist the Dutch, that is against Denmark and Brandenburg. The secret articles are in Puffendorf, *De Reb. Frid. Wilh.*, lib. xi. § 35.

governor of the Spanish Netherlands during the French aggression, and was on the point of embarking at Coruña when the news of the arrest and execution of one of his adherents led him to return towards Madrid. The Queen, however, forbade him to approach that capital, and directed him to retire to his seat at Consuegra. Niethard, on pretence that Don John had formed a conspiracy against his life, sent a party of cavalry to arrest the Prince in this retirement; but he succeeded in escaping into Aragon, where having collected a body of 700 determined followers, he advanced to Torrejo, within a few leagues of Madrid, and dictated to the Queen the dismissal of her Confessor. Such was Niethard's unpopularity, that even this small force enabled Don John to effect his object, especially as he was supported by several members of the Council; and, in spite of the tears and entreaties of the Queen, her minister was compelled to retire to Rome (Feb. 1669). Don John, however, was not admitted to a share of the government. Niethard was succeeded by another favourite, Don Fernando de Valenzuela, a gentleman of Granada; but the ambition of Don John was appeased with the viceroyalties of Aragon and Catalonia. It was this new government which, in December 1671, concluded at the Hague a treaty of alliance with the States.[36]

Louis, besides the formidable combination which he had organised against the Dutch, endeavoured also to promote the success of his enterprise by fomenting their intestine dissensions, and exciting the Orange party against De Witt. Six of the United Provinces were for appointing William III., who had now attained the age of twenty-one, Captain-General for life; a step which they thought might conciliate his uncle, Charles II., and avert a war with England. But the inflexible De Witt would not consent. He would only agree that the Prince should be named Captain-General for the ensuing campaign, and that with very limited power. The province of Holland would not even go so far, and delayed the Prince's nomination till November 1672, when he would complete his twenty-second year. It cannot be denied that the subsequent misfortunes of the Republic must in a great measure be attributed to De Witt. The Dutch army was in a sad condition. Officers had been forbidden to enter foreign service, and thus from the long peace by land, were entirely without experience. Promotion was obtained not through service but favour. Most of the soldiers were foreigners, discipline was neglected, and the fortresses and magazines were ill supplied and suffered to go to decay. The blame of these things must attach to De Witt.[37]

[36] Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p. 155.

[37] Van Kampen, B. ii. S. 228.

The navy, on the other hand, owing to the care of De Ruyter, was in excellent condition.

De Witt could not persuade himself till the last moment that Louis was in earnest in his preparations. On December 10th 1671, the States-General addressed to the French King a most submissive letter, in which they told him they could not believe he meant to turn his arms against his ancient and most faithful allies; they protested that they had not voluntarily infringed the treaty of 1662; they offered to redress any inadvertent breaches of it, and to give His Majesty all the satisfaction he could reasonably require. They even instructed their ambassador, Van Groot, son of the illustrious Grotius, to tell the King that he had only to say the word, and the United Provinces would disarm; an action which would display the King's grandeur in a fairer light than the most complete success of his arms. Louis's reply was haughty and menacing. He contested the title which the States had given themelves of his "faithful" allies; he reproached them with their diplomatic intrigues against France, as well as with their hostile tariffs. He even seemed to affect a great condescension in having replied to their letter; "which," he added, "seems not so much written for us, as to excite against our interests those princes in whose courts it has been made public before we could receive it."[38]

On the 6th of April following, Louis published his declaration of war. He alleged no specific cause for hostilities, which indeed was out of his power. He spoke only in general terms of the ingratitude of the Dutch for the benefits they had received from his forefathers, and asserted that his "glory" would not permit him any longer to dissemble the indignation which their conduct had raised in him.[39] The English declaration of war had preceded by a few days that of Louis (March 29th). There was an attempt in it to specify some grievances, but their flimsiness was as transparent as that of the French manifesto. It alleged some oppressions of Charles's subjects in India, the detention of some Englishmen in Surinam; the refusal of the Dutch fleet to strike their colours to an English yacht which had on board the wife of Temple, the ambassador; and certain abusive pictures, which turned out to be a portrait of De Witt's brother, the admiral Cornelius, with a view of the burning of Chatham in the background. A public treaty had been signed between France and England, February 12th, which was merely a repetition of the secret treaty of December 31st 1670; except that Charles was

[38] Mignet, t. iii. p. 657 sqq. [39] *Ibid.* p. 710.

released, during the year 1672, from his obligation to furnish the French army with a corps of infantry. A few days before the declaration of war, Admiral Sir Robert Holmes had attacked the Dutch Smyrna fleet at the back of the Isle of Wight, but with such small success as was a poor compensation for this shameful breach of international law.

Early in May 1672, the French marched against the United Netherlands in three divisions. Louis himself accompanied the main division, which, under the command of Turenne and Condé, advanced to Viset on the Meuse, a place between Liége and Maestricht. The King was accompanied by Louvois, his minister of war, and Vauban the celebrated engineer. The Dutch had only about 20,000 ill-disciplined men to oppose to ten times that number of French, under generals like Condé and Turenne. It is not our intention to detail at any length the campaigns of Louis XIV. They have now lost much of their interest through the grander and more important ones of modern times; and we shall content ourselves with indicating some of the chief results. The French army, leaving Maestricht on one side, into which the Dutch had thrown a strong garrison, advanced into the duchy of Clèves, occupied with little or no resistance Orsoy, Rheinberg, Buderich and Wesel, and penetrated into the province of Gelderland. The passage of the Rhine, or Lech, at Tolhuys, June 12th, which the flatterers of Louis magnified into a grand exploit, and which was celebrated in all the forms of poetry, painting, and sculpture, has since been estimated at its true value.[40] The river, with the exception of a few yards in the middle, was fordable by cavalry, and the passage of the French was disputed only by some 1,200 men under Würz; the Prince of Orange, with the main body of the Dutch army, having retired to Utrecht. The passage cost the French only a score or two of troopers. The operation was, however, important in its consequences, since the French, with the assistance of their allies from Cologne and Münster, occupied in a few weeks the provinces of Gelderland, Utrecht, Overyssel, and part of Holland. Amsterdam itself might probably have been surprised, had Condé's bold advice been followed to direct against it a body of 6000 cavalry.

So sudden and overwhelming an invasion, which might be compared to the bursting of their dikes and irruption of the sea, filled the Hollanders with consternation. Every man, says a Dutch

[40] Napoleon characterised it as an operation of the fourth order. *Mémoires*, t. v. p. 129, ap. Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. xiii. p. 385.

[41] Valkenier, ap. Van Kampen, B. ii. S. 235.

writer, seemed to have received sentence of death.[41] Manufactures and trade were suspended; all the shops were closed, as well as the schools, universities, and courts of law; the churches alone remained open, but sufficed not to contain the anxious crowds that thronged to them. Many sent their wives and children to England, Brabant, Denmark, nay even to France, together with their treasures, which others buried. In this low ebb of their fortunes, the dejection of the Dutch prompted them to make the most submissive proposals to the conqueror, in order to secure what remained to them. The plenipotentiaries of the States-General offered to surrender to Louis Maestricht and its dependencies, together with Dutch Brabant and Flanders, and to pay him six millions for the expenses of the war. Pomponne pressed the King to accept these offers, but Louis listened in preference to the violent counsels of Louvois. By the advice of this minister, counter-proposals were made of the most extravagant nature. The cession of Dutch Brabant and Flanders was accepted; only, as the King was bound by treaty to make over Sluys and Cadsand to the English, Delfzyl and its dependencies, near the mouth of the Ems, was demanded in their stead. In like manner, instead of Maestricht, Louvois required Nimeguen and the Isles of Batavia and Bommel; that is the Lech for a frontier instead of the Meuse; a proposition which, while it was more injurious to the Dutch, was in reality less advantageous to the French. He also demanded Grave on the Meuse and the county of Meurs; and he doubled the indemnity to be paid for the expenses of the war. But more offensive to the Dutch than all these demands were others that injured their commerce, shocked their religious prejudices, and wounded their pride. The prohibitions and new customs duties on French goods were to be revoked, without any reciprocity; the public exercise of the Roman Catholic religion was to be restored throughout the United Provinces, and, in all places which had more than one church, one was to be consecrated to the Popish worship; while, in acknowledgment of the King's goodness in granting them a peace, the Dutch were to present him every year with a gold medal, bearing an inscription that they owed to him the preservation of that liberty which his predecessors had helped them to acquire.[42]

The injustice and arrogance of these demands inspired the Dutch with a resolution to defend themselves to the last extremity. They determined to pierce the dikes, and lay the country under

[42] Basnage, *Annales des Prov. Unies*, t. ii. p. 246 sqq.; Mignet, t. iv. p. 31 sqq.

water; a heavy sacrifice, but which would at least secure them till the frosts of winter. They even resolved, if these measures should prove useless, to abandon their homes, and seek in their possessions beyond the seas that civil and religious freedom which was denied to them in Europe. An account was taken of the shipping in the harbours, and it was found that they had the means of transporting 50,000 families to the East Indies.

These events were accompanied with a revolution which proved fatal to the Pensionary and his brother Cornelius. The advance of the French had roused the popular resentment against the De Witts to the highest pitch. They were denounced from the pulpits as the enemies and betrayers of their country; the Pensionary was even suspected by many to be in the pay of France. On the night of the 12th of June, he was attacked by four assassins and wounded, but not mortally, though he was obliged for some weeks, to keep his bed. Among his assailants were two sons of Van der Graaf, a member of the Council, the younger of whom was captured. Great interest was made to save his life, and it was thought that De Witt would have interceded with the judges in his favour. But it lay not in his nature. "The pardoning of such a crime," he observed, "would be followed by the worst consequences for the administration of justice. The law must take its course. Fiat justitia et pereat mundus." Young Van der Graaf was condemned and beheaded, June 29th. This last spark lighted up the train. A cry was raised in the little town of Vere in Zealand, and ran through the other provinces, that the Perpetual Edict must be abolished, and the Prince of Orange appointed Stadtholder. Cornelius de Witt, who was confined to his bed by sickness, was compelled by the people to sign the abolition of the Edict. It was abrogated by the States of Holland, July 3rd, and on the 8th of the same month, the States-General recognised William Prince of Orange as Stadtholder, Captain-General, and Admiral for life.

This revolution was soon followed by the massacre of the two De Witts. On the 24th of July, Cornelius was arrested on a charge of having plotted against the life of the Prince of Orange. The charge rested on the testimony of one Tichelaar, a barber or surgeon of Piershil, a man of infamous character, who deposed that Cornelius had attempted to bribe him to murder the Prince. Cornelius was cited before the Court of Holland, of which the father of Van der Graaf was a member, and by order of the judges was put to the rack. He endured the torture with the greatest fortitude, and displayed the unshaken constancy of his mind by

reciting an ode of Horace in praise of the just and resolute man who can alike defy the frowns of a tyrant and the iniquitous decrees of a turbulent faction ("Justum et tenacem propositi virum," &c. (Od. Lib. iii. 3.) The evidence sufficed not to condemn the Admiral, and he should therefore have been discharged, for there is no middle term between guilt and innocence; but the judges being resolved to make him a victim, deprived him of all his offices and dignities, and sentenced him to perpetual banishment. As he lay in prison he was surprised by a visit from his brother, the Pensionary. "What, you here, brother?" "Did you not send for me?" "No." "Then we are both undone." The augury was only too true. The party in power, unable to murder the De Witts judicially, had resolved to sacrifice them to the fury of the populace, and had enticed the Pensionary by a false message to share his brother's fate. The States of Holland, indeed, made a show of protecting the De Witts by a guard of cavalry; but this was soon withdrawn, and the infuriated mob broke into the prison. The two brothers were dragged into the streets and massacred; their bodies, after being mutilated in the most frightful and disgusting manner, were hanged upon the public gibbet; their hearts were torn out and put up to sale. A Gomarist preacher, Simon Simonides, presided, like a priest of Moloch, at these bloody orgies (August 20th). Thus miserably perished John De Witt, who had directed the counsels of the Dutch Republic during a period of twenty years with honest and single-minded patriotism, if not, in the last eventful crisis, with a wise and successful policy; whilst his brother Cornelius had sustained her honour upon the seas with bravery and reputation. Their murder may not be directly imputable to the Prince of Orange; but he at least accepted it, and made himself an accessory after the fact by protecting and rewarding the assassins. The Stadtholder proclaimed an amnesty; the principal leader of the riot was made mayor, or bailiff, of the Hague; and Tichelaar obtained a place and a yearly pension of 400 gilders, which was paid to him during the life of William.[43]

The Dutch entertained a hope that the appointment of the Prince of Orange as Stadtholder would disarm the anger of Charles II.; and this feeling was strengthened by the arrival of his two principal ministers, Buckingham and Arlington, at the Hague, early in July. The English ambassadors were received

[43] Basnage, *Ann. des Prov. Unies*, t. ii. p. 317; Mignet, *Succ. d'Espagne*, t. iv. p. 71; *Mém.* de Gourville (*Collect. Michaud*, 3e Série, t. v. p. 575); Van Kampen, *Gesch. der Niederlande*, B. ii. S. 246 sq.

by the people with enthusiasm and shouts of "Long live the King of England and the Prince of Orange!" But their expectations were doomed to disappointment. After an interview with William III., Buckingham and Arlington repaired to the camp of Louis, near Utrecht; and on the 16th of July, they signed a new treaty with the French King. The demands of England were as intolerable as before. Whole fleets were to strike to a single man-of-war; England was to receive an indemnity of a million sterling, and a yearly payment of 10,000*l.* for the herring fishery on the British coast; Sluys, with the Isles of Walcheren, Cadsand, Goree and Voorne, were to be made over to England as security for these conditions; and no separate peace was to be made by either Power. The Prince of Orange, whom the allies persisted in protecting in spite of himself, was to have the sovereignty, or at least the hereditary Stadtholdership, of the United Netherlands. Nor did France abate a single article of her former demands.[44] When Buckingham and Arlington again went to the Prince of Orange with these conditions, and urged him to throw himself into the arms of their King, William answered, "My country confides in me, and I will never betray it for any unworthy objects of personal ambition. If I cannot avert its ruin, I can at least defend every ditch, and I will die in the last."

The confidence of the Prince in his valour and his cause was justified by the sequel. The Republic had already passed the most alarming crisis of its fortunes. At sea, the Dutch, if not absolutely victorious, had maintained a resistance which inspired good hopes for the future. In a great action fought off Solebay, on the coast of Suffolk, May 28th, De Ruyter had engaged the combined English and French fleets a whole day, and the losses on both sides were so equally balanced that neither could claim the victory. The French, indeed, had taken but little part in the action, by the secret orders, it is supposed, of Louis; who was not displeased to let the two Maritime Powers destroy each other's forces. The landing of the English at the Texel had been subsequently hindered by an extraordinary ebb tide of twelve hours, and then by a great storm. On land, the inundations had arrested the progress of the French. On July 26th Louis had taken his departure for St. Germain, leaving Turenne in command of the army, but with instructions to attempt nothing more that year.

The successes of the French had at length awakened the Emperor from his lethargy. Leopold entered into a defensive treaty with the Elector of Brandenburg June 23rd, by which each

[44] Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p. 208

engaged to despatch 12,000 men to the Rhine.[45] Intelligence of this event, and the encouragements of the Elector, had contributed to make the Prince of Orange reject the demands of England and France. Leopold, in a treaty signed by his minister l'Isola at the Hague, July 25th 1672, and in spite of his former engagement of neutrality with France, agreed to assist the Republic, on condition of receiving a large subsidy.[46] But the Emperor was still playing a double game; and though Montecuculi was despatched with 12,000 men to join the Elector of Brandenburg, he received secret orders not to engage the French, and Leopold even assured Louis that he wished him success.[47] The advance of the Elector and the Austrians, who formed a junction at Halberstadt, September 12th, was nevertheless favourable to the Dutch by the diversion which it caused. Turenne received orders to proceed to the Rhine, and arrest the progress of the allies; and he prevented them from forming a junction with the Prince of Orange, who had advanced for that purpose to the neighbourhood of Liége. Montecuculi, in pursuance of his secret orders,[48] declined to fight, and the Elector of Brandenburg was consequently compelled to retreat beyond the Weser, abandoning to the enemy some of his Westphalian dominions. The Elector now made proposals of peace to France, and on June 16th 1673, a treaty was concluded at Vossem, near Louvain, by which Louis engaged to pay him 800,000 livres, and restored to him all his dominions, including those in the Duchy of Clèves captured from the Dutch, except Wesel, and the forts of Lippe and Rees; which were also to revert to him at the end of the war. The Elector on his side engaged not to assist the Dutch, but reserved to himself the right of taking up arms if war should be declared by the Empire.[49] Sweden had not fulfilled her engagements to France, but she offered her mediation; which led to the assembly of a Congress at Cologne in the spring of 1673; but the proceedings had no result, and even arrested not the arms of Louis, so that it is unnecessary to detail them.

Meanwhile the Stadtholder, after failing to form a junction with the Austrian and Electoral troops on the Meuse, made a bold but unsuccessful attempt on Charleroi, and then hastened back to the defence of Holland. Marshal Luxembourg had taken advantage of the frosts of winter to invade that country; but the elements again

[45] Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p. 201.

[46] *Ibid.* p. 208.

[47] Puffendorf, *Frid. Wilh.*, lib. xi. § 51.,

[48] Montecuculi was so disgusted with the orders sent by Lobkowitz, that he wrote to the court to request that, as the shortest way, he might receive his instructions direct from Paris! Puffendorf, lib. xii. § 51. Montecuculi was soon recalled at his own desire. Lobkowitz was dismissed in October 1674; after which Leopold became his own prime minister.

[49] Puffendorf, lib. xi. § 95; Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p. 234.

favoured the Dutch; a sudden thaw compelled the French to retreat. The campaign of 1673 presents little of importance except the taking of Maestricht by Louis in person, with the assistance of Vauban, June 30th; and the surrender of Trèves to the same eminent engineer and Rochefort, September 8th. Meanwhile Louis had marched into Alsace, where he occupied the ten imperial cities, and compelled them to renounce the rights guaranteed to them by the Peace of Westphalia.

A great coalition was now organised against France. On August 30th 1673, two treaties were signed at the Hague between the States, the King of Spain, and the Emperor of Germany. By the first of these treaties, Spain promised to declare war against France, and the States engaged to make no peace with that Power till she had restored to Spain all that she had seized since the Peace of the Pyrenees; failing which, the States were to cede to Spain Maestricht and the county of Vroonhove. They were likewise to endeavour at a peace with England on equitable terms; and if they did not succeed, Spain engaged to declare war against England. The Dutch were also to recover their lost possessions. By the second treaty, the Emperor was to assemble near Egra a force of 30,000 men, and march them to the Rhine; the States paying a subsidy of 45,000 rix-dollars per month, and providing on their part 20,000 men. The three confederated Powers also concluded in October a treaty with the Duke of Lorraine, by which they bound themselves to place him at the head of 18,000 men, and to restore him to his dominions.[50]

From this period the cause of the Dutch Republic began daily to look more promising. The naval war this year was decidedly in her favour. On land, the Stadtholder, after taking Naerden, September 12th, effected a junction near Bonn with the Imperialists, who, in spite of all the efforts of Turenne, had succeeded in passing the Rhine near Mentz, and taking Bonn, after a short resistance, November 12th. This was a signal advantage. The States of Cologne and Münster lay at their mercy; they established themselves along the Rhine, and thus secured the free communication of the Imperialists with the Netherlands; whilst Turenne was compelled to fall back on the Sarre. The French were now obliged to evacuate Holland, which was effected in the winter and spring, 1673—74. Of all their conquests they retained only Grave and Maestricht.

The Prince of Orange on his return was received in triumph by the Dutch. Early in February 1674 he was proclaimed hereditary

[50] Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p. 244 sq.

Stadtholder and Captain-General of Holland and Zealand, though the succession was limited to his male heirs; an example which was soon followed by Utrecht, Gelderland and Overyssel. These honours were granted to William in order to smooth the way to a peace with England, which was effected the same month. The war was very unpopular in England. The King could obtain no grants from the Parliament, whose suspicions had been further excited by the recent marriage of the Duke of York with a princess of Modena, a niece of Mazarine's. Louis XIV. had been the chief author of this marriage, and had bestowed a large dowry upon the bride. Charles II. made the best excuses he could to his patron Louis for his defection; but he had, in fact, no alternative, and was compelled to accept the Treaty of Westminster, February 19th 1674. By this treaty the States engaged to salute the British flag between the limits of Cape Finisterre in Spain and Van Staten in Norway, and to pay 800,000 crowns for the expenses of the war. Conquests were to be restored on both sides, and the disputes that had arisen in the East Indies were to be adjudicated by a Commission.[51] The example of England was soon after followed by the Bishops of Münster and Cologne.

While Louis was thus deserted one by one by his allies, the Empire was rousing itself to more vigorous action against him. The immediate occasion of this was an occurrence that took place at Cologne. The harsh proceedings of the French King towards the Alsatian cities, as well as other parts of his conduct, were ascribed to the advice of his pensioner, William von Fürstenberg, who was assisting at the congress of Cologne as plenipotentiary of the Elector. The congress rendered that city neutral ground; in spite of which the Emperor caused Fürstenberg to be arrested by some Austrian troops as he was returning from a visit on the evening of February 4th 1674, and he was carried off to Wiener-Neustadt. France and Sweden loudly exclaimed against this proceeding as a violation of the rights of nations; whereupon their envoys were directed to leave the town, and the congress was dissolved. This event put an end to what good understanding remained between the Emperor and the King of France. Leopold complained of the conduct of the French to the Diet at Ratisbon, and though Gravel, the French envoy there, used every endeavour to bring the German States back to their former dependence on France, yet so much was the position of affairs altered by the late occurrences, that the Emperor was able to dismiss Gravel from the Assembly, and in spite of the opposition of the Elector of Bavaria,

[51] Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p. 253.

several German princes gave in their adhesion to the Emperor and joined the league of the Hague. In June, Leopold made a formal declaration of war against France, and thus enabled the Elector of Brandenburg to join the league (July 1st); that prince, as we have said, having made a special reservation in the Treaty of Vossem for such a contingency.

Louis now found himself, with Sweden alone, opposed to the greater part of Europe. The campaign of 1674, however, went in favour of the French. Louis in person entered Franche Comté, and in the months of May and June again reduced that province. It was never afterwards separated from France, and the Jura henceforward formed the French frontier on the east. Meanwhile Turenne was holding the Imperialists in check by a series of brilliant manœuvres on the Rhine. By his victory at Sintzheim, June 16th, he compelled them to retreat beyond the Neckar. He then entered and ravaged the dominions of the Elector Palatine, who had joined the Imperial League; when his troops, enraged at the murder and mutilation of some of their comrades by the peasants, burnt seven-and-twenty towns and villages in the Palatinate.[52] The Elector, who, from his palace at Heidelberg, was a spectator of this calamity, addressed a letter to Turenne, in which he upbraided him with his barbarity and challenged him to single combat; from which Turenne was deterred by the commands of his sovereign. His subsequent campaign in Alsace has been reckoned his masterpiece. By his victory at Entzheim, October 4th, he saved that province from the grasp of the Imperialists; and subsequently, by a combination of the most skilful operations executed in mid-winter, and concluded by the battle of Türckheim, January 5th 1675, he compelled them totally to evacuate it. The Elector of Brandenburg was now forced to separate from the allies and march to the relief of his own dominions, which, as will be related in another chapter, had been occupied by the Swedes. Churchill, afterwards the renowned Duke of Marlborough, served in this campaign under Turenne, as colonel of one of the English regiments in the French service, and learnt some useful lessons in the school of so consummate a master. Meanwhile, in the Netherlands, the war had been carried on between the Stadtholder and Condé with

[52] M. Martin asserts, after De Buisson, *Vie de Turenne*, p. 364 sq. (ed. Cologne, 1687), that these excesses were committed by the *English* companies in the service of France (*Hist. de France*, t. xiii. p. 447). But Turenne himself, in his answer to the Palatine, ascribes them to *his* soldiers. The memory of that great commander must not, however, be loaded with a crime which he was unable to prevent; though he was remotely the cause of it, by consuming, for strategical reasons, all the provisions of the country, and thus driving the peasantry to desperation.

nearly balanced success. At the bloody battle of Senef, fought on August 11th, neither commander could claim the victory, and nothing of much importance was done during the remainder of the campaign.

In the spring of 1675 the struggle was again resumed on the Rhine between Turenne and Montecuculi, where both generals displayed all the resources of their skill. But the career of Turenne was brought to a close before he could fight any decisive action. He had made all his arrangements for a battle near the pass of Sassbach, in the Duchy of Baden, and was reconnoitring the enemy's position, when he was killed by a cannon-ball, July 27th.[53] The dejection and despair of the French at the loss of their great commander was uncontrollable. It was followed by their immediate retreat, and Montecuculi was enabled to cross the Rhine and enter Alsace. Condé was now ordered to assume the command in Alsace, as being the only general worthy to succeed Turenne. He contented himself, however, with remaining on the defensive, and succeeded, without fighting a single battle, in holding Montecuculi in check till November, when the Imperialists retired into winter quarters beyond the Rhine. This was the last campaign both of Montecuculi and Condé, who were compelled to retire from service by a more obstinate and irresistible enemy than they had hitherto encountered—the gout.

The fifth year of the war, 1676, was more remarkable for its naval engagements than for those on land. After the peace between England and the United Netherlands, the French, despairing of encountering the Dutch upon the seas on anything like equal terms, had withdrawn into their harbours, and contented themselves with remaining on the defensive. They were induced by a revolution in Sicily to alter this policy. The inhabitants of Messina, exasperated by the oppressions of the Spanish Government, had revolted in the summer of 1674, and invoked the aid of France, which was accorded by Louis. The French made great efforts to retain so important a position as the Straits of Messina; they defeated all the attempts of the Spaniards to regain possession of that city, and even extended their occupation in its neighbourhood. At length, towards the end of December 1675, a Dutch fleet under De Ruyter arrived to the assistance of their allies the Spaniards, and a desperate but indecisive action took place, January 8th, off the Lipari Isles, between the combined fleets and the French under Duquesne. On the 22nd of April 1676 another engagement was fought near Catania with the same result, except that the death of

[53] The shot is said to have been directed by Prince Hermann of Baden, who had recognised Turenne. Basnage, t. ii. p. 616.

the gallant De Ruyter might be considered equivalent to a victory. A cannon-ball carried away the left foot and shattered the right leg of the veteran admiral, as he was giving his orders on the quarter-deck. He died of his wounds a few days after at Syracuse.[54] In a third naval action off Palermo, June 2nd, the French gained a complete victory; they now remained masters of the seas, and the allied fleet was compelled to take refuge at Naples.

The campaigns of 1676 and the following year present but little that is remarkable, and we shall therefore forbear to detail them. They were conducted on the part of the French by the Duke of Luxembourg, Marshals Créqui, Schomberg and D'Estrades, besides Louis XIV. himself, and were on the whole in favour of that monarch. Valenciennes, Cambrai, St. Omer, and Freiburg in the Breisgau were taken. The Stadtholder, while hastening to the relief of St. Omer, sustained a complete defeat at the hands of the Duke of Orléans and Luxembourg, April 11th 1677. By these conquests the Spanish Netherlands had been deprived of nearly all their frontier fortresses. Nothing of this kind remained to them but Mons and Namur on the land side, and Ostend and Nieuport on the sea; the rest of the towns were incapable of defence. These events could not but have a considerable influence on the negociations at Nimeguen, where a congress had been assembled under the mediation of the English King. Charles had again become the pensioner of France. Unable to procure any money from his Parliament, he had at length listened to the temptations of Ruvigni, the French ambassador; and in February 1676 had signed a secret treaty, by which, as the price of his neutrality, he consented to accept from Louis a yearly subsidy.[55] This bargain presented a serious obstacle to the scheme of the Prince of Orange to draw Charles into an offensive alliance against France. Although the Dutch, alarmed by the conquests of the French, were very desirous of peace, the fall of Cambrai, the defeat of the Stadtholder, and the surrender of St. Omer had a precisely reverse effect in England, and roused a cry for war which Charles had some difficulty to resist. Spain and the Emperor on one side, France on the other, competed with one another to buy the votes of members of Parliament.[56] The Commons were capricious as well as venal. They pressed the King to declare war against France, yet withheld the means to carry it on. Charles, on his side, got rid of their importunities by repeated adjournments, in consideration of which he

[54] Brandt, *De Ruyter*, p. 688 sqq.

[55] Dalrymple, *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. i. p. 57 and p. 140 sqq.

[56] See Lingard's *Hist. of England*, vol. ix. ch. 5. The price of a patriot seems then to have been from 300*l.* to 500*l*

obtained from Louis an addition of 200,000*l.* to his pension. Meanwhile the French King was endeavouring to detach the Dutch from their allies, and to effect with them a separate peace; but though the States-General and the Dutch people were inclined to such a course, William was for carrying on the war and adhering to his engagements with the Emperor and Spain; and with this view he resolved to make a closer alliance with England, and, if possible, to draw that Power into the war. He now made proposals for the hand of the Princess Mary, eldest daughter of the Duke of York, which he had declined three years before. His advances were at first received with coldness, but were ultimately accepted, and he was invited into England, though on condition that he should leave the country before the Parliament met. The marriage was arranged at Newmarket and solemnised in November 1677. The careless Charles let slip the opportunity of compelling the Prince to accede to his views respecting a peace; but in the conferences which ensued, the basis of a treaty was agreed upon. The territory of France was to remain *in statu quo* with regard to Spain, and she would thus retain possession of Franche Comté besides the places which she had conquered in the Spanish Netherlands, with the exception of Ath, Charleroi, Oudenarde, Courtrai, Tournai, Condé, and Valenciennes; which places were to be restored to Spain in order that they might form a barrier between France and the Dutch Republic. The Duke of Lorraine was to be reinstated in his dominions, and the Dutch and French were mutually to restore their conquests. Thus Holland was to be saved at the expense of Spain.

Charles II. had thus exchanged the character of a mediator for that of an arbiter, and taken upon himself to dictate terms to the monarch whose pay he was receiving. Louis endeavoured to soften these demands, but meanwhile prepared for a winter campaign and took St. Ghislain. The pride of Charles was offended by these proceedings, and he resorted to some vigorous steps, which surprised the Prince of Orange as well as Louis. He broke his secret compact with France by summoning the Parliament to meet in January, though he had agreed to adjourn it till April; and he followed up this measure by proposing to his nephew an offensive alliance against France. The Stadtholder joyfully accepted so unlooked-for a proposal, and on January 10th 1678 a treaty was signed at the Hague between England and the States-General, with a view to compel France to a peace nearly on the conditions already mentioned.[57] Louis in alarm immediately recalled his

[57] Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p 341.

ships and troops from Sicily, which were now exposed to the risk of being cut off by the English and Dutch fleets; abandoning without remorse the Messinese, whose rebellion he had encouraged, to the fate they might expect at the hands of their Spanish tyrants. He also suspended Charles's pension, though he endeavoured to bribe the English monarch, but without effect, to abandon the demand for Condé, Valenciennes, and Tournai. Encouraged by the exhortations of his brother and his minister Danby, who were for war, Charles displayed for some time an unwonted firmness. He recalled the English regiments in the service of France, made vigorous preparations for war, and with the permission of the Spaniards occupied Ostend with a garrison of 3000 men. The French King on his side had not been idle. In the midst of winter he threatened the whole frontier of the Netherlands, from Luxembourg to Ypres, (February 1678); then suddenly concentrating his forces, he appeared unexpectedly before Ghent, and compelled that town to surrender (March 11th); thus opening up a road into the Dutch territories. Ypres soon after also surrendered to the French. Louis had tampered with the opposition party in the English Parliament; supplies were refused, and Charles found himself drifting into a war with France without the means to carry it on. In these circumstances, he again threw himself into the arms of Louis, and concluded with that monarch, May 27th, another secret treaty, by which, in consideration of receiving six million livres, he agreed to withdraw his forces from the continent, except the garrison in Ostend, unless the States-General accepted within two months the *ultimatum* which Louis had recently offered at Nimeguen, as the basis of a general peace. The terms were: the satisfaction of Sweden and her ally the Duke of Holstein Gottorp; the release of Prince Fürstenberg, and his restoration in his estates and dignities; the entire re-establishment of the Peace of Westphalia, the Emperor either restoring Philipsburg, which he had taken, or ceding Freiburg; the restitution to Spain of Charleroi, Limburg, Binch, Ath, Oudenarde, Courtrai, Ghent, and St. Ghislain, in order to form the barrier desired by the Dutch; Spain in her turn ceding Franche Comté, Valenciennes, Bouchain Condé, Cambrai, Aire, St. Omer, Ypres, Cassel, and other places in what was afterwards called French Flanders; Maestricht and its dependencies to be restored to the Dutch, who were, however, to make it over to Spain; and lastly, the restoration of the Duchy of Lorraine.[58]

A peace was on the point of being concluded on these conditions,

[58] Mignet, *Succ. d'Espagne*, t. iv. p. 550.

when the negociations were again interrupted, by Louis signifying that he should not restore to Spain the towns in the Netherlands till his ally the King of Sweden had been reinstated in his possessions in Germany which he had lost during the war. This demand produced an immediate reaction in England and Holland. Charles again prepared for war; the English army in Flanders was reinforced, and on the 26th of July a fresh treaty was signed between England and the States, by which they engaged to declare war against France, unless Louis should agree to restore to Spain the towns in question, without any reference to the affairs of Sweden, before the 11th of August, on which day the truce between France and the Republic would expire. Louis was extricated from this embarrassment by the Swedes themselves, who declared they should be satisfied if the States-General engaged no longer to assist their enemies; and on the night of August 10th, the PEACE OF NIMEGUEN was signed.[59] All that Holland lost in a war that had threatened to annihilate her, were her settlements in Senegal and Guiana, which had been taken by the French.

The delay of the French ministers in not signing the treaty till the very last hour, produced a collision between the Stadtholder and the Duke of Luxemboturg, by which much blood was needlessly spilt. The Prince of Orange had advanced with his army and his English reinforcements to the relief of Mons, which place had been blockaded by the French since the winter, and was in a state of great distress. On the 14th of August he attacked Luxembourg's army, when a furious and sanguinary battle ensued, which was put an end to only by the night. William protested that he had received no intelligence of the signature of the treaty till the following day; but though it may be true that it was not *officially* notified to him till the 15th, he could hardly have been ignorant of it; and at all events he was bound to wait for certain intelligence that the treaty had not been concluded. It may be suspected that he was not unwilling to frustrate the peace; but as the treaty was favourable to France, no notice was taken of the occurrence.[60]

Spain acceded to the peace September 17th, by a treaty signed at Nimeguen, on the conditions, with little variation, proposed by Louis in the *ultimatum* already mentioned.[61] The Cabinet of

[59] The treaty is in Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p. 350. It was in French, which language was now almost generally substituted for Latin in diplomatic transactions. Hence from courts it passed into society, and became naturalised in all countries. See Garden, *Hist. des Traités*, t. ii.

[60] On this affair see Basnage, t. ii. p. 941; Temple's *Memoirs* (*Works*, vol. ii. p. 456); *Mémoires de Gourville* (*Coll. Michaud*, 3d Sér. t. v. p. 575).

[61] Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p. 365.

Madrid wished to delay the ratification till the Emperor should also have made his peace; but were compelled by the threats of Louis, who put his troops in motion and menaced Brussels, to ratify the treaty, December 15th. Louis was now in a condition to dictate to the Emperor and his allies almost what terms he pleased, especially as the campaign of 1678 had been unfavourable to the Austrian arms. On the 5th of February 1679, a treaty was signed between France and the Emperor on the basis of that of Münster. The Duke of Lorraine, now Charles V., was restored to his dominions, but on the most onerous conditions. He was obliged to exchange Nanci and Longwi against Toul, and Louis reserved four military roads, each half a league broad, through his dominions. The Duke of Lorraine protested against the articles, and rather than accept them became a voluntary exile. The Emperor consented that the King of France should compel the princes of North Germany to make satisfaction to Sweden, and should retain for that purpose a chain of posts in the Rhenish provinces to assure the march of his armies. But the pacification of Northern Europe belongs to another branch of our subject, and we shall return to it in a future chapter.

The Peace of Nimeguen is the culminating point of Louis XIV.'s glory. But France now became the object of a jealousy excited by the pride of Louis, the pernicious counsels of Louvois, and the natural restlessness of the French people; which after some time produced misfortunes that embittered the last days of the French monarch with repentance and regret.

CHAPTER IV.

We shall now advert to the affairs of the Austrian dominions and of the eastern nations of Europe.

The comparative feebleness into which the Turkish Empire was sunk, as well as its war with Venice, which had been going on since 1645,[1] had for many years relieved Austria from all apprehension of attack from that quarter; but in 1656 the appointment of Mahomet Köprili as Grand Vizier infused more vigour into the counsels of the Porte. The youthful Sultan, Mahomet IV., and the Sultana Valide, allowed Köprili an almost unlimited power; and though that remarkable man was more than seventy years old, and had not performed during his long life any memorable action, yet he discharged his high office during the five years that he held it with distinguished ability and success, and at his death transmitted his power to his son. Under the administration of Mahomet Köprili, the Turks began again to interfere in the affairs of Transylvania (1658). The Voyvode, George Ragotski II., their tributary, having shown symptoms of insubordination, the Porte resolved to set up Barcsai, a creature of its own, in his place, and to increase the yearly tribute from 15,000 ducats to 40,000. Ragotski, after resisting a year or two, was defeated by the Turks in a battle near Klausenburg, in May 1660, and received a wound of which he died. In the following August the Turks captured Great Waradin, one of the strongest fortresses on the borders of Hungary and Transylvania.

The Cabinet of Vienna, though alarmed by the progress of the Turkish arms, was unwilling to break with the Porte, and had even commanded the Hungarian Count Zrinyi to desist from the attempts at resistance which he had made on his own account. But the progress of events at length compelled the Emperor Leopold to take a direct part in the war. Peter Kemeni having been elected Voyvode of Transylvania under the imperial auspices, and having murdered Barcsai, the *protégé* of the Porte, the latter caused Michael Apafy to be elected in his place. The Viennese Cabinet, after some vain attempts at negociation, despatched

[1] See Vol. II. p. 621.]

some forces under Montecuculi and Count Stahremberg into Hungary (1661), but with strict orders not to attack the Turks; and all that Montecuculi effected was to supply Kemeni, who had shut himself up in Klausenburg, with troops and provisions. In the ensuing winter Kemeni made an attempt to seize Apafy at Mediasch; but the Turks having come to Apafy's aid, defeated Kemeni and killed him in his flight.[2]

Mahomet Köprili had expired November 1st 1661, and was succeeded in his high office by his son Achmet, then thirty years of age. This transmission of power from father to son was a thing unheard of in the Turkish annals, and seemed to recall the reign of the Mayors of the Palace in France during the Merovingian dynasty. The administration of Mahomet Köprili had revived in a remarkable degree the strength of the Ottoman Empire: he had firmly established his power in the Seraglio, and by measures of great severity had reduced the rebellious Sipahis and Janissaries to order and obedience. From his first accession to office, Achmet Köprili was resolved on a war with the Emperor; but in order to make the requisite preparations, he encouraged the attempts of the Imperial Cabinet at negociation. Leopold refused to recognise Apafy, the creature of the Porte, as Voyvode of Transylvania, who had abandoned great part of that province to the Turks, and had promised to assist them against the Emperor; but at the same time the Imperial Cabinet, in the vain hope of solving the question by diplomacy, refused all active assistance to Kemeni's brother Peter. Even in the spring of 1663, when Achmet Köprili was pressing forward with a vast army to Buda, the imperial plenipotentiaries were seeking to arrest his march by new negociations; but the terms he proposed were too arrogant and insulting to digest. He demanded an indemnity of 2,000,000 florins for the expense of arming, the evacuation of several fortresses, the renewal of the ancient tribute abolished by the Peace of Sitvatorok, and free passage for the Turkish troops into Dalmatia and other places belonging to the Venetians.

The Cabinet of Vienna began at last to perceive the fatal error it had committed in not providing the means of resistance. To the Turkish army of 200,000 men Montecuculi could oppose but a very small force. The Hungarians themselves could not agree as to the means of defence. The Protestant part of that people were even in favour of the Turks, who treated them with politic consideration; while the Imperial Court, under the influence of the

[2] The chief sources for these affairs are Engel, *Gesch. des Ungarischen Reichs*; Katona, *Hist. Hungariæ Ducum*; *Mém. de Montecuculi*; Wagner, *Hist. Leopoldi*.

Jesuits, displayed towards them nothing but intolerance. Count Forgacz, commandant of Neuhaüsel, who had marched out to oppose the Turks, was defeated by them at Barkan, or Parkany; and though he contrived to defend Neuhaüsel for six weeks, he was at length compelled to surrender it by capitulation (September 24th 1663).

The fall of Neuhaüsel was followed by that of several other fortresses, and it was the common opinion that in the following spring Köprili would appear before Vienna. In spite of all Montecuculi's exertions, a body of 25,000 Turks and Tartars crossed the Waag into Moravia, threatened Nikolsburg, Brünn, and Rabensburg, and penetrated almost to Olmütz, committing in their progress the most horrible barbarities. It was even with some difficulty that Montecuculi succeeded in defending Pressburg. Meanwhile a Diet had assembled at Ratisbon; and in December the Emperor went thither in person, to reanimate their deliberations, and urge them to provide an adequate defence against so urgent a danger. The Diet voted on the part of the Empire an army of 42,000 foot and 14,000 horse, to be commanded by the Margrave Leopold William of Baden; which, added to the troops of the Austrian hereditary dominions, constituted a force of more than 80,000 men. Louis XIV. supplied from the army of Italy 6000 men under Count Saligni, as the contingent for Alsace; and Sweden sent 3500 men, besides its *quota* for the states it held in Germany. The Pope, and the Italian princes and republics, also furnished the Emperor with liberal contributions in money.

Montecuculi was thus enabled to take the field in 1664 with more prospect of success; and though the first operations of the campaign were in favour of the Turks, he at length arrested their progress by the memorable battle near St. Gothard (August 1st), a Cistercian convent on the borders of Hungary and Styria. Montecuculi having given the word "Death or victory," the Christians, contrary to their usual practice, charged without waiting to be attacked; the Turks were routed and thrown into a disorderly flight, in which more than 10,000 of them were slain or drowned in the Raab.[3] But instead of pursuing this advantage, which seemed to open the road to the most extensive conquests, the Imperial Cabinet surprised all Europe by seizing the occasion to make peace with the Porte. On August 10th, only a few days after the battle of St. Gothard, a treaty was concluded at Vasvar for a twenty years' truce. The Emperor abandoned to the Turks all their conquests, which included the fortresses of Great Waradin and Neuhaüsel; he withdrew his support from the party of

[3] Katona, t. xxxiii. p. 518 sqq.; Montecuculi, *Mémoires*, liv. iii. p. 445 sqq.

Ragotski and Kemeni, thus abandoning Transylvania to Apafy, the nominee of the Porte; and he made the Sultan *a present*—in other words, paid him a tribute—of 200,000 florins.[4]

This treaty caused universal dissatisfaction. The Germans complained of the Turks being established at Neuhaüsel; a place, they said, which might be seen from the walls of Vienna. The Hungarians exclaimed that their privileges had been violated by the conclusion of the treaty without their knowledge and participation. The Transylvanians said that by the abandonment of Waradin, the Turks would be enabled to overrun the whole of their country. Apafy alone was content, who remained in possession of Transylvania on condition of paying the ancient tribute. Yet disgraceful and disadvantageous as this treaty undoubtedly was, Leopold seems to have had some cogent reasons for concluding it. Montecuculi's army was still far inferior to that of the Turks; the Austrian exchequer was empty, nor could the continuance of the services of the contingents voted by the Diet be reckoned upon. Deep jealousies existed between the German and Hungarian commanders, and the latter, who suspected the House of Austria of a project for the entire subjection of Hungary, impeded rather than assisted the operations against the Turks. It may be, too, that Leopold wished to rid himself of the services of the French troops, who had awakened his jealousy by carrying off a large portion of the glory of the battle of St. Gothard.

The war which they had been waging so many years with Venice was on the side of the Turks a motive for concluding the truce of Vasvar; but its details are uninteresting, and we therefore forbear to relate them. The siege of Candia, the capital of the island of that name, is, however, one of the most remarkable in history, having lasted from May 1667 till September 1669. After an attempt to relieve it with a large French force under the Duke de Navailles had failed, the garrison was compelled to capitulate, September 6th, and was allowed to march out with all the honours of war, followed by nearly the whole population; two priests, a woman, and three Jews alone remaining behind. A peace was now concluded between Venice and the Porte, and terminated a war in which the Venetians are said to have lost 30,000 men, and the Turks upwards of 118,000.[5]

Meanwhile, in Hungary, the discontent caused by the oppressive government and the religious persecutions of the Austrian Cabinet had gone on increasing. In 1668 a conspiracy had been formed

[4] The treaty is in Katona, t. xxxiii. p. 565 sqq.; and Dumont, t. vi. pt. iii. p. 23.

[5] One of the chief authorities for this war is Valiero, *Storia della Guerra di Candia.*

against Leopold by Counts Nadasdy, Zrinyi, Frangipani, and other Hungarian leaders, which, however, was discovered and frustrated; and it was not till 1678, when the young Count Emmerich Tekeli placed himself at the head of the malcontents, that these disturbances assumed any formidable importance. Tekeli, who possessed much military talent, and was an uncompromising enemy of the House of Austria, having entered Upper Hungary with 12,000 men, defeated the imperial forces, captured several towns, occupied the whole district of the Carpathian mountains, and compelled the Austrian generals, Counts Wurmb and Leslie, to accept the truce which he offered. The insurgents were encouraged by the Porte, and after the conclusion of the Turkish and Russian war in 1681, Kara Mustapha, who was now Grand Vizier, determined to assist them openly. In spite of the liberal offers made to Tekeli by the Emperor, that leader entered into a formal treaty with the Porte, and, in conjunction with the Turks, effected several conquests. Leopold now despatched a splendid embassy to Constantinople in the hope of renewing the treaty of Vasvar, but without avail; the Turks only increased their demands.[6] In the spring of 1683 Sultan Mahomet marched forth from his capital with a large army, which at Belgrade he transferred to the command of Kara Mustapha. Tekeli formed a junction with the Turks at Essek, and the united armies began their march to Vienna. In vain did Ibrahim, the experienced Pasha of Buda, endeavour to persuade Kara Mustapha first of all to subdue the surrounding country, and to postpone till the following year the attack upon Vienna; his advice was scornfully rejected, and, indeed, the audacity of the Grand Vizier seemed justified by the little resistance he had met with.

At the approach of the Turks the Viennese were seized with a terror amounting almost to despair. Little preparation had been made for defence; 70,000 men was all the force that could be opposed to the Turkish army of 200,000; and a great part even of that number was required to defend the frontier fortresses. On July 7th, when news arrived of the defeat of the Austrian forces at Petronell, Leopold and his court quitted Vienna for Linz and Passau. His departure was the signal for an almost universal flight; 60,000 persons are said to have hurried from Vienna in a single day. Leopold had intrusted the defence of his capital, which he had thus disgracefully abandoned, to Count Stahremberg, in whom it found an able and valiant defender.

It was fortunate for the Emperor, who could get but little aid

[6] See for these occurrences Katona, t. xxxiv.

from the German States, that he had concluded in the preceding March with John Sobieski, King of Poland, an offensive and defensive alliance against the Turks, with special reference to their besieging either Cracow or Vienna. Under King Michael, who had been elected to the Polish crown in 1669, after the death of John Casimir II., the Poles had been reduced to become tributary to the Porte; but John Sobieski, who occupied the post of general of that crown, defeated the Turks in a battle near Choczim, and in 1673, after the decease of Michael, he was elected king of Poland. Sobieski had not been able to remedy the internal evils of that country arising from the Swedish war and the defection of the Cossacks of the Ukraine, as well as the vicious constitution of the kingdom; but his personal qualities and warlike renown had enhanced the reputation of Poland abroad. The Emperor Leopold and Louis XIV. contended for his alliance; but Sobieski persuaded the senate to choose the former, and the treaty alluded to had been concluded, March 31st 1683.[7] In the peace which he had made with the Turks in 1676, Sobieski had been compelled to leave them in possession of Podolia and a great part of the Ukraine, provinces which he would willingly recover; nor could he behold without concern their attempts upon Hungary and Austria. At one time Vienna seemed beyond the reach of human aid. The Turks sat down before it on July 14th, and such were their numbers that their encampment is said to have contained more than 100,000 tents. It was the middle of August before John Sobieski could leave Cracow with 25,000 men, and by the end of that month the situation of Vienna had become extremely critical. Provisions and ammunition began to fail; the garrison had lost 6000 men, and numbers died every day by pestilence or at the hands of the enemy. It was not till September 9th that Sobieski and his Poles formed a junction on the plain of Tuln with the Austrian forces under the Duke of Lorraine, and the other German contingents under the Electors John George of Saxony, Max Emanuel of Bavaria, and the Prince of Waldeck; when the united army was found to amount to upwards of 83,000 men, with 186 pieces of artillery. On September 11th, the allies reached the heights of Kahlenberg within sight of Vienna, and announced their arrival to the beleaguered citizens by means of rockets. On the following day the Turks were attacked, and after a few hours' resistance completely routed. Kara Mustapha, who in vain attempted to rally them, was himself carried off in the stream of fugitives, whose disorderly flight was only arrested by the Raab. The Turkish

[7] The treaty, which was under the protection of the Pope, is in Katona, t. xxxv. p. 15 sqq.

camp, with vast treasures in money, jewels, horses, arms, and ammunition, became the spoil of the victors.

Count Stahremberg received the King of Poland in the magnificent tent of the Grand Vizier, and greeted him as a deliverer. The different commanders then entered Vienna, and in St. Stephen's church gave thanks for their deliverance; when the preacher chose for his text, "There was a man sent by God whose name was John." The Emperor Leopold, who returned to Vienna on September 14th, instead of expressing his thanks and gratitude to the commanders who had rescued his capital, received them with the haughty and repulsive coldness prescribed by the etiquette of the Imperial Court. Sobieski nevertheless continued his services by pursuing the retreating Turks. Worsted by them at Parkany on October 7th, he inflicted on them on the 9th, with the aid of the Duke of Lorraine, a signal defeat, in which 15,000 of them are said to have been killed or drowned; and he terminated the campaign with the capture of Gran (October 27th), which place had been almost a century and a half in the hands of the Turks. The Sultan, enraged at these misfortunes, caused Kara Mustapha to be beheaded at Belgrade, December 25th.[8]

In the following year, 1684, the King of Poland, having returned to his dominions, the war against the Turks was pursued by the Duke of Lorraine; who, after capturing Wissegrad, Waitzen, and Pesth, sat down before Buda, July 14th. This place, however, was defended with the greatest obstinacy, and as the Imperial army was decimated by disease, the Duke of Lorraine was desirous of raising the siege at the beginning of October; but it was fruitlessly prolonged, by orders from Vienna, till the 29th of that month. It had cost the assailants 23,000 men.

It was this year that a league against the Turks under the protection of the Pope, and thence called the Holy League, was formed by the Emperor, the King of Poland, and the Republic of Venice; and it was resolved to procure, if possible, the accession to it of the Czar of Muscovy. The Venetians were induced to join the league by the hope of recovering their former possessions, and declared war against the Sultan, Mahomet IV., July 15th. The war which ensued, now called the *Holy War*, lasted till the Peace of Carlowicz in 1699. Venice in this war put forth a strength that was little expected from that declining state. Many thousand Germans were enrolled in her army, commanded by Morosini, and by Count Kōnigsmark, a Swede.

The Austrians pursued the campaign in Hungary with success,

[8] His head was found at the capture of Belgrade by the Elector of Bavaria in 1688, and is still preserved in the city arsenal of Vienna.

in 1685. The Ottoman army was defeated at Gran, and Neuhaüsel was shortly after recovered (August 19th), the northernmost place held by the Turks. In Upper Hungary, Eperies, Tokay, Kaschau, and several other places were also retaken. The Grand Vizier Ibrahim was so enraged at these reverses that he caused Tekeli, whom he regarded as the cause of them, to be carried in chains to Adrianople. But Ibrahim being dismissed from office the same year, Tekeli recovered his liberty. The following year (1686) was signalised by the taking of Buda by the Duke of Lorraine, which was carried by assault, September 2nd, after a siege of more than three months. Buda, the capital of Hungary, had been during 145 years in the hands of the Turks. Another campaign sufficed to wrest almost all Hungary from the Porte. The Austrians under the Duke of Lorraine having been joined by the Elector of Bavaria with a large force from the German States, completely defeated the Turks in the battle of Mohacs, the scene of the former triumph of the Ottoman arms, (August 12th). The Duke of Lorraine followed up this success by reducing all Transylvania, while Sclavonia was reconquered by General Dünewald, one of his officers. The chief places in Upper Hungary, including Erlau and Munkacz, were also taken, and Tekeli's wife and her two children captured and sent prisoners to Vienna. Thus, before the end of 1687, the whole of Hungary, except a few scattered places, was recovered by Austria. Michael Apafy, however, was left in possession of Transylvania, but on condition of admitting Austrian garrisons into the principal towns, and paying a contribution of 700,000 florins.[9]

In October, Leopold summoned an assembly of the Hungarian States at Pressburg, and proposed to them to incorporate in the kingdom of Hungary all his recent conquests over the Turks; to confirm the ancient privileges of the nation, and to grant to the Protestants the free exercise of their religion, on the following conditions: 1. The abrogation of the law passed in the reign of King Andrew II. (1222), by which a clause was inserted in the oath of fidelity taken to the King, enabling any nobleman to take up arms against him, in case he should be of opinion that the King had violated his coronation oath; 2. That as a reward for delivering Hungary from the Turks, the crown should be made hereditary in the heirs male of the House of Austria; 3. That imperial garrisons should be admitted into all the fortresses of the kingdom. The Hungarian Diet having consented to these conditions, which were in fact an abolition of their ancient

[9] Katona, t. xxxv. p. 393 sqq.

constitution, the Archduke Joseph, the Emperor's eldest son, was crowned King of Hungary by the archbishop of Gran, December 9th 1687.

While the war in Hungary had been conducted by the Emperor with such eminent success, the King of Poland had made only some fruitless attempts upon Moldavia. The Czar of Muscovy, Ivan Alexiowitsch[10] who, after settling some disputes about boundaries with the King of Poland, had joined the Holy League in 1686, did not fare much better. All the attempts of the Russians to penetrate into the Crimea were frustrated by the Tartars. The Venetians, on the other hand, had made some splendid conquests. St. Maura, Koron, the mountain tract of Maina, Navarino, Modon, Argos, Napoli di Romania, fell successively into their hands. The year 1687 especially was almost as fatal to the Turks in their war with Venice, as in that with Hungary. In this year the Venetians took Patras, the castles at the entrance of the Bay of Lepanto, Lepanto itself, all the northern coast of the Morea, Corinth, and Athens. Athens had been abandoned with the exception of the acropolis, or citadel; and it was in this siege that one of the Venetian bombs fell into the Parthenon, which had been converted by the Turks into a powder magazine, and destroyed the greater part of those magnificent remains of classical antiquity.[11] The acropolis surrendered September 29th.

The fall of Athens, added to the disastrous news from Hungary, excited the greatest consternation and discontent at Constantinople. After the defeat at Mohacs, the Turkish army had retired in a state of mutiny to Belgrade. The Grand Vizier Solyman was unpopular with the Janissaries and Sipahis on account of the stricter discipline which he had endeavoured to introduce among that licentious soldiery; and his disastrous defeat at Mohacs afforded them a pretext to get rid of him. They elected in his stead Siawusch Pasha, governor of Aleppo, and sent envoys to Constantinople to demand the dismissal of Solyman, who had fled to that capital. The Sultan was weak enough even to outstrip these demands, by sending to the mutineers the head of the obnoxious

[10] The Czar Alexis died January 29th 1676, leaving by his first marriage two sons, Feodor and Ivan, and six daughters; and by his second marriage, one son, Peter, afterwards called the Great, and two daughters. Feodor III., who succeeded Alexis, reigned till his death in April 1682; but these six years present nothing of much European importance. Feodor was succeeded by Ivan; who, however, from his weakness both of mind and body, reigned only nominally; the government was conducted by his sister Sophia.

[11] An account of this siege of Athens will be found in Count de Laborde's *Athènes*, t. ii. p. 98 sqq. For the effects of the bomb see p. 151. Cf. Beulé, *L'Acropole d'Athènes*, t. i. p. 72 sqq.

Vizier, and the seal of the empire for Siawusch. Not content, however, with these concessions, the army marched to Adrianople, and now demanded the deposition of the Sultan himself, in favour of his brother, Solyman. Their demands were seconded by a large party in the metropolis; the *ulema* assembled in the mosque of St. Sophia at Constantinople (November 8th 1687), and having sanctioned the demands of the troops, Solyman II. was saluted as Padischah in place of his brother. Mahomet IV. was thrown into prison, where he died disregarded five years afterwards.

This revolution had scarcely been completed, when Siawusch entered Constantinople at the head of the rebellious troops. The Janissaries and Sipahis now became more turbulent than before. They demanded that the usual donation on the accession of a new sultan should be increased, and that all such ministers and placemen as they disapproved of should be banished. Some of the viziers having attempted to resist their demands, a dreadful riot ensued; the palaces of all the ministers were stormed, plundered, and burnt; and even the Grand Vizier Siawusch himself fell by the hands of those who had elected him. The Janissaries and Sipahis were only at last controlled by the people rising against them (February 1688), and peace was gradually restored. The aged Ismael Pasha was now intrusted with the seal of the empire, and with the conduct of a war which seemed to threaten the Osmanli empire in Europe with destruction. For the campaign of 1688 was still more disastrous to the Turks than the preceding one. The Imperialists, under the Elector of Bavaria, took Belgrade, while another division under the Margrave Louis of Baden overran great part of Bosnia.

Humbled by these reverses, the Porte, for the first time, began to make proposals for a peace, and was disposed to make very ample concessions. The Duke of Lorraine, who was now appointed to the command of the Imperial army against the French, pressed the Cabinet of Vienna to listen to these offers, and to put an end to the war in Hungary, in order to concentrate all the forces of the empire upon the Rhine. The Margrave of Baden, on the contrary, who succeeded the Duke of Lorraine in the command of the Austrian army in Hungary, pressed for the continuance of the war against the Turks, and represented that all the advantages to be expected from it, would be enjoyed by the House of Austria, which, on the other hand, was but little interested in the war with France. The advice of these two princes was not, perhaps, uninfluenced by motives of self-interest. The Margrave was gathering easy laurels in the Turkish war; and the Duke of Lorraine, in pressing that

with France, had probably a view to the recovery of his patrimonial dominions. The Emperor himself, elated by his successes against the Turks, was inclined to listen to the Margrave; he dreamt of nothing less than putting an end to the Turkish empire in Europe, and effecting the union of the Greek and Latin Churches. The war therefore went on, and the result of the campaign of 1689 seemed to justify the advice of the Margrave Louis. That commander, carrying the war from Bosnia into Servia, inflicted several severe defeats upon the Turks, occupied the passes of the Balkan from the borders of Roumelia to the Herzegovina, and captured all the fortresses on the Danube from Widdin to Nicopolis, so that he was enabled to take up his winter quarters in Wallachia.

The Turks, however, after the rejection of their proposals, prepared to recover their losses. Mustapha Köprili, who had now been appointed Grand Vizier, infused more vigour into the government; and with the assistance of Tekeli, who had been appointed Prince of Transylvania, after the death of Michael Apafy in April 1690, the Turks this year recovered almost all that they had previously lost. Belgrade was retaken, to the great alarm of the Viennese; and even in the winter time Turkish divisions pushed on to Temesvar, Great Waradin, and even into Transylvania. But in 1691, the Margrave Louis, though he had only about 45,000 men to oppose to more than double that number of Turks, completely defeated them at Salankemen, August 19th; in which battle Mustapha Köprili was slain. The victory, however, had not the important consequences that might have been anticipated, and the next four or five years are barren of great events. They were, however, marked by a frequent change of sultans. Solyman II. died in June 1691, and was succeeded by his brother Achmet II., who in February 1695 in turn gave place to Mustapha II. Mustapha was an energetic prince, and having determined to put himself at the head of his armies, he crossed the Danube, captured several places, and in 1696 defeated the Imperialists at Bega.

The death of John Sobieski, King of Poland, in that year had indirectly an important effect on the war in Hungary. In order to withdraw Poland from Austrian influence, Louis XIV. strained every nerve to obtain the crown of that kingdom for his cousin, the Prince of Conti. The Emperor Leopold, on the other hand, unwilling to have a French prince for his neighbour, incited Augustus of Saxony, surnamed the Strong, to become a candidate for the vacant dignity; and his cause was espoused by the Pope, the Jesuits, the Czar of Russia, and the Elector of Brandenburg.

The last-named prince, always subservient to Austrian policy, had an additional motive in the promise of Augustus to recognise the royal title which he contemplated assuming. As a candidate for the Polish crown, to which none but a Roman Catholic was eligible, Augustus was obliged to change his religion; with him, however, a matter of no great difficulty; for though the hereditary head of the Lutheran Confession, Augustus had in fact little religion of any kind. He made his confession of the Roman Catholic faith in June 1697, in the imperial chapel at Baden, near Vienna. His election was purchased with his own money and that of the Emperor. The Prince of Conti was indeed chosen by a majority at Warsaw, June 27th 1697; but the minority proclaimed Augustus, who hastening into the kingdom with his Saxon troops, was crowned at Cracow, September 15th.[12]

The acceptance of the Polish crown obliged Augustus to resign the command of the Imperial army, which he had conducted without much ability or success. His retirement made room for one of the greatest generals of the age. Prince Eugene of Soissons-Savoy, descended from a younger branch of the House of Savoy, was by his mother, Olimpia Mancini, a great nephew of Cardinal Mazarine. Noted during the early years of Louis XIV. for her intriguing and lively temper, Olimpia had in 1680 become implicated in some suspicion of poisoning, and Louis, as an act of grace, permitted her to leave France. Her disgrace fell upon her family. Eugene, her youngest son, who from being first destined for the Church was called the Abbé of Savoy, having demanded a commission in the army, was refused by the King. This refusal was afterwards to cost Louis dear. Eugene offered his sword to the Emperor, and in the battle of Zenta on the Theiss, September 11th 1697, he inflicted on the Turks a signal defeat, by which they lost their camp, artillery, stores, and military chest.[13] The Grand Vizier Mustapha Köprili was slain in this battle. Eugene could not follow up his victory, except by a short incursion into Bosnia; but it may be said to have been one of the principal causes of the peace which soon afterwards ensued. To this, however, the successes of the Venetians and Russians also contributed, to which we must briefly advert.

By the capture of Malvasia in 1690, the Venetians completed the conquest of the Morea. The Isle of Chios, taken in 1694, was again lost the following year; but in Dalmatia and Albania the Venetian Republic made many permanent conquests, from the

[12] As King of Poland he was Augustus II.; as Elector of Saxony, Augustus I.

[13] See D'Artanville, *Mém. du prince Eugène*, t. ii. p. 98 sqq.

mountains of Montenegro to the borders of Croatia and the banks of the Unna. The operations of the Poles in the Turkish war were insignificant; but in July 1696, the Russians, under the Czar Peter,[14] after many long and fruitless attempts, at length succeeded in taking Azov, at the mouth of the Don; a most important conquest as securing for them the entry into the Black Sea. It was the fall of this place, combined with the defeat at Zenta, that chiefly induced the Porte to enter into negociations for a peace; which England and Holland, that is to say, William III., had been long endeavouring to bring about, but which France, on the other hand, did everything in her power to prevent. Conferences were at length opened at Carlowitz, near Peterwaradin, in October 1698; and on January 26th 1699, treaties were signed between the Porte on one side and the Emperor, the King of Poland, and the Republic of Venice on the other. By the treaty with the Emperor the Porte ceded all Hungary (except the Banat of Temesvar), Transylvania, the greater part of Slavonia, and Croatia as far as the Unna. The armistice was to last twenty-five years—for the Turks never made what was called a perpetual peace—subject to prolongation.[15] Poland obtained by her treaty, Kameniek, Podolia, and the Ukraine. To Venice were ceded the Morea, the Isles of St. Maura and Egina, and several fortresses in Dalmatia. Count Tekeli was totally disregarded in these treaties. He had lived since 1695 in a remote quarter of Constantinople on a small pension allowed him by the Sultan. He was afterwards banished to Nicomedia, where he died in 1704.

The negociations between Russia and the Porte were long protracted, as the latter was very loth to part with Azov. A Russian ship of war of thirty-six guns, built at that port and commanded by a Dutch captain, which arrived at Constantinople in the summer of 1699, opened the eyes of the Turks to the consequences of their loss, and made them fear a less civil visit if hostilities should again break out. Nevertheless, in July 1702, a treaty was at length concluded, by which Azov, with about eighty miles of territory, was ceded to the Czar, who converted it into one of the most formidable fortresses in Europe.

Such was the end of the Holy War. We now pass on to the affairs of Sweden and the North, after mentioning the only occurrence of any moment at this period in the affairs of the German Empire as a confederate body. This was the erection by the

[14] Peter had assumed the government in 1689, while his brother Ivan was still living. We shall return to this subject in another chapter.

[15] Katona, t. xxxvi. p. 106 sqq.

Emperor of a ninth electorate, that of Hanover, in 1692, in favour of Duke Ernest Augustus of Hanover. The terms, however, on which it was granted were such as made the new elector a mere satellite of the Imperial House. In return for the electoral hat and the office of archbanneret of the Holy Roman Empire, the new elector was to place 6000 men, over and above his ordinary contingent, at the service of the Emperor so long as the war in Hungary and Germany should last, and to pay during the same time a subsidy of 500,000 crowns; if the King of Spain should die without issue, he was to employ all his forces to procure the throne of that kingdom for an Austrian archduke; he was to use all his credit and influence to re-establish the King of Bohemia in the exercise of all the rights, privileges, and prerogatives enjoyed by the other electors;[16] he was to engage for himself, his heirs, and successors in perpetuity, that they should never give their electoral suffrage in the election of future Emperors and Kings of the Romans except in favour of the eldest archdukes of the House of Austria; that he should act in concert with the Imperial Court in all the assemblies of the Empire; and that he should accord to the Catholics the public exercise of their religion in Hanover and Zell.[17]

The new elector, however, did not obtain his title without great opposition. The electors of Trèves, Cologne, and the Palatine protested against it, as well as many princes of the Duke of Hanover's own religious persuasion, and among them his cousin, Anthony Ulrich, of Wolfenbüttel, the head of the House of Brunswick, out of jealousy at seeing his relative thus preferred before him. In the following year the Dukes of Saxe Gotha, Saxe Coburg, Brunswick Wolfenbüttel, and Mecklenburg, the King of Denmark as Duke of Holstein-Glückstadt, the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, the Margraves of Brandenburg Culmbach (or Baireuth), and Baden Baden, the Bishops of Münster, Bamberg and Eichstädt, formed a League at Ratisbon, under the name of the *Correspondent Princes*, to oppose the designs of the Imperial Court, and declared the investiture of the new elector to be null and void. This did not prevent Duke Ernest from making use of his new title,

[16] The Kings of Bohemia had lost, by disuse, their electoral privileges, especially those of sitting in the general or particular assemblies of the Electoral College, and of assenting to the imperial capitulations drawn up in the electoral diets. This had arisen either through their own negligence in not making use of privileges which seemed to fortify their dependence on the empire; or through their being deprived of them by a wrongful interpretation of the letters patent of the Emperor Frederick II., according to the kings of Bohemia, as matter of grace and favour, a dispensation from attending all diets except those held at Bamberg or Nuremberg. Pfeffel, t. ii. p. 473.

[17] Lünig, *Reichs Archiv.*, Pars spec., t. v. p. 167 sqq. Menzel, B. iv. S. 495.

though the contest was prolonged into the following century; and the full and recognised possession of the electoral dignity and rights was only at length obtained by Ernest Augustus's son, George Louis. The most important part of this transaction with regard to the general affairs of Europe was, that it afforded Louis XIV. an opportunity of again intervening in the affairs of the empire, and forming a French party in Germany. The protesting princes required the diplomatic intervention of France, as guarantee of the Treaty of Westphalia, of which they represented the Emperor's proceedings to be a breach; and Louis entered a protest against them at the Diet of Ratisbon (October 14th 1700).

We now revert to the history of the Scandinavian kingdoms since the Peace of Copenhagen in 1660, which we have recorded in Chapter II.

The events of the war with Sweden, and the exhausted state in which Denmark had been left by the struggle, showed the indispensable necessity for some alteration in the Danish constitution. Her misfortunes might be traced chiefly to the oligarchy of nobles, who administered the finances and diverted them to their own purposes. The freedom of that order from taxes, and the other privileges and immunities which they enjoyed, were also highly detrimental to the state. The jealousy and hatred of this privileged class had been enhanced by its conduct in the war. During the siege of Copenhagen the nobles had displayed the greatest indifference, and had sheltered themselves under their privileges from taking any part in its defence; which the King had been obliged to conduct with the assistance of the citizens, the students, and the mercenary troops. It was natural enough, therefore, at the end of the war, to think of using this army in order to compel the nobles to relinquish their pernicious immunities. Already in 1658, after the rupture of the Peace of Roskild, Frederick had gained the affections of the burgher class by granting them some extraordinary privileges. Every citizen who distinguished himself by his courage was to be ennobled; every serf who enrolled himself as a soldier was to earn the freedom of himself and his children. The right of staple was conferred on Copenhagen; it was made a free city and one of the states of the kingdom, with a voice in public affairs; the citizens were empowered to buy the estates of nobles, and were placed on a like footing with them with regard to tolls and taxes, the quartering of troops, the accession to public offices, and the like.

The Queen of Denmark,[18] who had distinguished herself by her

[18] Sophia Amelia, a Hanoverian princess.

intrepidity during the war, and who was as enterprising and intriguing as Frederick was mild and gentle, took a more active part than the King in bringing about the revolution that was to overthrow the oligarchical party. It was necessary that so fundamental a change should be effected by the body of the nation; and in spite of the opposition of the Council and the nobles, a general assembly of the States was opened at Copenhagen, September 10th 1660. It consisted of three chambers, the first composed of the members of the Council and landed proprietors of noble birth; the second of bishops and delegates from the clergy; the third of deputies from the commercial towns. A proposal for raising a tax to meet the debts and burthens of the nation was the signal for contention. The nobles wished to preserve their ancient immunity from taxation; but the two other chambers declared that they would consent to the tax proposed, only on condition that it should be paid by every Dane without distinction. Conferences now followed between the chambers, in which the nobles, and especially the High Chamberlain Otto Krag, only made matters worse by their pride and insolence. The clergy and citizens, instead of appealing to the Council, as they had hitherto done, now applied directly to the King, and made propositions wholly incompatible with the existence of the nobility: and especially they required that the domains and revenues of the crown, hitherto entirely at the disposal of that order, should henceforth be leased to the highest bidders. The nobles denounced this proposition as an attack upon their property, and a violation of the 46th article of the Capitulation signed by the King on his election, which secured to them the exclusive possession of the royal fiefs. As the King naturally felt reluctant to annul the Capitulation to which he had sworn, a plan was adopted to obviate this difficulty. Suane, Bishop of Zealand, Nansen, Burgomaster of Copenhagen, together with Marshal Schack, the commandant of the city, Hannibal Sehestädt, formerly Viceroy of Norway, and other creatures of the Queen, placed a guard at the gates of the city, which nobody was permitted to leave without a passport from the Burgomaster. The nobles thus shut up, and having no means of resistance, found themselves compelled, after much delay and reluctance, to agree to a resolution passed by the other two estates, declaring the crown hereditary both in the King's male and female issue.

By this change from an elective into an hereditary monarchy, the Capitulation fell of itself to the ground, and it therefore became necessary to found a new constitution; a task that was intrusted

to eight members of the Council and Upper Chamber, and twelve members of the clergy and commons. On October 14th 1660 it was agreed that the Capitulation should be given back into the King's hands; on the 18th it was solemnly destroyed with great pomp and ceremony, and on the same day an oath of homage was taken to Frederick, containing only the usual general and empty promises. On the following day the Council was dissolved; a new ministry was installed, and the administration was intrusted to certain colleges, or *bureaux*, the members of which could be appointed or dismissed at the King's pleasure. The establishment of this autocracy, as absolute as that of the Sultan, rested ostensibly on the consent of the people. The new constitution was submitted for signature to the clergy, to all landed proprietors and municipal magistrates, but its maintenance was secured by a standing army of 24,000 men. The despotic power thus intrusted to the King was however seldom abused, and proved much more advantageous to the kingdom than the previous irresponsible oligarchy. The new constitution was embodied by Peter Schuhmacher, a German jurist, in the celebrated Konge-Lov (*Lex Regia* or Royal Law); which established the unlimited power of the King, and the order of succession to the crown. Schuhmacher also made several changes regarding the nobles, which finally resulted in the extinction of the ancient houses. He introduced the German distinction of a higher and lower nobilty, and created by royal letters patent Barons, Counts, &c., titles never before heard of in Denmark.

In Sweden, on the contrary, the consequences of the war increased the power of the nobles. By calling a national assembly (1660) that order found means to overthrow the Regency which Charles X. had appointed by his will during the minority of his son Charles XI., and to establish a government consisting of the Queen-Mother, Peter Brahe, the Lord High Constable, Charles Gustavus Wrangle, High Admiral, Count Magnus de la Gardie, High Chancellor, and Gustavus Bonde, Treasurer. As the Queen had no political influence, this oligarchy, with their relatives and dependants, administered, or rather abused for their own purposes, during the minority of Charles XI., the royal domains and national revenues; a state of things, however, which ultimately produced that counter-revolution in favour of the kingly power which we shall have to relate in the sequel.

For several years after the Peace of Copenhagen the annals of the Scandinavian kingdoms present little worth relating. In the war which broke out between England and the United Netherlands in 1665, Sweden concluded an alliance with the former country,

but afforded her no substantial assistance; whilst Denmark made a treaty with the Dutch, and engaged to exclude British ships from the Baltic, so long as the war should continue. During the War of Devolution, Sweden, as we have seen, abandoned France, her ancient ally, and joined the Maritime Powers in the Triple Alliance which produced the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. But this deviation from her usual policy was only temporary, and in 1672 she entered into a treaty with Louis XIV. to support him in his war against the Dutch, as we have before related.[19] It was this treaty that disturbed the peace of Northern Europe by lighting up a war between Sweden and the Elector of Brandenburg, in which Denmark also ultimately took part; the origin of which we shall now proceed to relate.

The Elector of Brandenburg, after forming in July 1674 the alliance with the Emperor, the Dutch States, and Spain recorded in the preceding chapter;[20] had proceeded in October to join the Imperial army on the Rhine, which was now under the command of Bournonville. But the dilatory proceedings of that commander awakened the same suspicions which Frederick William had before conceived of the sincerity of Montecuculi. As these suspicions were strengthened by Bournonville's retreat over the Rhine after his battle with Turenne at Türkheim (January 5th 1675), in which the French had suffered more than the Germans,[21] the Elector separated from his allies, and took up his winter quarters in Franconia.

Meanwhile his own dominions had been invaded by the Swedes. After the treaty of Vossem, Frederick William being still uneasy respecting the intentions of Louis XIV., who had neglected to pay him the money stipulated in the treaty, had endeavoured to form with Sweden a third party, in order to impose a peace upon the belligerents; and with this view he had renewed for ten years his ancient alliance with that Power (December 1st 1673). By a secret article it was agreed that if they should fail in establishing a peace, either party should be free to engage in the war, but not without first informing the other of his intentions;[22] yet the Elector had entered into the alliance against France without giving notice to the Swedish Government—a step, indeed, which he excused by pleading that, as war had been declared by the Empire, he was bound *ipso facto* to take up arms, and had provided for such a contingency in the treaty of Vossem;[23] nor would he arrest his march towards the Rhine in the autumn of 1674, although the

[19] Above, p. 86. [20] Above, p. 97. [21] Puffendorf, *Frid. Wilh.* lib. xii. § 48 sqq. [22] *Ibid.* §§ 13—19. [23] Above, p. 94.

Swedes sent a special ambassador to persuade him to maintain with them a neutral position, in conformity with the treaty between them. The French now declared that they would pay the Swedes no more subsidies unless they compelled the Elector to withdraw his troops from the allies. But though the young King Charles XI. wrote himself to Frederick William,[24] pressing him in the most friendly manner to withdraw his troops, hinting at the same time that the Swedish army was drawn out for the maintenance of peace, and he himself in close alliance with France, yet he could not divert the Elector from his purpose. Hereupon the Swedes, under Field-marshal Charles Gustavus Wrangel, prepared to enter the March of Brandenburg; and as this step did not induce the Elector to return, Wrangel gave notice that he should be obliged to take up his winter quarters in the March, which was accordingly done. The Swedes behaved at first in a quiet orderly manner, but by degrees they began to levy contributions, to raise troops, and to fortify themselves in defensive positions. At length, incited by the French, they proceeded to acts of open violence and hostility. They forcibly seized several small towns, and allowed their troops every licence of plunder and outrage. The Elector bore all this very quietly; nay, he probably rejoiced that the conduct of the Swedes might offer him an opportunity to regain that part of Pomerania which he had been formerly compelled to relinquish. Dissembling the injury he had received, he sounded the disposition of his allies, but found small hopes of succour. The Emperor and the princes of the Empire, jealous of the Elector and of one another, stood aloof. The King of Denmark, though by the Treaty of the Hague, July 10th 1674, he had engaged to employ an army of 16,000 men against those who should take part with the enemies of the allies,[25] yet, being desirous, it is said, of marrying his sister to Charles XI., excused himself from not declaring openly against that monarch. The States-General alone, after much persuasion, and when the Elector's troops were already in motion, declared war against Charles XI., unless he evacuated the March, June 15th 1675.[26]

Frederick William was thus reduced to rely upon his own efforts. Early in June 1675 he led his army, increased by new levies to 15,000 men, through the Thuringian forest towards Magdeburg, which he reached on the 21st. By a rapid march, the Swedes cantoned on the right bank of the Havel, carelessly

[24] Stenzel. *Gesch. des preuss. Staats*, Th. ii. S. 338. On the whole matter, See Temple's *Memoirs* (*Works*, vol. ii. p. 283 sqq. ed. 1757).

[25] Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p. 269.

[26] Puffendorf, lib. xiii. § 23 sqq.

secure and ignorant of the approach of an enemy, were surprised and beaten at Rathenow (June 25th). A few days after (28th), the Elector gained a decisive victory at FEHRBELLIN over the main body of the Swedish army. This affair, which gave the Elector a place among the great captains of the age, was the more honourable to the Brandenburghers as the first general engagement which they had ever fought and won *proprio marte*, and that too with smaller numbers, over some of the best troops of the North. The Swedes were in consequence compelled hastily to evacuate the electoral dominions.

The victory of Fehrbellin induced the King of Denmark to declare himself. Frederick III. had died in 1670, and the throne was now filled by his son Christian V. Christian, like his father, was at first guided by the counsels of Schuhmacher, who had been elevated to the new nobility which he had created, with the title of Count Greifenfeld. The first act of the Danish King was directed against his relative and neighbour, the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, who was suspected of having formed an alliance with Charles XI. Questions respecting the division of the revenues of Schleswic, the bishopric of Lubeck, and, more recently, the succession of the last Count of Oldenburg, to whom both the Duke of Holstein and the King of Denmark were related, supplied materials for dissension. If Christian should be involved in a war with the Swedes, the Duke of Holstein, who was connected with Charles XI. both by treaties and relationship, might prove a very troublesome neighbour, and Christian therefore resolved to secure him. This was effected in the most treacherous manner. The Queen Dowager of Denmark enticed her daughter, the Duchess of Holstein, to Copenhagen, while the King invited the Duke Christian Albert to an interview at Rendsborg. Here he was arrested, and, after five days' confinement, compelled to sign the Convention of Rendsborg (July 10th 1675), by which, among other things, he consented to receive a Danish garrison in Gottorp, Tonningen and Stapelholm; to transfer the troops of Holstein to the Danish service, to restore everything to the footing on which it stood before the year 1658, and to renounce the sovereignty of Schleswic and the Isle of Femern, with which he had been invested by Frederick III.[27] The Duke, after signing this convention, escaped to Hamburg, where he signed a protest against its stipulations.

The King of Denmark now put himself at the head of his army; and in September he had an interview with the Elector of Brandenburg at Gadebusch, which led to the secret Treaty of Dobran

[27] Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p. 296.

(October 5th).[28] The contracting parties agreed to carry on the war against the King of Sweden till he should be compelled either to pay its expenses or to restore to Denmark Schonen, Halland, and Blekingen, to renounce the freedom of the Sound, and to abandon what he held in Pomerania to the Elector of Brandenburg; who, on his side, engaged to give up Wismar and the Isle of Rügen to the Danish King. The war now began by land and water, on which latter element the allies were supported by a small Dutch fleet. Frederick William, entering Swedish Pomerania, surprised the Isle of Wollin and took Wolgast by capitulation (November 9th); while the King of Denmark occupied Rostock and Damgarten and laid siege to Wismar, which surrendered December 15th. At the same time a Danish corps joined the allied army, under the Bishop of Münster, in the duchy of Bremen, and the united forces occupied several places in that district; which, as already related, had been assigned to Sweden at the Peace of Westphalia. The Bishop of Münster, the Dukes of Lüneburg, Zell, and Wolfenbüttel, the Elector of Brandenburg, and the King of Denmark had formed an alliance to eject the Swedes from Bremen and Verden, though ill agreed among themselves as to the division of the booty.

The war with Sweden had been undertaken much against the will of the Queen Dowager of Denmark, whose daughter, Ulrica Eleonora, had been united to Charles XI. in the summer of 1675. That young monarch, who was desirous of acquiring a military reputation, for which, however, he had no great talent, placed himself at the head of his army in 1676; and as he threatened to invade Zealand, Christian V. withdrew his troops from Pomerania and posted them in an entrenched camp near Kronenborg. The Danish admiral, Niels Juel, in conjunction with the Dutch fleet, seized the Island of Gothland; and Tromp, being named by Christian V. Admiral of Denmark, inflicted a terrible defeat on the Swedish fleet near Entholm on the coast of Blekingen (June 11th). In the same month Christian, at the head of 15,000 men, made a descent on Scania (or Schonen); but, being defeated at Halmstadt, was prevented from penetrating further into Sweden. In December a bloody battle was fought between the two kings near Lunden, the ancient capital of Schonen. Both parties claimed the victory, but the substantial success remained with the Swedes, as the King of Denmark was for a long time disabled from attempting any further enterprise. Meanwhile the Elector of Brandenburg had taken several places in Pomerania,

[28] There is an extract of this treaty in Puffendorf, *De Rebus Gest. Frid. Wilh.*, lib. xiii. § 43, p. 1010.

while in the Duchy of Bremen the allies had captured Stade, the last place which held out for the Swedes. As the Bishop of Münster and the Dukes of Lüneburg now manifested a desire to hold the Duchy of Bremen for themselves, Christian V. and Frederick William concluded a new and still closer alliance, Dec. 23rd 1676. By secret articles, the Elector guaranteed the Convention of Rendsborg, and engaged that the King of Denmark should obtain at least a fifth part of the territories of Bremen and Verden; while Christian, on his side, undertook that the Elector should receive satisfaction in those districts, in case he did not obtain it in Pomerania. Both pledged themselves not to surrender at a general peace the conquests which they had wrested from Sweden; and Christian promised to stand by the Elector in case he should be precipitated into a war with Poland.[29]

In the campaign of 1677, the Swedes had on the whole the advantage on land, and especially in the battle of Lanscrona (July 14th) Charles XI. inflicted a severe defeat on Christian V.; but, on the other hand, the Danes were victorious at sea. In June, Admiral Juel defeated the Swedish fleet off Rostock; and in the following month he gained a still more decisive victory over Admiral Horn in the Bay of Kiöge, when he took or sunk eleven ships of the line. The King of Denmark concluded the campaign by taking possession of the Island of Rügen, which, however, was again lost and recovered. The chief exploit of the Elector of Brandenburg was the capture, after a six months' siege, of Stettin, (December 26th), the constant object of his ambition.

During the year 1678, the marked superiority of the Danish fleet compelled the Swedes to keep in port, and consequently no actions took place at sea. In the autumn the Elector took Stralsund and Greifswald (November). But while he was engaged in the siege of the latter place, a body of 16,000 Swedes, under Field-marsal Horn, Governor of Livonia, suddenly invaded the Duchy of Prussia, and penetrated as far as Insterburg. It was thought that the despotism which Frederick William had exercised towards the Prussians would have rendered them discontented, and anxious to throw off the yoke; and it was as much from the apprehension of such an occurrence, as with a view to defend the place against the Swedes, that the Elector despatched in all haste General Görzke with 3000 men to Königsberg. He himself, early in 1679 and during a severe frost, proceeded by forced marches against the Swedes, with a chosen body of about 4000 foot and 6600 horse. The progress of the infantry was assisted

[29] Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p. 325 sq. Secret articles in Puffendorf, *Ib.* p. 1074.

with sledges, and the Frische Haff and Kurische Haff, two large bays, or friths, in the neighbourhood of Königsberg, were crossed on the ice; the army marching in this way ten or twelve leagues a day. Frederick William overtook the Swedes, who had been already worsted near Tilsit by his advanced guard, at the village of Splitter, which lies at a short distance from that town, completely defeated them, and pursued them to Bauske, about forty miles from Riga. Marshal Horn was captured, and of his 16,000 men not above 1500 found their way back to Riga, so great had been their suffering from cold and hunger as well as from the sword.

The victories of Frederick William and Christian V. were, however, destined to be fruitless. They were deserted by their allies, and Louis XIV., who now gave law to Europe, made it a point of honour to secure the Swedes in the possession of those territories which had been assigned to them by the Peace of Westphalia. Already in August 1678, the Peace of Nimeguen had been concluded between France and the United Netherlands; and in the following February the Emperor Leopold, who viewed with a jealous eye the successes of the Elector of Brandenburg, acceded to the treaty without waiting for the consent of the States of the Empire. The conditions offered by Louis were not, indeed, disadvantageous to the Empire; only he insisted that the northern allies should restore to Sweden all their conquests; and Leopold, by a particular treaty with Charles XI., engaged that this should be done, as well as that the Duke of Holstein Gottorp should be maintained in all his rights of sovereignty against the Crown of Denmark. Nothing now remained for the Elector of Brandenburg but to obtain the best terms he could from the all-potent Louis, the patron of the beaten Swedes; especially as his allies, the Dukes of Lüneburg, had acceded to the general pacification shortly after the Emperor, by the treaty of Zell, Feb. 5th 1679, by which they engaged to restore to Sweden all that portion of the Duchy of Bremen which they had occupied, and to take no further part in the war. This example was soon after followed by the Bishop of Münster.[30] All Frederick William's proposals to the French Court for retaining Pomerania were treated with brutal contempt, and Louvois even threatened that a French army should march to Berlin. The great Elector condescended to address an humble letter to the French monarch, and offered to place the greater part of his conquests in Louis's hands on condition of retaining the rest;[31] but without effect. The French division, under Marshal Créqui,

[30] Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p. 391 and p. 399.

[31] May 16th 1679. See *Hist. des Négoc. de Nimégue*, t. ii. p. 208. (Paris, 1680.)

cantoned in the Duchy of Clèves, having entered Westphalia, and threatening an invasion of Brandenburg, Frederick William found himself compelled to sign the Treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye (June 29th 1679), by which he agreed to restore to the Swedes all his conquests, retaining however the district which they had possessed beyond the Oder, except the towns of Damm and Golnow; the latter to be redeemed by the Swedes for 50,000 rix-dollars. By a secret article, Louis XIV. promised to give the Elector 300,000 crowns, as compensation for the damage he had suffered from the occupation of the French troops, if the Elector consented to renew their ancient alliance.[32]

Christian V., relying on an article in the treaty between the Dukes of Lüneburg and France, by which the former had stipulated that no troops were to march through their dominions had at first thought of continuing the war; but a French division under the Duke of Joyeuse having, in spite of this engagement, entered the Danish counties of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst, Christian hastened to make his peace, by signing the Treaty of Fontainebleau, September 2nd 1679. By this treaty Christian engaged to restore all his conquests to Sweden, and to reinstate the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp in his sovereignty, according to the Treaties of Roskild and Copenhagen.[33] But an obscurity in the wording of this last article subsequently gave occasion to new disputes.

The Peace of Fontainebleau between France and Denmark was soon followed by that of Lunden, between the latter Power and Sweden (Sept. 26th). Sweden recovered all that she had lost; and, on the 7th of October, the two Powers signed a defensive alliance for a term of ten years.[34] Thus Sweden, through the aid of France, concluded, without any loss of territory, a war which had threatened her with dismemberment. Her losses, nevertheless, both moral and material, were very considerable. Her military glory, acquired by the victories of Gustavus Adolphus and Charles X., had been entirely eclipsed; her finances were exhausted, her navy almost ruined; and it had been demonstrated that, without the help of France, she was scarcely a match for the other northern Powers.

The peace was immediately followed by a revolution in the Swedish Government. The exhausted state of the finances required a reform in the administration, which was loudly demanded by all

[32] Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p. 408; Puffendorf, *De Rebus gestis Friderici Wilh.*, lib. xvii. § 77 sqq., and p. 1093. Cf. Mignet, *Succ. d'Espagne*, t. iv. p. 699 sqq.

[33] Dumont, t. vii. pt. i. p. 419.

[34] *Ibid.* pp. 425, 431.

classes of the nation, the nobility alone excepted, who enriched themselves out of the public revenue. Charles XI., moreover, was desirous of relieving himself from dependence on French subsidies, and in these views he was encouraged by Benedict Oxenstiern, who had had some violent altercations with the French minister, Colbert de Croissy, and had conceived in consequence a strong hatred of France. Charles now dismissed the chancellor, Count Magnus de la Gardie, the head of the French party, and gave his office to Oxenstiern. At the same time he removed other ministers whom he suspected of being more devoted to the Council of State than to himself. A Diet having been assembled in Stockholm (1680), the chamber of the nobles was surrounded by soldiers under pretence of a guard of honour, and the three lower estates—the clergy, the peasants, and the burgher-class—passed a resolution investing the King with absolute power. It was declared that he was bound by no form of government; that he was responsible to nobody for the measures he might adopt; and he was even empowered to direct and regulate the constitution and form of government by his last Will. As the army was entirely devoted to Charles, the nobles found themselves compelled to accept this constitution.

During another Diet assembled in October 1682, a decree was issued that all ministers of finance during the King's minority should make good the losses which the kingdom had suffered in that period. The five high offices of state were no longer filled up; the Council of State was converted into a Royal Council, nominated by and dependent on the King. A Commission was appointed to inquire into the administration of the crown lands since the year 1632; and all donations, as well as all crown leases, were revoked, the holders of the latter being reimbursed the sums which they had actually paid. This measure was called the "Reduction." The province of Livonia was the chief sufferer by it, where nearly five-sixths of the whole landed estates of the province were adjudged to the crown.[35] This unjust and violent measure, which deprived a great number of families of their patrimony, was further aggravated by the imposition of a tax amounting to a fourth part of the revenues of the nobles. A deputation from Livonia having warmly protested at Stockholm against these proceedings, and having resorted to steps offensive to the Court, were criminally indicted and condemned to death as rebels (1694). This penalty was commuted, as regards three of the deputies, for perpetual im-

[35] De Bray, *Essai Crit. sur l'Hist. de la Livonie*, ap. Koch and Schoell, *Hist. des Traités*, t. xiii. p. 156.

prisonment; the fourth, John Reinhold Patkul, having escaped into Poland, entered the service of Augustus II., and became the principal instigator of that league against Sweden which we shall have to relate in a subsequent chapter.

During the latter part of his reign, which lasted till 1697, Charles XI. remained at peace, and employed himself in restoring the army and navy, in improving the finances, and accumulating a treasure; which enabled his son and successor, Charles XII., again to assert for a short period the supremacy of the Swedish arms. Although the measures of Charles XI. were often tyrannical, it must be confessed that they were designed for the public good; he and his family lived in a simple and sparing manner, and the large sums which he wrung from the people were applied for their benefit. The regulations which he adopted concerning the army rendered it a national institution. Every nobleman who had an income of from 500 to 580 marks was bound to provide a soldier; if his income was double that sum, two soldiers, and so on in the same ratio. The peasant, or several peasants together, were in like manner bound to provide a man whom they employed and kept, the king only finding his horse. The soldiers thus provided were exercised twice a year; and in this manner was formed from the pith of the nation the army which performed such wonders under Charles XII.

Christian V. of Denmark reigned till 1699, when he was succeeded by his son, Frederick IV. Christian's reign, subsequently to the peace of Lunden, like that of his rival, Charles X., presents little worthy of notice; for though his disputes with the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp ultimately involved Denmark in the Great Northern War, they hardly require to be detailed in a general history of Europe.

We now return to the affairs of France and Western Europe.

CHAPTER V.

THE ambition of Louis was not satisfied with the Peace of Nimeguen. He contemplated it, like those of Westphalia and the Pyrenees, only as a stepping-stone to further acquisitions, that were to be made by means of the very treaties themselves. Disputes had been going on for the last twenty years between France and the Empire as to the extent of the cessions made by the Treaty of Westphalia. Louis XIV. contended that the cession of the three bishoprics, Metz, Toul, and Verdun, with their dependencies, included the sovereignty of the German fiefs that held under them; thus identifying vassalage with the sovereignty of the feudal lord—a principle at variance with the public law of Germany. The imperial plenipotentiaries had neglected to discuss the principle at Nimeguen, and Louis now proceeded to reopen the whole question; not only with regard to the bishoprics, but also his more recent acquisitions of Alsace and Franche Comté. In 1680 were established in the Parliaments of Metz, of Besançon, in Franche Comté, and in the Sovereign Council of Alsace, then sitting at Breisach, certain chambers called *Chambres Royales de Réunion*, in order to examine the nature and extent of the cessions made to France by the Treaties of Westphalia, the Pyrenees, and Nimeguen. The researches of these chambers were carried back to the times of the Frankish kings. The Alsatian Chamber, whose decisions seem to have been justified by the text of the Treaty of Westphalia,[1] adjudicated to France the bishopric of Strasburg, the abbeys of Murbach, Lure, Andlau, and Weissemburg,[2] a great part of the bishopric of Spires, and the counties of Horburg, Lichtenberg, and other places. The Chamber of Metz, though with less appearance of equity, went still further, and reunited to the French Crown all the Hunsrück, the Duchy of Zwey-brücken, or Deux Ponts, the counties of Saarbrück, Veldenz, and Salm,

[1] Pfeffel, *Hist. d'Allemagne*, t. ii. p. 400.

[2] It was pleaded that the abbey of Weissemburg had been founded by King Dagobert, and that the places dependent on it could not have been alienated, church property being inalienable by the imperial constitutions! Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. xiii. p. 579. Such is a specimen of the arguments employed.

the lordships of Bitsche, Sarreburg, Homburg, part of the states of the Rhinegraves and Counts of Linange, and a number of immediate territories and lordships. Nay, this chamber eventually adjudged to Louis the dependencies of the county of Chiny, comprising a full third of the Duchy of Luxembourg, besides the sovereignty of the Duchy of Bouillon, of the territory between the Sambre and the Meuse, and of some other districts in the bishopric of Liége. The Chamber of Besançon, although Franche Comté had been but so recently annexed to the French Crown, was as zealous for its interests as the others, and adjudged to it the county of Montbeliard, and four lordships holding of the county of Burgundy. These assignments affected the domains of several considerable potentates; as the Elector of Trèves, the Elector Palatine, the Duke of Würtemberg, the King of Sweden for the Duchy of Deux Ponts, and others of less name. The King of Sweden remonstrated, but without effect. The Chamber of Metz decreed that if homage were not rendered within a certain time, the duchy would be reunited to the Crown; and as Charles XI. refused thus to abase his royal dignity, the duchy was confiscated, and Louis XIV. invested with it as a fief the Prince Palatine of Birkenfeld.

The possession of the imperial city of Strasburg was a principal object with Louis. Till that city was in his hands, Alsace could never be considered in safety, and the passage of the Rhine might at any time be secured to the imperial armies. In the late war Strasburg had retained a neutral posture, which was regarded by the French as a want of loyalty, and it was resolved to seize the city on the first opportunity, under the decree of the Chamber of Breisach. The municipal government was gained by bribes, and on July 28th 1681, an army of 35,000 men, concentrated from various quarters with great celerity, appeared before its walls. Resistance was useless; the imperial resident attempted to raise the people, but the magistrates had taken care to deprive the city of all means of defence, and no alternative remained but to accept the favourable capitulation offered by the French. Strasburg, by recognising Louis as its sovereign lord, obtained the confirmation of all its civil and religious rights and liberties, and continued to form a sort of republic under the authority of France down to the time of the French Revolution. Louis XIV. entered Strasburg in person, October 23rd. It was then consigned to the skill of Vauban, who rendered it a fortress of the first order, and the bulwark of France on the east.[3]

[3] These works were considered so important that a medal was struck on the

Louis also sought to make acquisitions in the Spanish Netherlands. By forced interpretations of the Treaty of Nimeguen, he pretended a right to all the towns and districts which had been occupied by his troops during the late war, although these had been withdrawn either at or before the peace, on the ground that the restitution of such places had not been expressly stipulated. On this pretext he claimed the Burgraviate, or ancient borough of Ghent, Beveren, Alost, Grammont, Ninove and Lessines. The real object of these claims, however, the granting of which, as Louis himself admitted, would have entirely compromised the safety of the Spanish Netherlands, was to obtain concessions on the side of Luxembourg; and therefore to the indignant remonstrances of the Spanish Cabinet, he coolly replied that he should be ready to listen to any proposals of exchange. To keep the French out of Flanders, Spain ceded the county of Chiny, adjudged, as we have said, to the crown of France by the Parliament of Metz. But it was then discovered, or pretended, that this inconsiderable domain, whose capital was a mere village, possessed dependencies which extended to the very gates of Luxembourg; and the King of Spain was called on to do homage for a multitude of arrière fiefs. At the same time Louis was seeking to extend his dominion on the side of Italy. He entertained the project of obtaining Savoy, by procuring the marriage of the young duke, Victor Amadeus II., who had succeeded to his father, Charles Emmanuel II., in 1675, with the heiress of Portugal. Victor, it was expected, would cede his duchy to France on obtaining the Portuguese crown; he had already been betrothed (March 1681), and was on the point of setting off for Lisbon, when he was deterred by the remonstrances and threats of the Piedmontese from completing the marriage. Louis, however, was in some degree consoled for this disappointment by the occupation of Casale in September 1681, which he had purchased from the profligate and needy Duke of Montferrat.

These pretensions and acquisitions alarmed all Europe. Louis, it was said, was aiming at a new universal monarchy, and the suspicion was encouraged by his attempts on the Empire itself. A pretended imperial capitulation was circulated in Germany in July 1681, by which the Dauphin was to be elected King of the Romans, and consequently the presumptive successor of the Emperor Leopold.[4] Symptoms of resistance began to appear.

occasion, with the inscription: "*Clausa Germanis. Gallia*" (Gaul closed to the Germans).

[4] Dumont, *Mémoires politiques*, ap. Martin, t. xiii. p. 587.

In October 1681, the King of Sweden concluded a treaty with the United Netherlands to guarantee the Treaties of Münster and Nimeguen against violation. The Emperor acceded to this treaty in Feb. 1682, and Spain in the following May. It was probably these movements that caused Louis to withdraw the troops which had already blockaded Luxembourg, and to offer to refer his claims to the mediation of the King of England. This appears from a treaty which he concluded about this time (Jan. 22nd 1682) with the Elector, Frederick William of Brandenburg. Although many of the German States were joining the association against French ambition, that politic prince, from the hope apparently of regaining Pomerania through the assistance of Louis, not only refused all participation in such an alliance, but also undertook to use his endeavours for a peaceful solution of the points in question between France and the Empire: in other words, to induce the Emperor to give up to the French the places which they had occupied. Louis promised in return to put a stop to further reunions, and not to resort to arms so long as any hope remained of a friendly settlement.[5] But he seized the opportunity to claim for his motives the praise of a disinterested generosity, and he gave out that he had no wish to disturb the peace of Europe at a moment when it was menaced by the Turks, or to prevent Spain from succouring the Emperor against the common enemy of Christendom.[6] His plans, therefore, were for the present postponed, though not abandoned. Europe knew how to appreciate his moderation. The alliances of the German States against France were pushed more vigorously than ever, and were even joined by the young Elector of Bavaria, Louis' son-in-law; and in the spring of 1682, the Emperor, Spain, Sweden and Holland renewed their conventions for mutual succour.[7] Louis, however, who in spite of his pretended generosity was secretly encouraging the Turks to attack the Emperor, gave an ostensible colouring to it by bombarding Algiers (June 1682), in punishment of the many piracies committed by the Algerines on French subjects. The bombardment was renewed in the following year; but it was not till April 1684 that the dey was reduced to submission, and compelled to restore the French and other Christian slaves whom he had captured.

The pretended forbearance of Louis had come to an end while

[5] Puffendorf, *De rebus g. Frid. Wilhelmi*, lib. xviii. § 44. Cf. Stenzel, *Gesch. des preussischen Staates*, B. ii. S. 414. Anm. 1. Martin, who does not notice this treaty, ascribes Louis's moderation to his wish of conciliating Germany in favour of his schemes upon the Empire. *Hist. de France*, t. xiii. p. 586.

[6] The Austrian and Turkish war will be found related in the next chapter.

[7] Dumont, t. vii. pt. ii. p. 22 sqq.

the motive alleged for it was not only still in existence but had even become more powerful than ever. In the summer of 1683, while the Turks were in full march upon Vienna, Louis was preparing to assert by arms his claims on the Spanish Netherlands. It may, indeed, be doubted whether he had not waited for a catastrophe which he had helped to produce. During the two months, however, that the Turks were encamped before Vienna, Louis suspended the blow which he was prepared to strike. A certain respect for the public opinion of Europe, his previous magnanimous declarations, as well perhaps as his treaty with the Elector of Brandenburg, arrested his hand; nay, he even made a show of offering his forces to the Emperor, who at once declined the aid of so dangerous an ally. Louis probably expected, as he certainly hoped,[8] that the Turks would take Vienna, after which blow the States of the Empire would be compelled to seek his aid. Amid the rejoicings of Europe for the deliverance of that city, the French Court was remarkable by its sadness. Immediately after the retreat of the Turks, the French troops entered Flanders and Brabant. The mediation of Charles II. had been without result. Louis had fixed the end of August as the term for Spain's reply to his demands; she would yield nothing except Chiny, and on the 28th of October she declared war against France, though she was without the means of prosecuting it. Courtrai and Dixmuyde were taken by the French early in November. Louis proposed to exchange these places against Luxembourg, and granted to the Spaniards a suspension of hostilities till the end of January 1684 to consider the proposal. Meanwhile the French laid the districts they had occupied under contribution; and when the garrison of Luxembourg, by way of reprisal, made some incursions into the French territory, marshal Créqui punished that city by a terrible bombardment

The Spanish Cabinet in vain looked around for aid. Neither the King of Sweden, nor the Emperor, the latter of whom was still embarrassed with the Turkish war, was in a condition to interfere. The King of England at first showed some disposition to assist the Spaniards. After the Peace of Nimeguen a coolness had arisen between Charles and Louis, who would not continue his subsidies except on terms too onerous to be endured; and in June 1680 the English King formed an alliance with Spain to guarantee the treaty.[9] In the following year, however, the

[8] It is said that, among the papers of the Grand Vizier captured by the Austrians, was found a letter of Louis XIV. recommending the siege of Vienna. Puffendorf, *Ibid.* lib. xviii. § 96. p. 1187.

[9] Dumont, t. vii. pt. ii. p. 2.

venal Charles promised to abandon his new allies in consideration of his pension being renewed. Louis, by a verbal agreement, promised him two million livres for the present year, and 500,000 crowns for the two following years;[10] and Charles now advised the Spaniards to submit to the demands of France. Even the Dutch republic, on whom Spain most relied, did nothing. The Stadtholder, indeed, strained every nerve to bring an army into the field, but he could not persuade the States-General to second his views. The field was thus left open to the operations of the French. In March 1684, Marshal d'Humières bombarded Oudenarde; in April, Louis in person took the command of the army in Hainault; while Marshal Créqui, with another division of 32,000 men, proceeded to invest Luxembourg, and after a short siege compelled that city to capitulate (June 4th). Shortly after, Trèves was taken and dismantled, though not occupied, by the French, and a truce of twenty years was concluded between France and the States-General. Louis XIV., at the commencement of the siege of Luxembourg, had given the Dutch to understand that he should be content with that place, together with Beaumont in Hainault, Bovines and Chimai, which would not compromise their boundary; and that he would restore Courtrai and Dixmuyde to Spain. These conditions were accepted by the States, who promised to abandon the Spanish alliance if they were not acceded to, and the truce was accordingly signed June 29th. The Emperor acceded to the truce at Ratisbon, August 15th, both in his own name and that of the King of Spain, by whom he had been furnished with plenipotentiary powers for that purpose. It was agreed, in addition to the articles already mentioned in the Dutch treaty, that, during the truce, France should remain in possession of all the places adjudged to her by the *Chambres de Réunion* up to August 1st 1681, including Strasburg, but should, during the same period, make no further claims on territories belonging to the Empire.[11]

As these proceedings display Louis XIV.'s unjust and insatiable ambition, so about the same time he gave to the world equally striking examples of his pride and bigotry. The little republic of Genoa was to become a victim to the "glory" of the great King. The alliance of the Genoese with Spain was too intimate to please Louis; he proposed that they should accept his protectorate instead of that of the Catholic King, and when this was declined, he employed himself in discovering some pretexts for war. These were easily found. The Genoese were charged with having supplied

[10] Dalrymple, *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, vol. i. p. 370.

[11] Dumont, t. vii. pt. ii. pp. 79 and 81.

the Spaniards with four galleys, contrary to his prohibition; with having furnished the Algerines with ammunitions of war; with having stopped the passage of French salt through Savona, &c.; above all, like their brother republicans the Dutch, they had ventured to talk of the French King with disrespect. Louis treated them as if they had been rebellious vassals instead of an independent people. He imprisoned their envoy in the Bastille, and sent a fleet to bombard their city, which reduced "Genoa the Superb," with its marble palaces, almost to a heap of ruins (May 1684). The Genoese, having in vain besought the aid of Spain, implored the mediation of the Pope, at whose intercession Louis abated many of his substantial demands, but only on conditions calculated to humiliate the Genoese and gratify his own inordinate pride. The Doge of Genoa, whom the laws forbade to leave the city, was required to appear in person at Versailles and deliver a speech prepared for him by one of Louis's flatterers, in which the King was described as "a monarch who had surpassed in valour, grandeur, and magnanimity all the kings of past ages, and who would transmit to his descendants his unassailable power." Louis, indeed, who possessed the most polished manners, affected to alleviate the feelings of the Doge by the gracious reception he accorded to him; but it was impossible to avert the indignation of Europe at the barbarities committed by Louis, merely for the barren satisfaction of gratifying his pride.[12]

About the same time he gave an equally signal instance of his bigotry and intolerance. During the latter days of Cardinal Mazarine the liberties granted to the Protestants by the Edict of Nantes had been gradually curtailed; but when Louis himself assumed the reins of power these retrograde acts became still more frequent and striking. The private meetings, or colloquies, of the Protestants, as well as their national triennial synods, were suppressed (1661, 1662). In April 1663 appeared a royal declaration forbidding all Protestants who had become Catholics to return to the reformed religion, and all priests or ecclesiastics to embrace it at all. These were followed by many other decrees of the same kind; such as the forbidding any but Catholics to be admitted as masters of trades, except in certain special cases; the allowing of boys of fourteen years of age and girls of twelve to change their religion in spite of their parents; the prohibiting of Protestants to keep schools of a superior kind for the education of the higher classes; with others of the like description. These proceedings were viewed with great sorrow and disapprobation by Colbert, as they

[12] Martin, t. xiv. p. 261.

affected the most active and industrious portion of the population, and consequently the trade and prosperity of the kingdom; and it seems to have been from his representations, seconded by the remonstrances of the Elector of Brandenburg, that Louis was induced to put a stop for some years to those persecutions,[13] or at all events to restrain them within moderate bounds; and from the year 1666 to 1674, the Hugonots enjoyed comparative tranquillity. The recommencement of persecution in the latter year must be ascribed to a change in the domestic life of Louis.

In the year 1666, Louis, at the recommendation of his mistress, Madame de Montespan, had allowed her to take as the governess of their children the widow of the burlesque writer Scarron. Madame Scarron was descended from a distinguished Hugonot family, being the grand-daughter of D'Aubigné, the Protestant historian and friend of Henry IV.; but her husband had left her in the greatest poverty. The house of Scarron was not a school of strict morality. His wife, who had been converted to the Romish faith, had made there some acquaintances of more than doubtful character, and among them Ninon de l'Enclos; yet she appears, nevertheless, to have been sincere in the character she had assumed of a prude and devotee. Madame Scarron, at the middle period of life, had preserved in a remarkable degree a beauty of no ordinary kind; she had much wit and many accomplishments, which were enhanced by a bewitching grace and dignity of manner. These qualities made by degrees an irresistible impression on the heart of Louis; in a few years her empire over the King was completely established, and in 1675 he created her Marquise de Maintenon. So far from this influence being the price of virtue, it was employed in conducting Louis back into the paths of morality. His youth had been engrossed by a succession of mistresses. Elizabeth Tarneaux, Madlles. La Vallière, La Motte d'Argencourt, Fontanges and Madame de Montespan had successively ruled his heart; by the last he had a numerous offspring whom he had legitimated and compelled the Queen to receive. Yet Madame de Maintenon succeeded in reclaiming the affections of the King even from her haughty patroness, and restoring them to the Queen. From this period of his conversion the King renounced the bonds of unlawful love. Madame de Maintenon soon found her reward. In 1683 Maria Theresa died, and in the following year, the King and Madame de Maintenon were privately married in the chapel at Versailles.

This reform in the King's life was accompanied, unhappily for

[13] *Hist. de l'Édit de Nantes*, t. iv. p. 12.

France, with an increase of his bigotry. To bring back those of his subjects who had wandered from the Church of Rome appeared to him a work that might merit the redemption of past sins; and thus his own reformation and the conversion of his heretic subjects became inseparable ideas. This new bent of his mind was encouraged by those whom he chiefly consulted in the affairs of his conscience; the illustrious Bossuet, Harlai, the archbishop of Paris, and the King's confessor, Father la Chaise. The renewal of persecution dates, as we have said, from 1674, and the establishment of Madame de Maintenon's influence. Naturally gentle and moderate, Madame de Maintenon herself was indeed at heart averse to the severe measures adopted against her former co-religionists; yet it appears from her own confession that she was led to encourage them, lest the King, who had heard that she was born a Calvinist, should suspect her of a want of zeal.[14] These measures, therefore, were not directly owing to her; but they were the result of the King's misinterpretation of the principles with which she had inspired him; a misinterpretation which, out of interest and self-love, she encouraged instead of repressing. Louis found in his proud and unfeeling minister Louvois a fitting instrument of his bigotry. It would be too long to detail all the steps adopted against the Hugonots. They were calculated to strip them, one by one, of all the privileges accorded by the Edict of Nantes, and thus to prepare the final blow, the revocation of the Edict itself. The Protestant churches were gradually demolished; the so-called *chambres mi-parties*, before which Protestant suits were pleaded in the Parliaments of Toulouse, Bordeaux, and Grenoble, were suppressed; Roman Catholics were forbidden to apostatize under pain of penance, confiscation of goods, and perpetual banishment; mixed marriages, of Catholics and Protestants, were prohibited, and the children of such marriages were declared bastards; it was forbidden that Hugonots should be employed as clerks or otherwise, in the management of the finances; nay, these savage decrees penetrated into and divided the family household; and by a royal declaration of June 17th 1681, it was decreed that children of the tender age of seven years should be capable of conversion in spite of their parents, as if already competent to distinguish the true path of salvation. Such are a few specimens of the numerous edicts published against the Hugonots. Louvois, who had opposed the King's moral conversion, and had caballed with Montespan against Maintenon, zealously threw him-

[14] Rulhière, *Éclaircissements sur les causes de la révocation de l'Édit de Nantes*, ap. Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. xiii. p. 628.

self into the cause of persecution, and effected conversions by means of his own department. Converted Protestants were exempted from military billets; while the additional charge which would thus have been thrown on Catholic householders was diverted by billeting on the richer Hugonots twice the number of soldiers that fell legally to their share.[15]

Flight was the only mode of escaping these persecutions. In spite of the surveillance exercised by the police on the frontiers and in the ports, emigration took place on a great scale. England, Holland, Denmark offered hospitality to the emigrants, and were enriched by their industry, skill, and capital. The French Government endeavoured to stop the emigration by forbidding Hugonot families to leave France under the penalty for the heads of them of perpetual relegation to the galleys (May 1682). The stoppage of this outlet occasioned an explosion within. The Hugonots began to band together in the south of France. Their prohibited provincial synods were replaced by secret unions; they began to arm, and in some places it was necessary to suppress their movements by force and bloodshed. After the death of the wise and moderate Colbert in 1683, these persecutions assumed new vigour. The influence of Louvois, now uncontrolled, was displayed in a multitude of the most rigorous edicts (1684-1685).[16] Troops[17] were despatched into the southern provinces, where the Hugonots were chiefly seated; and though the soldiers were publicly forbidden to use any violence, their brutalities were secretly connived at. By these means the Protestants of Béarn, estimated at 22,000, were *converted*, within a few hundreds. Terror harbingered the approach of the dragoons, at whose appearance whole towns hastened to announce their submission. The same method was used with success in Guienne, the Limousin, Saintonge, Poitou, Languedoc, and Dauphiné. Conversions were announced by the thousands; though the value of such a *conversion* is easily estimated. Louis was quite intoxicated with his success. It seemed as if he was as great a conqueror over men's souls as over their bodies and worldly possessions; that he had but to speak the word, and all those proud and obstinate heretics, who had once almost dictated the law to his ancestors, must fall down and yield to his infallible genius; a thought at once gratifying to his bigotry and his pride. And now when the Hugonots were reduced, in

[15] Martin, *Ibid.* p. 627.

[16] The particulars of them will be found in the *Anciennes Lois Françaises*, t. xix. p. 464 sqq.; and in the *Hist. de l'Édit de Nantes*, t. v. liv. 21, 22, and App.

[17] Dragoons were chiefly used in this service, as being most adapted to it from their serving both on foot and horseback. Hence these military persecutions were called *Dragonnades*.

appearance at least, to a small fraction of their former number—and if the fathers were insincere, the children at all events would be good Catholics—Louis conceived that the time had arrived when he might strike the final blow by repealing the Edict of his grandfather Henry IV. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, drawn up by the aged Chancellor le Tellier, father of Louvois, was signed by the King, October 17th 1685. It went, of course, to the complete future annihilation of Calvinism in France. All Protestant churches were to be immediately demolished; the reformed worship was forbidden on pain of confiscation and perpetual imprisonment; the ministers who refused to be converted were to quit the kingdom in a fortnight; the children of Protestant parents were to be baptised by the curé of the parish, and instructed in the Roman Catholic faith. Only by the last article some indulgence was shown to those who still remained unconverted. They were permitted, "till such time as it should please God to enlighten them like the rest," to remain in France, and to exercise their callings and professions, without let or molestation on account of their religion.[18] Such was the text; but the practice hardly corresponded with it. In fact, Louvois instructed the leaders of the *dragonnades* to disregard the last article of the Declaration, and to treat with the extremity of rigour all those who should have the absurd vanity of persisting in a religion[19] which differed from that of His Majesty the King! Louvois gave the order to let the soldiery live "licentiously." Everything was permitted to them except murder and violation; but a good deal may be done short of these crimes, nor did the soldiery always abstain even from these. The most horrible tortures were resorted to. Those Hugonots who had the most influence with their brethren, either from their character or their social position, were sent to the Bastille or other state prisons; and some were even buried in sultry or freezing dungeons, the remains of feudal barbarism. From Dauphiné the *dragonnades* were extended to the Vaudois inhabiting the Alpine valleys between that province and Piedmont. At the command of Louis, the Duke of Savoy, Victor Amadeus II., joined in their persecution; the ministers, or *barbes*, of the Vaudois, their schoolmasters, and the French Protestants who had taken refuge among them, were ordered, under pain of death, to quit the ducal territories in a fortnight; while their worship was prohibited, and their schools were ordered to be closed under the same penalty (Feb. 1686). The Vaudois

[18] *Hist. de l'Édit de Nantes*, t. v. *Preuves*, p. 185.
[19] *Ibid.* p. 868.

attempted to defend their liberties by arms against the French troops led by Catinat, a brave soldier and enlightened man, who performed the task with reluctance. Many thousands of the Vaudois perished in this massacre, in which neither age nor sex was spared. A remnant of them who had managed to defend themselves in the more inaccessible parts of the mountains, obtained, through the intervention of the Protestant Powers, and especially of the Swiss, permission to emigrate.[20]

These cruelties naturally produced a reaction. Emigration became more vigorous than ever, in spite of all the endeavours of the Government to prevent it, and though seamen or others assisting the emigrants were threatened with fine and corporal punishment, the galleys, and even death. It is computed that between the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the end of the century between 200,000 and 300,000 persons left France for the sake of their religion. These too, from their wealth and character, were amongst the most valuable citizens of France, and included many men of high literary reputation: as Basnage, the historian of the United Netherlands; Lenfant, historian of the Councils of Basle and Constance; Beausobre, author of the History of Manicheism; Rapin, author of the History of England, and others. It was now that whole colonies of French established themselves at London, at Berlin, in Holland, and other places, and planted there the silk manufacture and other arts and trades.

It happened singularly enough that while Louis was engaged in this crusade against the Protestants, he was also involved in a warm dispute with Pope Innocent XI. (Benedict Odescalchi) respecting the *Régale*, in some of the southern provinces. The matter belongs to the domestic history of France, and is chiefly remarkable as having produced Bossuet's celebrated *Declaration of the Clergy of France*, which forms an epoch in the French Church (March 1682). The substance of it is, that the Pope has no power in temporal affairs; that, as decreed by the Council of Constance, the Pope's spiritual authority is subordinate to that of a General Council; that the constitutions of the Gallican Church may not be subverted; and that though the Pope has the first voice in questions of faith, his judgment is not irrevocable unless confirmed by the Church. This declaration was converted into a law by a royal edict.

The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes excited unbounded sorrow and indignation in all the Protestant states of Europe. These feelings were nowhere more conspicuously manifested than in the

[20] *Hist. de l'Édit de Nantes*, t v. p. 926; *Mémoires de Catinat*, t. i. p. 20 sq., and *Pièces Just.* p. 256 (Paris, 1819).

Electorate of Brandenburg. Frederick William, a zealous Calvinist, even overstepped the bounds of Christian moderation by publishing a retaliatory Edict against his Catholic subjects; but the steps which he took for the protection of the French refugees were of a nobler character. Partly out of compassion for his fellow-religionists, partly also perhaps with the politic view of encouraging arts and manufactures in his dominions, he granted to the French emigrants more privileges than were enjoyed even by his own subjects; he gave them ground and materials for building; he supplied them with money to open manufactories, pay their clergy, and erect their own consistories, tribunals, schools, and churches.[21] Sweden, the ancient ally of France, participated in the feeling now awakened against that kingdom both on religious grounds, and from the personal injury which Charles XI. had sustained, as already related, at the hands of the French monarch with regard to his duchy of Zweibrücken. In the spring of 1686, a secret treaty was concluded between the King of Sweden and the Elector of Brandenburg, lately such bitter enemies, for mutual defence and for the protection of the empire against the attacks of France. In the United Netherlands, Louis completely alienated, through his persecutions of the Hugonots, the goodwill of the party that had supported him, and the ancient adherents of the De Witts now went over to the Prince of Orange. The anger of the commercial portion of the Dutch nation had been further excited because Louis, in his indiscriminate hatred of the Calvinists, had not spared the persons and property of Dutch merchants naturalised in France, and had thus almost annihilated the trade between that kingdom and Holland.[22] Thus by an infatuated policy, the French King, besides weakening his own kingdom, and alienating a large portion of his subjects, who subsequently fought against him under the banners of his enemies, had also incurred the hostility of every Protestant country of Europe; while Spain and the Catholic states of the Empire were provoked and alarmed by his grasping ambition, and even the Pope himself, irrevocably alienated by the contempt which he displayed for the apostolic chair.

There was one prince whose keen and penetrating glance saw all these mistakes, and whose hatred of the French king and nation incited him to take advantage of them. Among the earliest reminiscences of the Dutch Stadtholder, William III., were the injuries which his country had received at the hands of Louis XIV. At his entrance into public life, William had found himself reduced

[21] Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. iv. S. 482 sq.
[22] Van Kampen, B. ii. S. 295.

to choose between submitting to the haughty conqueror, or half ruining his country, perhaps abandoning it altogether, in order to escape the vassalage of France. These things had engendered in him an inextinguishable enmity which recent occurrences had served still further to inflame. Although a Calvinist, William was a friend of toleration; and, like the rest of his countrymen, had beheld with disgust the recent persecutions in France. This feeling had been increased by a private injury. Louis had recently seized his principality of Orange, properly an imperial fief, and had united it to the French crown. William had publicly declared that he would make Louis repent the outrage, and had refused to retract his words when called upon by D'Avaux, the French minister in Holland, for an explanation.[23] Thus, by all his steps at this juncture, Louis was not only embittering the enmity which the Prince of Orange entertained against him, but also preparing those events which ultimately enabled William to curb his power and humble his pride. From this period the Dutch Stadtholder must be regarded as the chief opponent of French ambition, as the man on whose counsels the destiny of Europe hung. It is in this character, as Lord Macaulay justly remarks,[24] and not as King of England, that William's conduct as a statesman should be viewed and estimated. His plans for wresting the English sceptre from the hands of his popish father-in-law were only part of his grand scheme for humiliating Louis. He wished to reign in England chiefly, if not solely, in order that he might wield her power against the French King. In this struggle the principles of Rome and those of the Reformation are still in presence, however mixed up with political events and secular ambition. The bigoted Louis XIV., though at enmity with the actual Pope, is still the representative of those ancient monarchical traditions which leaned for support on the Church of Rome; while the Calvinist William, the child and heir of the Reformation, is the champion of religious toleration and civil liberty. Nature had admirably qualified him for the part which he had assumed; in which defeat and disappointment were often to be endured without discouragement, and success at last achieved by long and complicated combinations, pursued with indomitable perseverance and unflinching courage.

It was some fresh symptoms of aggression on the part of Louis that enabled the Stadtholder to unite the greater part of Europe in a league against him. The Duke of Orléans, the French King's

[23] See *Négociations du comte d'Avaux*, September to December 1682.

[24] *Hist. of England*, chap. vii.

brother, had married the sister of the Elector Palatine, the last of the House of Simmern, who died in May 1685, when his next relative, the Count Palatine Philip William, Duke of Neuburg, took possession of the Electorate. The Duchess of Orléans had by her marriage contract renounced all her feudal rights to the Palatinate, but not her claims to the allodial property and the moveables of her family. In these latter, Louis, on the part of his sister-in-law, insisted on including not only the furniture of the electoral palaces but even the cannon of the fortresses; and the new Elector was forced to satisfy these claims by the payment of 100,000 livres. The claims of the Duchess on the allodial property were far more embarrassing. Under this head were demanded the principalities of Simmern and Lautern, the county of Sponheim, with numerous other territories, towns, and lordships; in short, the larger portion of the whole Electorate. Philip William resisted these demands, and Louis, who was now busy at home with the Hugonots, and who was shortly afterwards seized with a dangerous and painful malady, did not at present attempt to assert them by force. He had, however, done enough to excite a general alarm, and to show that he had not abandoned his designs of enriching himself at the expense of his neighbours. The new Elector implored the protection of the Empire, and thus redoubled the uneasiness felt in Germany, and indeed throughout the greater part of Europe, respecting the schemes of Louis. The Prince of Orange availed himself of these suspicions to forward his plans against Louis. He artfully inflamed the general alarm, and at length succeeded in inducing the Emperor Leopold, the Kings of Spain and Sweden, as princes of the Empire, the Electors of Saxony and Bavaria, the circles of Suabia, Franconia, Upper Saxony, and Bavaria to enter into the celebrated League of Augsburg (July 9th 1686). The object of this league was to maintain the Treaties of Münster and Nimeguen and the Truce of Ratisbon. If any of the members of it was attacked he was to be assisted by the whole confederacy: 60,000 men were to be raised, who were to be frequently drilled, and to form a camp during some weeks of every year, and a common fund for their support was to be established at Frankfort. The League was to be in force only for three years, but might be prolonged at the expiration of that term should the public safety require it.[25]

The Elector Palatine, who was in fact the party most directly interested, acceded to the League early in September, as well as the Duke of Holstein Gottorp. The Elector of Brandenburg had

[25] Dumont, t. vii. pt. ii. p. 131 sqq.

already made a separate alliance with the Emperor by three treaties (Dec. 25th 1685 and Jan. 4th, and March 22nd 1686), by which certain exchanges of territory were made between them; and the Elector had pledged himself to defend the Empire against all assailants. He did not, therefore, join the League of Augsburg, to avoid giving any open cause of offence to the French King. Nor did the Stadtholder himself become a party to it, since it ostensibly professed to be an association only of the members of the Empire. Most French writers are of opinion that William organised this league in order to assist his scheme for seizing the crown of England; and it is certain that it eventually proved very useful to him in that undertaking. Yet, although the idea of supplanting his father-in-law may already have occurred to him, he could hardly have foreseen that two years afterwards he should be invited into England by the Whigs, and that at the same time Louis should have declared war against the Empire; and it seems, therefore, more probable that William, without any definite view of self-advantage, merely organised the league as part of his general policy against the French King.

The establishment of the League of Augsburg gave rise to some sharp correspondence between Louis and the Emperor; and by way of defiance, the French King caused a fort to be built opposite Hüningen, on the right bank of the Rhine, in the territory of the Margrave of Baden. It was not, however, till two years afterwards, as we have already said, that war actually broke out between France and the Empire. The reason why it should have been so long postponed, or why it should have been entered into at that particular juncture, it is not easy to explain. Some French writers have attributed it to a quarrel between Louis and his minister Louvois respecting the size of a window in the little palace of Trianon; when Louvois, mortified by the hard words which he received from his master, resolved to divert his attention from such subjects by finding employment for him in a war.[26] This, probably, is only one of those anecdotes, more piquant than veracious, in which the French writers of memoirs delight; yet, had it been true, the pretexts for war set forth by Louis in his manifesto of Sept. 24th 1688, could hardly have been more flimsy. The main grounds assigned for declaring war were, that the Emperor intended to conclude a peace with the Turks in order that he might turn his arms against France; that he had supported the Elector Palatine in his unjust hesitation to do justice to the claims of the Duchess of Orléans; and that he had deprived the Cardinal

[26] *Mémoires* de St. Simon, t. xiii. p. 9; Martin, t. xiv. p. 90.

Von Fürstenberg, an ally of the French kings, who had been elected by part of the Chapter of the archbishopric of Cologne, and had procured to be chosen in his stead the Bavarian prince, Joseph Clement.[27] Louis also called upon the Emperor to convert the truce of Ratisbon into a definitive peace; or, in other words, to cede to him in perpetuity the acquisitions which had been assigned to him only for a limited period.

With regard to the first of these charges, it is true, as we have related in another chapter, that Austria, since the siege of Vienna, had achieved some signal triumphs both over the Turks and the Hungarians, triumphs which had excited great jealousy and anger in the French Court, but which can hardly be regarded as affording Louis any legitimate cause of war against the Emperor. The affair of the Duchess of Orléans we have already explained. It had been referred, with the consent of Louis, to the arbitration of the Pope; and the delay which had taken place was, therefore, imputable to Innocent XI. and not to the Emperor. It is certain, however, that Innocent was the implacable adversary of France. No pope since the Reformation had exercised so much political influence as he; and, strange to say, for the sake of opposing Louis, this influence was ranged on the side of the heretic William, against his orthodox uncle, James II., the sovereign whose devotion to Rome was so blind and implicit that he hesitated not to sacrifice three kingdoms for a mass. Innocent had also thrown in his weight against Louis in the affair of the electorate of Cologne, which requires a few words of explanation.

The Suabian family of Fürstenberg was entirely devoted to France. Egon Von Fürstenberg, Bishop of Strasburg, had been very instrumental in putting the French in possession of that city; his brother William had, as we have seen, been seized by the Emperor at the Congress of Cologne for being too warm a partisan of French interests, but had subsequently recovered his liberty at the Peace of Nimeguen. Egon having died in 1682, Louis obtained for William, who had purposely entered the Church, the bishopric of Strasburg, and subsequently a cardinal's hat. Nor did the French King's views in his favour stop here: Louis resolved to procure for him the archbishopric and electorate of Cologne; a step by which the electorate would become almost a French province, while, at the same time, Louis would obtain through his creature and dependant a voice in the affairs of the Empire. Early in 1688, Maximilian, the archbishop-elector of Cologne, and

[27] See *Mémoire des Raisons qui ont obligé le Roy à reprendre les armes*, in Dumont, t. vii. pt. ii. p. 170.

the Chapter being gained by French money, elected William Von Fürstenberg Coadjutor; that is, successor to the archbishopric when it should become vacant by the death of Maximilian, an event which happened a few months later (June 1688). But the Pope, who was in the interests of the Emperor, annulled the election of the Coadjutor; the League of Augsburg brought forwards the Bavarian prince, Joseph Clement, as a rival candidate for the archbishopric, and though Clement was only seventeen years of age, the Pope gave him a dispensation and a brief of eligibility. As both the candidates possessed bishoprics, they could only be elected by *postulation*, for which the canon law requires a reunion of two thirds of the votes. But of the twenty-four votes, Fürstenberg obtained only fifteen, while Clement had the remaining nine; and as he had been declared eligible by the Pope, while the same privilege had not been accorded to Fürstenberg, the election fell upon Clement. Louis, however, declared that he would support Fürstenberg and the majority of the Chapter, and his troops took possession of most of the places of the electorate.

Thus the enmity between the Pope and the French King, first excited by the affair of the *Régale*, became irreconcilable. It had been recently aggravated by another dispute, which had involved the Parliament of Paris in Innocent's displeasure. The pontiff, with a view to the better administration of the police in Rome, had abrogated a privilege enjoyed by foreign ambassadors resident in that capital, by which not only the palace, but even the quarter which they inhabited, was considered inviolable, and thus afforded an asylum to malefactors of all kinds. All the other Powers submitted without a murmur to this wholesome regulation; but Louis haughtily declared "that his crown had never been guided by the conduct of others, but, on the contrary, God had established it to be for them an example, and he was determined, so long as he reigned, never to forfeit any of its rights."[28] The Marquis of Lavardin, who proceeded to Rome as French ambassador in November 1687, was instructed to disregard the Pope's abrogation of the ambassadorial franchise, although a bull of excommunication had been launched against all who should maintain it. Lavardin entered Rome at the head of near a thousand armed men; but Innocent refused to receive him, and placed the French church of St. Louis, which the ambassador was accustomed to attend, under an interdict. The matter was taken up by the Parliament of Paris. Several members, and especially De Harlai, the *procureur-général*, and Talon, the *avocat-général*, inveighed

[28] Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. xiv. p. 78.

vehemently against the Pope, and appealed to a future Council. The Parliament passed an *Arrêt* (January 1688), that the King should be supplicated to assemble provincial councils, or a National Council, in order to put an end to the disorder created by the vacancy of bishoprics (through the affair of the *Régale*); and that all commerce with Rome, and the remitting of money thither, should be forbidden.

These quarrels show how much France was then before other Roman Catholic nations in the little value which she set on the papal authority, and how near she was to an absolute separation from Rome. Nay, they were not without importance on the political events of the period, and caused Louis to feel that the Pope had not yet entirely lost his influence even in temporal matters. His rage and disappointment are shown in a violent and remarkable letter which he addressed to the Pope (September 6th), through the Cardinal d'Estrées, with orders to communicate it to Innocent and the Consistory. In this letter, which may almost be regarded as a declaration of the war he was meditating, he declared that he had lost all hope of reawakening in Innocent the feelings of the common father of Christendom, or to obtain any justice at his hands; and he intimated that the Pope's conduct would probably cause a general war in Europe. "It is a conduct," he continued, "which emboldens the Prince of Orange openly to manifest a design of attacking the King of England in his own dominions, and to hold out, on the pretext of so bold an enterprise, the maintenance of the Protestant religion, or rather the extirpation of Catholicism." He declared that he could no longer recognise Innocent as mediator in the affair of the Palatine succession, and that he should take care to obtain justice by the means which God had placed in his hands. He further announced that he should continue to assist the Cardinal Von Fürstenberg; and that if his ally, the Duke of Parma, was not immediately put in possession of the Duchies of Castro and Ronciglione, withheld from him by the Holy See since the Treaty of Pisa, the French troops would enter Italy, and Avignon would be seized.[29] This last threat was carried into execution in October.

Innocent XI. replied by proclaiming Clement of Bavaria Archbishop of Cologne, and by excommunicating the Parliament of Paris and the Advocate-General Talon. Louis, on his side, followed up his Philippic against the Pope by the declaration of war against the Emperor already mentioned. For some weeks the

[29] *Lettre de Louis XIV. au Cardinal d'Estrées*, in Dumont, t. vii. pt. ii. p. 167; Burnet, *Own Times*, vol. i. p. 759.

French troops had been marching from Flanders towards the eastern frontier. One division, ostensibly commanded by the Dauphin, but in reality by Marshal de Duras and Vauban, laid siege to Philipsburg early in October; another smaller corps, under Boufflers, occupied almost without resistance Kaiserslautern, Neustadt, Kreutznach, Worms, Oppenheim, Bingen, Baccharach—in short, almost all the possessions of the Elector Palatine and the Elector of Mentz on the left bank of the Rhine. The latter admitted the French into his capital on condition that the neutrality of his dominions beyond the Rhine should be respected.

The joy of the Dutch Stadtholder was boundless when he learnt that the French King had irrevocably committed himself to a policy which insured the success of William's designs upon England, and would enable him at no distant period to add the might of that country to the already formidable coalition against France. Louis, unfortunately for himself, listened to the counsels of Louvois instead of those of D'Avaux. The latter had advised him to menace the Dutch frontiers, and thus keep William at home. Louvois, on the other hand, represented that unless a diversion were made by an attack upon the Empire, the Turks, humiliated by their defeats, and threatened with the loss even of Belgrade, their frontier town, would be compelled to submit to whatsoever conditions the Emperor might be pleased to impose upon them, and would thus enable him to concentrate all his forces against France. This advice coincided with the policy, long pursued by Louis, of enriching himself at the expense of the Empire; whose frontiers, but slightly guarded, seemed to offer an easy conquest. Considerations of a personal nature had also, perhaps, some influence on the decision of the French King. He had to gratify his own pride, which had received a wound in the affair of Cologne; and he was, perhaps, also not unwilling to mortify the pride of the King of England. The blindness and infatuation of James II. in this crisis of his fortunes almost surpasses belief. Ever since the end of May, Louis had been warning James that his son-in-law was meditating a descent upon England. William had formed, near Nimeguen, a camp of 20,000 men; he was notoriously preparing large quantities of arms and warlike stores; the Dutch fleet had been put in preparation to sail at a few days' notice. James, however, refused to believe that these preparations were directed against himself, and listened to the assurances of William that they were occasioned by the state of affairs on the continent. Another notion, that the States-General would not permit the departure of a force that was necessary for the defence of the republic, was better founded. William himself

had assured the States that such was the motive for his preparations. Nevertheless, had James had the least discernment, he must have perceived, from the state of feeling among his subjects, that it was not a moment to reject the aid of France, nay, even to insult the French King. Louis, who wished to save James in spite of himself, intrusted D'Avaux, his minister at the Hague, to signify to the States-General, early in September, that he should consider any act of hostility against his *ally*, the King of England, as a declaration of war against himself; at the same time preparations were made to march a force to the Dutch frontier, and Bonrepaux was despatched to England with offers of naval aid. But James, who had formerly been the pensioner of Louis, now indignantly disclaimed any alliance with him, thus giving him the lie in the face of Europe; and Skelton, the English ambassador at Paris, who had been privy to these steps on the part of the French Court, was recalled, and committed to the Tower. James was seized with an unseasonable fit of pride, and exclaimed that a King of England needed not, like an archbishop of Cologne, the patronage of any monarch. So portentous a mixture of pride and stupidity was certainly well calculated to disgust Louis; who, however, would himself have acted more wisely by overlooking James's folly, and listening only to the dictates of policy. Probably, however, Louis did not anticipate that the Stadtholder would have achieved so speedy and triumphant a success. He might reasonably have expected that James would have been able to make a better stand; that a civil war would have ensued, which, for a year or two at least, might have found employment for all William's resources, and in which he might have been ultimately baffled by the opposition of a moderate French force. But when the crisis actually came, James himself took a juster view of his position. No sooner were the French troops withdrawn from Flanders than his desolate situation at once stared him in the face; and especially when Louis, in his declaration of war against the Emperor, intimated that he meant to observe the peace with Holland, as well as the twenty years' truce with Spain. James, in his despair, now almost went the length of declaring war against France. He sent to assure the States that he had no alliance with that nation; that he regarded the siege of Philipsburg as a breach of the Truce of Ratisbon; and that he was ready to join Spain and the States in maintaining the peace of Europe. But the States listened in preference to William, who opened to them his intended expedition, and persuaded them that the safety and independence of their religion and country were involved in its success; and in their answer to James, instead

of entering into his proposal concerning the peace of Europe, they intimated their desire to restore peace and confidence in England, by securing the civil and religious rights of his subjects.[30] William hastened on his preparations, and on November 1st 1688, he finally sailed with his fleet to seize the crown of England. The Spanish ambassador at the Hague caused a grand mass to be performed for his success.[31] Such are the revolutions of state policy! In the same year of the preceding century Spain had fitted out the Armada, in order to wrest the English sceptre from the hands of a heretic sovereign and compel the nation to return to the popish communion. Now her representative was favouring and abetting the attempt of a Calvinist prince to expel a bigoted Roman Catholic king, and thus to establish the civil and religious liberties of England.

It forms no part of our plan to enter into the details of William's expedition: to explain the state of parties in England, the motives which led him to undertake his enterprise, the reasons which promised him success, and the means by which it was achieved. All these things, especially since the publication of Lord Macaulay's brilliant pages, are more familiar to the English reader than any other part of his country's history; and we shall therefore merely refresh his memory with a summary of the principal facts, and hasten on to view the effect of this great revolution on the general affairs of Europe. By a singular coincidence, William landed at Torbay on November 5th, the anniversary of the Popish plot; on December 18th, he was domiciled at St. James's, his march having been interrupted only by one or two trifling skirmishes. Meanwhile James had fled. On December 28th, the fugitive monarch arrived at St. Germains, and found in Louis XIV., whom he had rejected as an ally, a generous protector. On February 13th 1689, William and his consort Mary solemnly accepted the English crown, the Parliament having previously voted (January 23rd) that James, by withdrawing himself out of the kingdom, had *abdicated* the government, and that the throne was thereby vacant. In Scotland, the authority of the new king was established after a slight attempt at resistance; Ireland, from the religion and disposition of the people, was naturally more favourable to James's cause; and it was here that, with French assistance, he was enabled for a year or two to dispute the ground with William. On March 12th 1689, James, escorted by a large French fleet, and accompanied by some 1,200 of his own soldiers, paid by France, landed at Kinsale; the Irish

[30] Kennet, *Hist. of Engl.*, vol. iii. p. 489 sq.; Macaulay, vol. ii. ch. 9.

[31] D'Avaux, ap. Lingard, vol. x. p. 337, note.

flocked to his standards, and he soon found himself at the head of a large, but ill-armed and ill-disciplined force. This hostile act on the part of Louis caused William, as King of England, to declare war against France, May 17th 1689.[32] The Irish campaign of that year was indecisive. James was held in check by the Irish Protestants, and particularly by the heroic defence of Londonderry; and by the landing of Marshal Schomberg, at the head of 10,000 men (August), he was compelled to retire into winter quarters. That celebrated general, who was a Protestant, had renounced the service of Louis upon the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and, after a short residence in Brandenburg, had entered that of William, along with many other French refugees. Thus the cruel and bigoted policy of Louis was not long in bearing its fruits. In the campaign of the following year (1690) William opposed his father-in-law in person, and completely defeated him at the battle of the Boyne (July 1st). Schomberg fell in this engagement while animating his Hugonot troops to avenge themselves on their persecutors. James again escaped to France, and became a pensioner on Louis's bounty. In the same year a naval engagement took place off Beachy Head between the French fleet under Tourville, and the combined English and Dutch fleets under the Earl of Torrington (June 30th). Victory remained with the French, who, however, neglected to pursue their advantage, except by the burning of Teignmouth. In 1691 William proceeded into Holland to take part in the campaign against the French; but the Irish were reduced to obedience by his forces under General Ginkell. They obtained a favourable peace by the treaty called the Pacification of Limerick (October 3rd), and William was thus enabled to devote his whole attention to the affairs of the continent, to which we must now return.

The success of the English revolution caused a great sensation throughout Europe. The ancient prejudices of religion, the theories of absolute monarchical power, of the divine and indefeasible rights of kings, all vanished before the political interests of the moment; and the success of William was hailed with almost unmixed delight by the Courts of Madrid, of Vienna, and even of Rome. All nations seemed absorbed in the one thought of repressing the unconscionable ambition of Louis XIV.; while Louis, on his side, wantonly defied united Europe. One of his first steps on learning William's descent on England had been to declare war against the United Netherlands (Nov. 26th 1688), and thus to convert the Dutch from indirect into open and active

[32] Dumont, t. vii. pt. ii. p. 230.

enemies. The French King did not, indeed, found his declaration on William's expedition, but on the intervention of the Dutch in the affairs of Cologne, to the prejudice of Fürstenberg. Yet at this moment France was not strong enough to hold the conquests which she had made. Louis now harkened to the diabolical counsels of Louvois. From the court of Versailles, the model of politeness, the centre of European refinement, issued a mandate that might have disgraced Attila or Zingis Khan. The French generals were ordered to burn the towns and villages they could not garrison, lest they should be occupied by the enemy! Heidelberg, the residence of the Elector Palatine, was one of the first places abandoned to the flames, and the ruins of the magnificent electoral palace still attest this act of ferocious barbarity. These orders were soon afterwards followed by others for a more wholesale destruction; nothing less than the burning of all the places near the Rhine between Mentz and Philipsburg! Spires, Worms, Oppenheim, Frankenthal, Bingen, and other places, with their beautiful cathedrals and churches and their ancient mediæval monuments, became a prey to the flames, and all that smiling district assumed the aspect of a desert. Altogether, more than forty towns and villages were burnt. A hundred thousand houseless human beings wandered about in search of some refuge for their misery, imprecating curses on the French and their cruel monarch, and demanding vengeance at the hands of the Empire and of Europe. Voltaire[33] suggests, in excuse for Louis, that he would not have caused this misery could he have *seen* it with his own eyes; a better security, perhaps, would have been that he should have *felt* some portion of it. The exasperation of the Germans may be better imagined than described. The Emperor Leopold, in confirming the Decree of the Diet of Ratisbon of January 24th 1689 for war, denounced the King of France as the enemy not only of the Empire but of all Christendom, and worthy only to be regarded in the same light as the Turk.[34] The Diet decreed the expulsion of every Frenchman from Germany, and interdicted, under the penalty of high treason, all commerce with France.

It was in the midst of these horrors and disasters that Leopold extended the bounds of the coalition against Louis XIV. by entering into an offensive and defensive treaty with the Dutch Republic, May 12th 1689; in which both parties engaged not to lay down their arms, or separate from each other, till Louis should have

[33] *Siècle de Louis XIV.*

[34] *Theatrum Europ.*, t. xiii. p. 657.

been deprived of all his conquests, and reduced within the limits of the treaties of Westphalia and the Pyrenees.[35] This alliance between the Germans and the heretical Prince of Orange against the orthodox King James, was alleged by Marshal Créqui as a reason for burning some of the places mentioned. William III., as King of England, acceded to the treaty between the Empire and the United Provinces, December 30th 1689; and his example was followed by the King of Spain (June 6th 1690).[36] The greater part of Europe was thus confederated against France, and the treaty obtained the name of the Grand Alliance. Frederick III. of Brandenburg—the Great Elector, Frederick William, had died April 29th 1688—had also joined the party of his uncle William and the Emperor; and following the footsteps of his father as protector of the Reformed Faith, had done all that lay in his power to promote the success of William's enterprise upon England. The death of Pope Innocent XI. (August 1689) seemed to be the only event favourable to France. But, although Louis XIV. expended three million livres to procure the election of Alexander VIII. (Cardinal Ottoboni) as Innocent's successor, and though he restored Avignon to that pontiff, and yielded on the subject of the ambassadorial franchise, yet he did not succeed in gaining his friendship. Alexander confirmed the election of Clement to the Archbishopric of Cologne, and continued to refuse bulls of investiture to the French bishops who had been parties to the Declaration of 1682.

Our limits will not permit us to describe at any length the war between Louis XIV. and the Grand Alliance, which lasted till the Peace of Ryswick, in 1697, but only to note some of the chief incidents of the different campaigns. The Imperialists had, in 1689, notwithstanding the efforts it was still necessary to make against the Turks, brought an army of 80,000 men into the field, which was divided into three bodies under the command of the Duke of Lorraine, the Elector of Bavaria, and the Elector of Brandenburg; while the Prince of Waldeck, in the Netherlands, was at the head of a large Dutch and Spanish force, composed, however, in great part of German mercenaries. In this quarter, Marshal d'Humières was opposed to Waldeck, while Duras commanded the French army on the Rhine. In the south, the Duke of Noailles maintained a French force in Catalonia. Nothing of

[35] Dumont, t. vii. pt. ii. p. 229.

[36] *Ibid.* pp. 241, 267.—The allies were also to take steps to secure the Spanish succession to the Emperor and his heirs, and to procure the nomination of Leopold's son, the Archduke Joseph, as King of the Romans.

much importance was done this year; but on the whole the war went in favour of the Imperialists, who succeeded in recovering Mentz and Bonn.

1690.—This year, Marshal d'Humières was superseded by the Duke of Luxembourg, who infused more vigour into the French operations. Luxembourg was a general of the school of Condé; that is to say, he achieved success by vigour and impetuosity rather than by cautious skill and scientific combinations. On the other hand, these last qualities, which were the characteristics of Turenne, were possessed in an eminent degree by Catinat, the first instance in France of a plebeian general. Belonging to a family of *the Robe*, or legal profession, and at first an advocate himself, Catinat had attained his military rank solely by his merit and almost in spite of the Court. Mild and simple in his manners, wary and prudent in his manœuvres, he was beloved by his soldiers, who called him 'Père La Pensée.' Catinat was sent this year into Dauphiné to watch the movements of the Duke of Savoy, who was suspected by the French Court, and not without reason, of favouring the Grand Alliance. The extravagant demands of Louis, who required Victor Amadeus to unite his troops with the army of Catinat, and to admit a French garrison into Vercelli, Verrua, and even the citadel of Turin itself, till a general peace should be effected, caused the Duke to enter into treaties with Spain and the Emperor, June 3rd and 4th;[37] and on October 20th, he joined the Grand Alliance by a treaty concluded at the Hague with England and the States-General.[38] This last step was taken by Victor Amadeus in consequence of his reverses. He had sustained from Catinat in the battle of Staffarda (August 17th) a defeat which only the skill of a youthful general, his cousin the Prince Eugene, had saved from becoming a total rout. As the fruits of this victory, Catinat occupied Saluzzo, Susa, and all the country from the Alps to the Tanaro. During these operations another French division had reduced, without much resistance, the whole of Savoy, except the fortress of Montmélian. The only other event of importance during this campaign was the decisive victory gained by Luxembourg over Prince Waldeck at Fleurus, July 1st. The captured standards, more than a hundred in number, which Luxembourg sent to Paris on this occasion, obtained for him the name of the *Tapissier de Nôtre Dame*. Luxembourg was, however, prevented from following up his victory by the orders of Louvois, who forbade him to lay siege to Namur or Charleroi. Thus, in this campaign,

[37] Dumont, t. vii. pt. ii. p. 265. sqq.

[38] *Ibid.* p. 272.

France maintained her preponderance on land as well as at sea by the victory off Beachy Head, already mentioned. The Imperialists had this year lost one of their best leaders by the death of the Duke of Lorraine (April). He was succeeded as commander-in-chief by Maximilian Emanuel, Elector of Bavaria; but nothing of importance took place upon the Rhine.

1691.—The campaign of this year was singularly barren of events, though both the French and English kings took a personal part in it. In March, Louis and Luxembourg laid siege to Mons, the capital of Hainault, which surrendered in less than three weeks. King William, who was in the neighbourhood, could not muster sufficient troops to venture on its relief. Nothing further of importance was done in this quarter, and the campaign in Germany was equally a blank. On the side of Piedmont, Catinat took Nice, but, being confronted by superior numbers, was forced to evacuate Piedmont; though, by way of compensation, he completed the conquest of Savoy by the capture of Montmélian. Noailles gained some trifling successes in Spain; and the celebrated French corsair, Jean Bart, distinguished himself by his enterprises at sea. One of the most remarkable events of the year was a domestic occurrence, the death of Louvois. That minister had become altogether insupportable to Louis by his insolence, and by the errors and even crimes into which he had led him; and the French King could not help expressing the satisfaction he felt at his death. Nevertheless, in spite of all his faults, Louvois had great administrative abilities, and particularly a wonderful talent for military organisation, the loss of which, in the present embarrassing war, it was impossible to supply.

1692.—Louis had made extraordinary exertions for the campaign of this year. The French armies were estimated at nearly 450,000 men, while 100,000 were levied for the navy. So great a force had never before been raised in France. Enraged by the loss of Ireland in the preceding year, Louis had resolved to make a grand attempt for the restoration of James II. by a descent upon England. For this purpose, and for an attack upon the Spanish Netherlands, his whole power was to be concentrated, whilst in Germany, Piedmont, and Catalonia his armies were to stand on the defensive. Five hundred transports, calculated to convey 30,000 men, chiefly Irish and British emigrants, were assembled at La Hogue, Cherbourg, and Havre; and their passage was to be covered by a French fleet of fifty ships of the line under Tourville. The frustration of this attempt by Admiral Russell's victory over Tourville, May 19th, and the subsequent destruction of great part of the French ships that

had taken refuge at La Hogue, are well known to the English reader. With this defeat vanished James's last chance of ever regaining the throne of his ancestors. Louis's success on land afforded him some compensation for this misfortune. In May, the King and Luxembourg undertook the siege of Namur with upwards of 100,000 men. The town surrendered in less than a week, but one of the forts constructed for its protection by the celebrated Dutch engineer Cohorn, and defended by himself, held out nearly a month. William III., who was in the neighbourhood with about 70,000 men, was unable to render Namur any assistance. After the fall of that place, Louis returned to Versailles, leaving Luxembourg with a much reduced force to make head against William. On August 3rd, he was attacked, almost surprised, by William, near Steinkirk. The day was obstinately contested; both sides suffered enormous loss, and though William was at length obliged to retire, he conducted his retreat in good order and without molestation.[39] On the side of the Rhine, and on that of the Pyrenees, the war was altogether insignificant. In the Alps the French suffered some reverses. The Duke of Savoy crossed into Dauphiné, took Embrun, burnt Gap, and devastated the surrounding country, by way of reprisal for the destruction committed by the French in Piedmont and the Palatinate. Here a youthful heroine, Mdlle. de la Tour-du-Pin, directed against the invaders a partisan warfare in a way that procured for her a military pension, and a trophy in St. Denis near that of Joan of Arc.

1693.—Early in June, for the campaign opened late, the kings of France and England found themselves almost in presence in the neighbourhood of Louvain. William III. was encamped at the Abbaye du Parck; Louis at Gemblours; William had scarcely 50,000 men, Louis had more than double that number. The defeat of William would have insured the conquest not only of Liége and Brussels, but of the whole Spanish Netherlands; the French army was impatiently awaiting the order of attack, when Louis suddenly set off for Versailles, and dismembered his army by despatching part of it into Germany, under pretence of making a diversion in favour of the Turks. In fact Louis, who was fond of besieging towns that were sure to be taken, was afraid of risking his military reputation in the open field, and in spite of the earnest intreaties of Luxembourg, flung away one of those opportunities which fortune never offers twice. This conduct, said to have been

[39] The inconvenient match-lock was still partially used by the French infantry, but seems to have been abandoned after this battle. The allies appear to have been in advance of the French in using the flint-lock. Martin, t. xiv. p. 166.

counselled by Madame de Maintenon, who had accompanied Louis to Namur, rendered him the object of derision not only to his enemies, but also to his own subjects, and deprived him of the confidence and respect of his soldiers, and he never again appeared at the head of his troops. The French army was in some degree compensated for its disappointment by Luxembourg's victory over William at Neerwinden, July 29th; purchased, however, by an enormous loss on their side as well as on that of the allies.[40] William, as usual, conducted his retreat with skill and safety, so that Luxembourg, who was momentarily expected at Brussels, did not venture to follow him, and was fain to content himself with the capture of Charleroi. Meanwhile the campaign in Germany, for the sake of which Louis had relinquished the prospect of conquering the entire Spanish Netherlands, was almost null. Here a fine army, nominally under the command of the Dauphin, but in reality of Marshal De Lorges, achieved only the reconquest of the ruins of Heidelberg, and disgraced itself by pillaging and burning what had escaped the former devastation, and by exercising the most ruthless barbarity on the miserable inhabitants. In Piedmont, Catinat, now a marshal, gained a great victory over the Duke of Savoy at Marsaglia, Oct. 4th, but was unable to follow it up for want of money and siege materials. Prince Eugene commanded the allied infantry on this occasion. The battle of Marsaglia, like that of Neerwinden, was in a great measure decided by charges with the bayonet. In Catalonia, Marshal Noailles captured Rosas, June 9th. Thus the advantage of this campaign rested with the French, who were also successful at sea. The battle of the Hogue, though a severe blow, had not been so fatal to the French navy as represented by some historians. France had never had larger fleets at sea than in 1693; when she had 93 vessels afloat, besides 30 galleys; and of the former, 71 were ships of the line. On June 27th, Tourville defeated in the Bay of Lagos Admiral Rooke, who was convoying the English and Dutch Smyrna fleet, of which a great part was captured or destroyed.

In the midst of his successes, however, Louis was desirous of peace. Several causes combined to produce this disposition. By the death of Louvois, he had lost a minister who not only stimulated his warlike inclinations, but also provided him with the means

[40] This is said to have been the first battle decided by a charge with the bayonet. That weapon, however, was then nothing but a sword thrust into the barrel of the musquet. The modern method of fixing it outside was, however, invented about this time either by Vauban, or the Scotch general Mackay. Martin, t. xiv. p. 176. The Duke of Berwick was captured in this action. See his *Mémoires*, vol. i. p. 120 sqq. (ed. 1778).

of gratifying them with ease and success. The French treasury was exhausted, and the nation in general in a state of the deepest distress and misery. As Voltaire remarks, 'the people were perishing to the sound of *Te Deums*.' Even at the beginning of the war, in 1689, the kingdom was so exhausted by Louis's wars, by the money spent in bribing foreign princes and ministers, and by his own profusion and extravagance, that recourse had been had to the disgraceful expedient of recasting the specie, and reissuing it at an advance of ten per cent. in its nominal value;[41] while at the same time, such was the scarcity of the precious metals, that private individuals were compelled to send their silver plate and utensils, above a certain weight, to the mint. Louis himself set the example by melting some of his finest sculptured vases and other articles. In order to meet the current expenses and the growing national debt, absurd taxes were put upon trade and agriculture, which tended to check production and augment the public misery. The cultivation of the land was rendered more difficult and expensive by the large draughts upon the peasantry to recruit the army; and these artificial causes of distress were aggravated in 1692 and 1693 by two successive deficient harvests. To these domestic motives for peace add another of foreign aggrandisement. The feeble health of Charles II. of Spain promised soon to bring him childless to the tomb, and Louis could not hope to reap his succession while all Europe stood confederated and in arms against him. Denmark and Sweden, though they had at first furnished some troops to the Coalition, had afterwards assumed a neutral posture, and had recently entered into a treaty with each other to make their maritime neutrality respected (March 17th 1693). Through these Powers, as mediators, Louis offered to make great concessions to the Empire: to evacuate almost all his recent acquisitions; to abandon his sister-in-law's claims on the Palatinate; nay, even to refer the question of the *Réunions*, with the exception of Strasburg, to the arbitration of Venice. Louis made concessions equally ample to Spain and to the Duke of Savoy. But though the two northern Powers and the Pope zealously endeavoured to effect a peace, the Emperor and the King of England, who were encouraged by the exhaustion of France to continue the war, frustrated all their attempts for that purpose. A new pontiff now occupied the apostolic chair. Alexander VIII. had died after a short reign in Feb. 1691, and was succeeded by Cardinal Pignatelli, who assumed the title of Innocent XII. This Pope was of a more placable

[41] Forbonnais, *Recherches sur les Finances*, ap. Martin, t. xiv. p. 120.

temper than his predecessors, and Louis XIV. had purchased his friendship by what the French call a *transaction*; that is, a compromise on the subject of the Declaration of 1682. No retractation was made of the Gallican doctrines promulgated in the Declaration; but the bishops who had signed it, made in their individual capacity an humble, though somewhat equivocal, apology, with which Innocent XII. professed himself satisfied, and granted the bulls that had been withheld.[42]

1694.—We now return to the course of the war. Want of means compelled Louis XIV. to remain on the defensive, except in Catalonia, where, by inflicting some vigorous blows, he hoped to compel Spain to a peace. Marshal Noailles having forced the passage of the Ter (May 27th), drove the Spaniards from their entrenched position on the other side, and captured the towns of Palamos, Girona, and Ostalric: thus threatening Barcelona, which, however, the presence of the English fleet under Admiral Russell deterred him from attacking. The campaigns in Piedmont and Germany this year were wholly insignificant. Even that in the Netherlands, notwithstanding the vast preparations of William III., went off without a battle, through the skilful manœuvres of Luxembourg. The only advantage gained by the allies was the capture of Hui. This was the last campaign of Marshal Luxembourg, the greatest general then in the French service, who had gained almost every battle he fought. He died at the age of sixty-seven, Jan. 4th 1695, in consequence of his gallantries and debaucheries, which he still continued to pursue, in spite of his years and his deformed person.

The naval war this year was more fertile in incidents than that on shore. An attack of the English and Dutch fleets upon Brest was repulsed with some loss, chiefly through the treachery of Marlborough, who had privately informed James II. of the intended enterprise, and had thus enabled the French to put themselves in a posture of defence. The combined fleet, in retiring, bombarded Dieppe, Havre, Dunkirk, and Calais; but, except the burning of Dieppe, without much effect. Meanwhile, the celebrated French corsairs, Jean Bart, Duguai Trouin, Petit Renau, and others, filled the narrow seas with the renown of their valour, and the hearts of the Dutch and English merchants with grief for their losses.

1695.—After the death of Marshal Luxembourg, the command of the French army in the Netherlands was bestowed on Villeroi,

[42] Bausset, *Hist. de Bossuet*, t. ii. p. 205, sqq.

son of Louis's tutor and the companion of his youth; a favourite at court, but little qualified by his military talents for the important post with which he was intrusted. His only feat during the campaign was a savage and useless bombardment of Brussels, which, however, did not save Namur from falling into the hands of the allies (Sept. 6th). This was almost the only considerable success of William since the commencement of the war; and as it was also the first of Louis's conquests retaken from him by force, it produced a great sensation in Europe. On the banks of the Rhine the French repeated without hindrance their usual summer ravages, but attempted nothing further. In Piedmont, Louis and the Duke of Savoy had already come to an understanding with each other. Victor Amadeus deceived the Imperial and Spanish generals by a collusion with France, by which it was arranged that Casale should be surrendered to him by the French commandant after a kind of mock siege, but on condition that its fortifications should be demolished, and its military importance thus annihilated. Victor Amadeus contrived, by his dilatoriness, to make this the only operation of the year.[43] In order, however, to throw dust into the eyes of the allies, he acceded to the renewal of the Grand Alliance, which was again signed this year by the Emperor, the King of Spain, the King of England, the States-General, the Bishop of Münster, the Duke (now Elector) of Hanover, and the Electors of Bavaria and Brandenburg. The war at sea was confined to useless bombardments of a few places on the French coast by the English and Dutch fleets.

1696.—The campaign in Flanders this year was a vast and almost ridiculous display of force without the striking of a single blow. Armies of 250,000 men under William and Vaudemont on one side, Villeroi and Boufflers on the other, watched one another several months, without coming to an engagement. The campaign in Germany was, as usual, equally null. In Piedmont, Victor Amadeus threw off the mask, and concluded an advantageous treaty, offensive and defensive, with Louis XIV. (August 29th). The Duke, who was to be allowed a fair and reasonable period to disengage himself from the Grand Alliance, was to recover, at the general peace, Pignerol, the key of Italy, which Richelieu had been at such pains to acquire; Savoy, Susa, and the county of Nice were also to be restored to him. The Duke of Burgundy, the eldest of the French King's grandsons, was to marry the Duke's eldest daughter. If the neutrality of Italy was not effected

[43] Martin, t. xiv. p. 210.

by that time, the Duke was to unite his forces with those of France, to take the command of the combined army, to receive a subsidy of 100,000 crowns a month, and to be invested with whatsoever conquests should be made in the Milanese.[44] The Cabinets of Vienna and Madrid, exasperated by the Duke's treachery, at first refused the neutrality of Italy, in spite of the instances of the Pope, the Venetians, and other Italian Powers; but Victor Amadeus, having united his forces with those of Catinat, laid siege to Valenza, and threatened the invasion of the Milanese; and the allied generals, finding themselves unable to oppose him, used the power with which they had been furnished in case of extreme necessity, to accept the neutrality of the Italian peninsula. (Oct. 7th.)

Although the treaty with Victor Amadeus strengthened the hands of Louis by placing another army at his disposal, he nevertheless made advances to the allies for peace. William III. seemed not disinclined to listen to them. The Dutch and English, whose commerce had suffered enormously by the French privateers, had begun to perceive that they were bearing almost the whole brunt of the war for the benefit of the Emperor. Leopold alone was averse to a peace for the very same reason that Louis desired one,—the question, namely, of the Spanish Succession. At length, however, on the intimation of Sweden, the mediating Power, that if he persisted in his refusal to negociate, Great Britain and the States-General would conclude a separate peace with France, he consented to send plenipotentiaries to Ryswick, a village near the Hague, where a Congress was opened May 9th 1697, in William's Château of Neuburg Hausen.

While the negociations were going on, preparations were made by the French for conducting on a grand scale the campaign in the Netherlands. They were also pushing with vigour the war in Catalonia. The Duke of Vendôme, who succeeded Noailles in this quarter in 1695, had not hitherto been able to affect anything of importance; but this year, being assisted by the French fleet under D'Estrées, he laid siege to Barcelona, and compelled it to surrender, Aug. 10th. The fall of this place, and the distracted and distressed condition of the Spanish monarchy, induced the Cabinet of Charles II. to accept the ultimatum offered by Louis; and on the 20th of September, three separate treaties were signed between France on the one side, and Holland, England, and Spain on the other. The only article of importance in the treaty between

[44] Dumont, t. vii. pt. ii. p. 368.

France and the States-General was the restoration by the latter of Pondicherry, which they had captured, to the French East India Company. The Dutch also concluded on the same day a very advantageous treaty of commerce with France. By the treaty with Great Britain, Louis XIV. recognised William as the lawful king of that country, and bound himself to lend no further assistance to his enemies, that is, to James II.; a step that must have been most painful to Louis, both from his love of the Stuarts and his hatred of the Prince of Orange. The points in dispute between William and his father-in-law had indeed formed the chief difficulties in the secret preliminary discussions held this summer at Hall, between Marshal Boufflers and William's confidant, Bentinck, Earl of Portland. The only other article of much importance in this treaty was the restoration, by both parties, of the conquests they had made in America.

By the third treaty, with Spain, Louis restored to that Power Girona, Rosas, Cervera, and Barcelona in Catalonia; also, with a few exceptions, all the places in the Spanish Netherlands which had been taken by him during the war, as well as all the places in that country which had been *reunited* since the Peace of Nimeguen, except certain towns and villages which Louis pretended to be dependencies of Charlemont, Maubeuge, and other towns previously ceded to him.

By a separate article, the Emperor and Empire were allowed all the month of October to accede to the ultimatum, and a suspension of arms was granted for the same period. The Imperial plenipotentiaries signed a treaty with France, October 30th, on the basis of those of Westphalia and Nimeguen. Louis restored all the places that had been *reunited* to his crown with the exception of those in Alsace; and thus the Bishop of Strasburg, the nobles of Higher and Lower Alsace, the ten imperial cities, and the immediate nobility of Lower Alsace, became thenceforward the vassals and subjects of France. The Duke of Lorraine [45] was restored to his dominions, with the reservation of Sarre Louis. The Bavarian prince, Joseph Clement, remained in possession of the Electorate of Cologne; while the Elector Palatine engaged to pay the Duchess of Orléans 200,000 francs per annum till the Pope should have pronounced his arbitration.[46]

[43] Leopold, who became the stem of the new House of Austria, which mounted the imperial throne after the extinction of the male line of the House of Habsburg in 1745. We have already mentioned the death of Leopold's father, Charles V., in 1690. Charles died with a great reputation as a man of learning, an able general, and good diplomatist. Louis XIV. said of him:—"Qu'il était le plus grand, le plus sage, et le plus généreux de ses ennemis."—His *Testament Politique*, which appeared in the midst of the negociations for the Peace of Ryswick, produced a great sensation in Europe.

[46] Dumont, t. vii. pt. ii. p. 421.

At the last moment before the treaty was signed, the French ministers, under threats of renewing the war, effected the insertion of the following clause into the fourth article: "That the Roman Catholic religion should remain, in the places restored, on the same footing as it then was." In the numerous Protestant towns and villages which the French had reunited, they had introduced the Roman Catholic service, and had compelled the Protestants to lend their churches for that purpose. The clause was introduced for political purposes, and laid the foundation for new dissensions between the Catholics and Protestants of Germany, which remained long in operation.[47]

Thus a war which had lasted nine years, and which had been carried on with such mighty efforts on both sides, produced not consequences so important as might have been expected. For the first time since the ministry of Richelieu France had lost ground, and, with the exception of Strasburg, had abandoned the acquisitions of 1684 for the limits prescribed by the Peace of Nimeguen in 1678. For Europe in general the most important result was that the Stuarts were for ever deprived of the throne of England; and that country, liberated from French influence, became the counterpoise of France in the European system. From this period the continental relations of England became permanent; and she adopted, for the most part, the policy of allying herself with those countries which had reason to dread the ambition of France.

[47] See Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. iv. Kap. 50.

CHAPTER VI.

THE question of the Spanish Succession, which had been the chief motive with Louis XIV. for concluding the somewhat disadvantageous Peace of Ryswick, engrossed, towards the close of the seventeenth century, the attention of European statesmen. An attack of tertian fever, in 1697, had still further shattered the feeble constitution of Charles II.; and though he survived three or four years a disorder which had threatened to be fatal, the effects of it at length brought him to the tomb. Feeble both in body and mind, his life had been nothing but a protracted malady, in which the last descendant of the Emperor Charles V. seemed to typify the declining kingdom over which he reigned.

The majority of Charles II. had been fixed at the age of fifteen, and the first act of his accession had been a kind of revolution. After the expulsion of Niethard, the Queen Dowager's confessor, as already related, Mary Anna had bestowed her confidence and favour on Don Fernando de Valenzuelo, a gentleman of Grenada, who was made a marquis and grandee of the first class, and at length declared prime minister; while Don John of Austria was condemned to a sort of banishment in his governments of Aragon and Catalonia. But in 1677, when Charles II. attained his majority, he recalled Don John to court; the Queen was shut up in a convent at Toledo, and Valenzuelo banished to the Philippine Islands. Don John's administration, however, did not answer to the opinion which had been formed of his abilities. He found Spain involved in a ruinous war with France, which he was forced to terminate by acceding to the humiliating Peace of Nimeguen; and he further alienated the affections of the Spaniards, who detested the French, by negociating a marriage between Charles II. and Maria Louisa of Orléans, niece of Louis XIV. This union, which was celebrated at Quintanapulla in October 1679, he did not live to see. He died in the preceding month, in his fiftieth year, worn out, it is said, by chagrin at his unpopularity and by the anxiety occasioned by the machinations of the Queen's friends. The Queen Dowager was now recalled; but, having grown cautious from her late misfortunes,

took but little part in the conduct of affairs. The young king, who was himself incapable of business, successively intrusted the administration to a secretary named Eguia, to the Duke of Medina Celi, the Counts of Oropesa and Melgar, the Dukes of Sessa and Infantado, and the Count of Monterey; but these ministers, though differing in talent, all proved unequal to the task of raising Spain from the misery into which she was sunk, and which was aggravated, not only by bad fiscal measures, but also by the natural calamities of earthquakes, hurricanes, inundations, and famines.

The death of Charles II.'s consort, Maria Louisa, in 1689, and his marriage the following year with Eleonora of Neuburg, a sister of the Empress, naturally tended to draw him under the influence of the Austrian Court; especially as Eleonora, after the death of the Queen Dowager in 1696, obtained more undivided sway over her husband. This circumstance was in favour of the imperial claims to the Spanish succession; but in order to understand that question, and the politics of the different parties concerned in it, we must here give an account of the origin of their claims.

The three[1] principal claimants were, first, the Dauphin of France, as son of the elder sister of Charles II.; second, Joseph Ferdinand, the Electoral Prince of Bavaria, as grandson of his second sister; and third, the Emperor Leopold. The Emperor at first claimed as male representative of the younger branch of the House of Austria, being descended from Ferdinand, second son of Philip and Joanna of Castile; and he alleged, in support of his claim, the family conventions entered into by the House of Austria; by which, if the males of one branch became extinct, the succession was to devolve to the males of the next branch, to the exclusion of females, who could not succeed except in default of heirs male of all the branches. But as it was replied, that particular arrangements among members of the House of Austria could not derogate from the fundamental laws of Spain, by which direct female heirs were preferred to collateral male heirs, Leopold withdrew this argument and substituted another claim in right of his mother, Mary Ann, daughter of Philip III. of Spain, who had done no act to invalidate her succession to the Spanish crown.

In preferring this claim, Leopold became the rival of his own

[1] There were two or three other claimants, whom it is scarcely necessary to mention, viz. Victor Amadeus of Savoy, as descended from Catherine, second daughter of Philip II.; and the Duke of Orléans, as son of Anne of Austria, eldest daughter of Philip III. and wife of Louis XIII. The latter claim would evidently vest in Louis XIV. Also, Don Pedro II. of Portugal.

grandson, the Electoral Prince of Bavaria. Leopold had married for his first wife Margaret Theresa, second daughter of Philip IV. of Spain, and younger sister of Maria Theresa, queen of Louis XIV.; and as Margaret had made no renunciation of the Spanish crown, and had been named among his heirs by Philip IV., she seemed to have a preferable title to her elder sister. Leopold had had by her an only daughter, Mary Antoinette, now dead, who had married Max Emanuel, Elector of Bavaria, and had had by him Joseph Ferdinand, the Electoral Prince in question, who, if the rights of his mother were admitted, was entitled to the Spanish throne. But Leopold opposed a claim which would have diverted the Spanish succession from the House of Austria to that of Bavaria, by pleading an act of renunciation executed by his daughter at the time of her marriage with the Elector, though it had never been ratified either by the King of Spain or by the Cortès.

It was plain, however, that a question of such vast European importance would not be decided by the strict rules of hereditary succession, but must become a subject of negociation, and even of war. The European Powers would hardly stand quietly by and see the vast dominions of Spain annexed to the already overgrown power of the Emperor; and Leopold, to evade this objection, transferred his claim to the Archduke Charles, his second son by his marriage with Eleanor Magdalene, Princess Palatine of Neuburg: his eldest son Joseph, by the same marriage, having been elected King of the Romans in 1690, and thus destined to succeed him on the Imperial throne. In like manner, to obviate any objection to the union of France and Spain, Louis ultimately destined the crown of the latter country to Philip, Duke of Anjou, second son of the Dauphin.

The King of Spain's second consort, Mary Anne of Neuburg, being a sister of the Empress, naturally promoted the views of Leopold; in which, however, she was opposed by the Queen-Mother, Mary Ann of Austria, who was in favour of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria; while the imbecile and unfortunate Charles, incapable of forming a judgment, or maintaining an opinion of his own, was drawn to either side alternately.[2] The Austrian influence began,

[2] Louis XIV., in his *Instruction* to the Marquis d'Harcourt, gives the following description of Charles II.:—"Ce prince a passé sa vie dans une profonde ignorance; jamais ses propres intérêts ne lui ont été expliqués, et l'extrême aversion qu'on avait pris soin de lui inspirer pour la France, est la seule maxime dont on ait prétendu l'instruire. Sa propre inclination l'a éloigné des affaires, sa timidité lui a fait haïr le monde; son tempérament est prompt, colère, et le porte à une extrême mélancolie," &c. Ap. Garden, *Hist. des Traités*, t. ii. p. 187. Charles's ignorance was such that, when Louis XIV. took Mons, he thought that the place had been captured from William III. instead of himself.

indeed, to predominate after the death of the Queen-Mother in 1696; but her representations had made so lively an impression on Charles, that he is said to have made a will in favour of the Electoral Prince of Bavaria. It was to efface these impressions that Leopold sent as his ambassador to Spain Count Harrach, a veteran diplomatist, who was charged to obtain the substitution of the Archduke Charles for the Bavarian Prince. Charles consented to this arrangement, provided the Emperor would send that prince into Spain, together with a force of 10,000 men, to assist in expelling the French from Catalonia; but Leopold, embarrassed at that time by the Turkish war, declined a proposal which suited neither his means nor his inclination. The negociations lingered, and France, meanwhile, concluded the Peace of Ryswick, which put an end to the hopes which Leopold had founded on the Grand Alliance. England and Holland, in spite of their engagements with Leopold, inclined towards the Bavarian party, as best calculated to maintain the balance of power; and thus they abandoned the Emperor in the negociations at Ryswick, in which not a word was said about the Spanish Succession.

To counteract the Austrian influence, Louis XIV. despatched the Count d'Harcourt to Madrid early in 1698. The Germans were not popular in Spain; the Queen, by her maladroitness, had alienated several of the ministers and grandees, whom D'Harcourt, by his popular manners and winning address, and partly, also, it is said, by bribery, succeeded in conciliating to the French cause; and among them in particular the Cardinal Portocarrero, Archbishop of Toledo, one of the most influential men in Spain. The French ambassador also worked on the timid mind of Charles by menaces, and plainly intimated a resort to force if the rights of the children of France should be superseded. By these means he induced the King of Spain at least to postpone any declaration in favour of the Archduke Charles, though without pressing the nomination of the Duke of Anjou, on which Louis himself had not yet determined. The French King felt the impossibility of securing the entire Spanish succession without kindling afresh a general war in Europe, for which he was but ill prepared; and he was therefore inclined to listen to the overtures made to him by William III., through the Earl of Portland, for a partition. As the Emperor now claimed the undivided succession for his second son, it was useless to think of renewing with him the eventual treaty of 1688; the better plan, therefore, seemed to be to come to an understanding with the King of England, and to force the Emperor to accept the settlement which they should agree upon. After long

negociations, a secret treaty was concluded at the Hague, October 11th 1698, between France, England, and Holland. By this, which has been called the First Treaty of Partition, it was agreed that on the death of Charles II. without issue, the Dauphin should have the two Sicilies, the Tuscan ports, the marquisate of Finale in Liguria, and the province of Guipuscoa; that the Archduke Charles should have the Milanese; and that all the remainder of the Spanish possessions, including the Belgian provinces, should fall to the Electoral Prince of Bavaria.[3]

Although the share thus assigned to France in the Spanish spoils was far inferior to that apportioned to her by the eventual treaty with the Emperor, and though, to conciliate England and Holland, she had renounced her pretensions to the Flemish provinces, still the share which she thus obtained of Italy was so important as to render it probable, that William III. was not sincere in these negociations, and that his sole object was to prevent Louis, who alone was prepared, from immediately resorting to force, in case of the early death of the King of Spain.[4] However this may be, it is certain that Charles II. was very indignant on learning—for the secret treaty soon oozed out—this dismemberment of his monarchy; and he resented it by making a new will, in which he appointed the Electoral Prince his universal heir, and named the Queen his wife Regent during the minority of Ferdinand Joseph. But all these arrangements were suddenly overthrown by an unexpected catastrophe. The Bavarian prince died at Brussels in February 1699, at the age of six years; an event which, by its happening so soon after the Partition Treaty, threw a violent suspicion of unfair play on the Austrian Cabinet, though there is no evidence to justify it.

By this event the contests of the Austrian and French parties were renewed with more vigour than ever at Madrid, the choice being now restricted between two parties, instead of three. The Spanish Queen exerted herself in favour of the Archduke Charles, while Portocarrero and the French party endeavoured to sway the mind of the King by superstitious terrors. Meanwhile Louis XIV. made overtures to William III. for another partition treaty, which was executed at the Hague in March 1700 by the parties to the former one. Louis being aware that the Maritime Powers would never consent that Spain and the Indies should fall to the share of France, now agreed that the greater part of the Spanish succession should be assigned to the Archduke Charles, but on condition that

[3] Dumont, t. vii. pt. ii. p. 442. [4] See Martin, t. xiv. p. 356.

the crown of Spain should never be united with that of the Empire, the Dauphin retaining what had been apportioned to him in the former treaty, with the addition of Lorraine. The Duke of Lorraine, provided he should accede to the treaty, was to have the Duchy of Milan, which in the previous treaty had been given to the Archduke Charles. Three months were to be allowed to the Emperor to adhere to the treaty; and upon his definitive refusal, the share of the Archduke was to pass to a third party, not named, but who was understood to be the Duke of Savoy.[5]

Thus the Spanish Succession was disposed of by two foreign Powers, one being a party interested in it, without consulting the Spanish monarch or nation, whose spoils were thus unceremoniously divided. Such a proceeding naturally irritated the courts both of Vienna and Madrid, and their anger was principally directed against William III. for interfering in a matter in which he was not directly concerned. So loud were the complaints of the Spanish minister at London that William ordered him to quit the kingdom; a step that was retaliated by the dismissal of Mr. Stanhope, the British ambassador, and Van Schonenberg, the Dutch ambassador, from Spain. The Emperor at first endeavoured to persuade Louis XIV. to enter into a direct and separate negociation; but not succeeding, refused to accept the Treaty of Partition. The other European Powers, to whom the treaty had been officially communicated, hesitated to guarantee it, and seemed inclined to await the course of events. Only the Duke of Lorraine accepted the proposed exchange.

Meanwhile the struggle of the contending parties was redoubled at Madrid. Each seemed alternately to gain the ascendant over the wavering mind of Charles, who was inclined to listen to every body except those to whom the decision of the question rightly belonged—the Spanish nation, through the Cortès. At length Portocarrero, availing himself of his sacred office, and representing to the King that his eternal salvation depended on the appointment of a rightful successor, prevailed on him to submit the question to the profoundest lawyers of Spain and Italy. These decided unanimously in favour of the House of Bourbon, provided means were taken to prevent the union of the French and Spanish crowns, the sole object of the renunciation of Maria Theresa. Charles, not content with this decision, referred the matter to Pope Innocent XII., who confirmed it, and added a letter strongly urging Charles, as he valued his salvation, to secure the undivided inheritance of the Spanish monarchy to a son of the Dauphin, the rightful heir.

[5] Dumont, t. vii. pt. ii. p. 477.

It was not, however, till after he had obtained the opinions of the Council of Castile and the Council of State, which agreed with that given by the Pope, that Charles, under the renewed spiritual menaces of Portocarrero, at last drew up a testament in favour of the House of Bourbon. But as Louis XIV. had ostensibly bound himself to a different course of policy by the Treaty of Partition, Charles appears first of all to have obtained from that monarch an assurance that he would accept a bequest of the whole Spanish monarchy, instead of a dismemberment that was highly distasteful to the nation.[6] On October 2nd 1700, Charles signed a will in which, after many injunctions to his successor on the subject of religion, he declared his heir to be his nearest relation after those destined to mount the throne of France; that is to say, the Duke of Anjou, second son of the Dauphin. Should the Duke of Anjou inherit the throne of France, and prefer it to that of Spain, then his younger brother, the Duke of Berri, was named in his stead; and in his default, the Archduke Charles and the Duke of Savoy successively. Charles strictly enjoined his successors not to alienate any part of the Spanish monarchy. He expired about a month after signing this will (Nov. 1st), in the thirty-ninth year of his age and thirty-seventh of his reign.[7]

Had Spain consulted her real interests, she would probably have adopted another pretender, Don Pedro II. King of Portugal; whose claims, derived from Joanna, putative daughter of Henry the Impotent,[8] were, however, never seriously regarded. By such a choice the union of Spain and Portugal might have been pacifically achieved; but the Spaniards, anxious to keep together a monarchy of whose extension they were proud, though they had not themselves the power to defend it, preferred the French prince as more capable of maintaining an empire that was at once their glory and their ruin.

By the will, a Junta, or Council, of Regency was established, consisting of the Queen, as President, the Primate, Cardinal Portocarrero, the Inquisitor-General, the Presidents of Castile and

[6] See *Mémoires* de Torci, ap. Coxe, *Memoirs of the Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. i. p. 74.

[7] The will is in Dumont, t. vii. pt. ii. p. 485. Respecting the Spanish Succession in general, see Lamberty, *Mém. pour servir à l'Hist. du xviiième Siècle*, t. i.: *Mém. secrets sur l'établissement de la maison de Bourbon en Espagne*, extraits de la correspondance du Marquis de Louville, t. i. (Paris, 1818); Mignet, *Négoc. relatives à la succ. d'Espagne* (in *Doc. inédits sur l'Hist. de France*); *Letters* of Count Schomberg, the Earl of Manchester, and Harcourt, in Coles' *Memoirs of Affairs of State*, and in the Hardwicke *Collection*; Coxe, *Memoirs of the Bourbon Kings of Spain*, Hist. Introd. § iii.; Lord Mahon, *War of the Succession in Spain*.

[8] See Vol. I. p. 185 sq.

Aragon, and two representatives of the grandees and Council of State. The Junta immediately assumed the direction of affairs, and despatched a messenger to Louis with a copy of the will. Should Louis refuse to accept the inheritance, the messenger was instructed to proceed to Vienna and offer it to the Archduke Charles. The matter had been already discussed and decided; a French courier had previously arrived with the news, when Louis summoned a council consisting of the Dauphin, and the three ministers of state, the chancellor Pontchartrain, the Duke de Beauvilliers, and Torci the foreign secretary, to discuss the momentous question of acceptance or rejection. Louis had to decide between a crown for his grandson, or the aggrandisement of France according to the Treaty of Partition. A decision either way might produce a war; but in the one case it would probably be short and successful, in the other it would be impossible to predict either its length or its issue. Beauvilliers alone is said to have declared against accepting the offer. His principal arguments were; that Louis would be accused of violating his engagements with England and Holland, who would not suffer him to give the law, in the name of his grandson, to the vast monarchy of Spain; that the wounds which France had received were still bleeding, and in case of acceptance must be again opened in a general European war; and that it would be a hundred times more advantageous for France to unite several fine provinces to the monarchy than to place a French prince on a foreign throne whose descendants would themselves shortly become strangers to the country of their ancestors. On the other side it was urged by Torci that the question lay not between war and peace, but between one war and another—between the totality of the Spanish monarchy or nothing; that, the will substituting the House of Austria for France, there could be no ground for claiming part of the inheritance, after rejecting the whole; that even this part would have to be conquered from the Austrians, aided by the Spaniards, who would support the integrity of their monarchy; that the English and Dutch would lend only a feeble aid, and probably abandon the contest altogether; and that thus an Austrian prince would be again planted on the Pyrenees.[9] The chancellor merely summed up the arguments without pronouncing any opinion; while the Dauphin, with unwonted energy, demanded the acceptance of the will, and declared that he would not renounce his claims except in favour of his son, the Duke of Anjou.

[9] For the arguments, see Mignet, *Négociations*, &c.

This discussion seems to have been a mere farcical ceremony for the sake of appearances, and it is probable, as we have already said, that Louis XIV. had signified his assent to the will before its execution. Louis carried out the farce by not declaring his resolution till three days after the meeting of the council; when, in the presence of the Spanish ambassador, at Versailles, he announced it by addressing the Duke of Anjou as follows: "Sir, the King of Spain has made you a King. The grandees demand you, the people of Spain desire you, and I give my consent." The Spanish ambassador, on his knees, then saluted and complimented his new master as "Philip V.," the folding doors were thrown open, Louis presented his grandson to the assembled courtiers with the words, "Sirs, here is the King of Spain,"—and the ceremony ended by Louis exhorting Philip to be a good Spaniard, but at the same time to remember that he was born a Frenchman; exhortations which from their contradictory nature it might be sometimes difficult to reconcile.

By character, however, Philip V. might easily have been a lineal descendant of Philip IV., so closely did his habits resemble those of the legitimate Spanish House. Shy, hypochondriac, docile, monotonously regular, doatingly uxorious, without either great faults or striking virtues, he was fit only to be governed, as his predecessors had been before him. At the time of his accession, indeed, being then only seventeen years of age, Philip's character was as yet undeveloped, and consequently unknown to the Spaniards; with whom, however, it might perhaps have been only an additional recommendation. Immediately on receipt of Louis XIV.'s answer, the Junta caused Philip V. to be proclaimed at Madrid, and addressed a letter to the Very Christian King, in which they begged him to dispose of everything in Spain, and assured him that his orders should be as exactly obeyed as in France. Philip passed the Bidassoa Jan. 22nd 1701, and on Feb. 18th, entered Madrid, where he was received with the acclamations of the people. All the European provinces, all the American and Asiatic possessions, of the vast Spanish empire immediately recognised the new monarch; nor was his title at first disputed by the greater part of the European Powers. The Elector of Bavaria, then resident at Brussels as governor of the Catholic Netherlands—a dignity which had been procured for him by William III.—was the first foreign prince who recognised Philip V.; both from hatred of the Emperor, whom he suspected of having poisoned his son, and from the hope that Louis would convert his government in the Netherlands into an hereditary one. Louis XIV., as was indeed

his interest, showed every disposition to conciliate the courts of Europe. His minister at the Hague was instructed to insist on the sacrifices that the French King had made in not accepting the Partition Treaty, which would have aggrandised France by the addition of so many fine provinces; to declare that he had renounced these advantages rather than cause a war that would disturb the repose of Europe; and to point out that had he adhered to the Treaty of Partition, a war must have inevitably ensued both with Spain and Austria; the former nation being determined that their monarchy should not be divided, which, in the event of his refusal to accept it, would have been offered to the Archduke Charles.[10]

Although this reasoning did not satisfy William III., he was compelled for a time by the force of circumstances to acquiesce in it. In England, William's government was not popular, owing to the Treaty of Partition; the nation was at that time averse to a war with France, and it would have been impossible for him to obtain from Parliament the necessary supplies for carrying it on. With regard to Holland, Louis clinched his reasonings by an appeal to force. By virtue of a convention with Philip II., some of the cities of the Spanish Netherlands, as Antwerp, Namur, Charleroi, and others, were garrisoned by Dutch troops, in order that they might serve as a barrier against France. But Louis, having obtained from Madrid authority to take such measures as he should deem necessary for the public good, the Elector of Bavaria, as governor of the Netherlands, was instructed to pay the same deference to his orders as to those of Philip V.; and the Elector, who, as we have said, was well inclined to France, readily permitted French troops to enter the towns garrisoned by the Dutch. On the pretence that the States-General were preparing a league, in conjunction with England, against Philip V. and France, the Dutch were now required to evacuate these towns; and they were not even allowed a free retreat till the States, alarmed at the force which menaced their frontier, consented to acknowledge Philip V. as King of Spain.[11] William, having at present no means of resistance, found it expedient to follow this example. In April 1701, he addressed a letter to Philip V., in which he congratulated "his very dear brother" on his happy accession.[12]

The situation of the rest of Europe was also, on the whole, at first favourable to Philip V. The Northern and Eastern Powers

[10] *Mémoires* de Lamberty, t. i. p. 221; Coxe, *Memoirs of the Bourbon Kings of Spain*, ch. ii.

[11] Thucelii, *Des heiligen Röm. Reichs Staats Acta*, t. i. p. 366.

[12] La Torre, ap. Martin, t. xiv. p. 372.

were occupied with the great war that had broken out among them, as related in a preceding chapter. The greater part of the German princes, struck with astonishment that the Treaty of Partition, to which they had been so earnestly pressed to accede, should have been so suddenly abandoned, remained silent and inactive. The Emperor Leopold was menaced in his hereditary states by a Hungarian insurrection, while the Empire was in the throes of a crisis occasioned by the erection of the Hanoverian Electorate: the states confederated against this innovation were arming, and the Diet had been compelled to suspend its deliberations. Some of the German princes, as the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne, the Dukes of Brunswick Wolfenbüttel and Saxe Gotha, and the Bishop of Münster, declared for France; and in March 1701, Bavaria concluded a formal treaty of alliance with Louis. The Duke of Savoy, already connected with France by the marriage of his daughter Adelaide to the Duke of Burgundy, and now further gained by the union of his younger daughter, Louisa Gabriella, with Philip V., as well as by the post of generalissimo of the crowns of France and Spain in Italy, was among the first to recognise the new King of Spain; and he also engaged to allow the French troops at all times free passage into Italy. The marriage of Philip and the Piedmontese Princess was celebrated at Figueras in September 1701. The bride was only in her fourteenth year, and as her extreme youth naturally gave rise to the expectation that she would be governed by some adviser, the Court of Versailles selected as her *Camerera Mayor*, or chief lady of her household, the celebrated Princess Orsini (or Des Ursins), who had gained the friendship and confidence of Madame de Maintenon, and who was deemed well fitted to promote French interests at the Spanish Court. The example of Victor Amadeus was followed by the Duke of Mantua (February 1701). Portugal also pronounced itself in favour of the new Spanish dynasty, and ultimately a treaty was concluded at Lisbon between that Power and Spain (June 1701); by which Portugal engaged to support the succession of Philip V., and to shut its ports against every nation that should attempt to hinder it by arms.[13]

Under these circumstances, it is possible that if Louis had acted with moderation and judgment he might have prevented or frustrated the great coalition that was at length formed against him. But his measures were such as to excite suspicion and mistrust, while they offended by their arrogance. One of his first steps after

[13] Dumont, t. viii. pt. i. p. 31.

the departure of the Duke of Anjou for Spain was to send him letters patent[14] reserving his rights to the French crown in default of the Duke of Burgundy and his male heirs, and without any stipulation that he must choose between the crowns of France and Spain; thus renewing the fears respecting the union of those crowns on the same head. These letters were all the more impolitic from being superfluous, since the Duke of Anjou's accession to the Spanish throne did not invalidate his rights to that of France; as appears in the instance of Henry III., who, though he had been King of Poland, succeeded his brother, Charles IX. Besides this measure, which concerned all Europe, he adopted others which irritated and alarmed particular states. The Dutch were injured in their commerce by Louis supplanting them in the Spanish *Asiento*, or monopoly of the slave trade; while at the same time the new works which he constructed within sight of their fortresses, and the increase of his army, excited their apprehensions that he contemplated renewing his former hostilities.[15] The English, besides their commerce being injured, like that of the Dutch, by the exclusion of the ships of both those nations from Spanish ports, were further insulted by an open and flagrant violation of the Peace of Ryswick. James II. having died at St. Germains, September 1701, Louis, in contravention of that treaty, openly gave James's son the title of King of England.[16] The indignation which this act excited in England at length enabled William III. to bring to a practical issue the negociations which he had been long conducting with the Emperor.

When the testament of Charles II. was declared, Count Harrach, the Imperial ambassador, quitted Madrid, after entering a formal protest against it. The protest was renewed at Vienna, and early in 1701, the Emperor entered into secret negociations with William III. with a view to overthrow the will. England and Holland also concluded an alliance with Denmark (January 20th 1701), by which, in case of hostilities breaking out, that Power engaged to shut all her ports against ships of war; and in consideration of a subsidy, to place a certain number of troops at the disposal of the allies.[17] After the occupation of the Flemish fortresses by the French troops, William even obtained some supplies from the English Parliament; but the nation was not yet prepared to enter into a general war, and William had been compelled to content

[14] Dumont, t. vii. pt. ii. p. 494; Lamberty, *Mémoires*, t. i. p. 388.

[15] Lord Mahon, *War of the Succession in Spain*, p. 42.

[16] St. Pierre, *Ann. Politiques*, t. ii. p. 21; Lord Mahon, *Ibid.* p. 43.

[17] Dumont, t. viii. pt. i. p. 1.

himself with some fruitless negociations with Louis XIV.; for, though very equitable conditions were offered, that monarch would not listen to them. Leopold, however, drew the sword without waiting for the alliance of the Maritime Powers. That Upper Italy and Belgium should be in the hands of the French appeared to Prince Eugene, Leopold's counsellor as well as general, so pregnant with danger to Germany that he pressed the Emperor to assert his right to the Spanish inheritance, and undertook himself to open the war in Italy with 30,000 men. Leopold determined to follow Eugene's advice, although all his other counsellors dissuaded him from it, and represented Austria as so overloaded with debt that she could not maintain an army of 15,000 men in the field. Austria, indeed, was not in a condition to oppose alone the united power of France and Spain; but Leopold was encouraged by the hope of the ultimate assistance of England and Holland, as well as of the Empire.

Although some of the minor princes of the Empire, offended by the affair of the Hanoverian Electorate, had combined against the Emperor, and even appealed to France and Sweden, as guarantees of the Peace of Westphalia, yet the whole of the Electors, with the exception of Bavaria and Cologne, were devoted to Leopold. George Louis of Hanover, as we have already seen, was bound to him by a formal treaty; and Leopold now enticed the much more powerful prince, Frederick III., Elector of Brandenburg, into a similar engagement, by conferring upon him the title of King.

Frederick's temper led him to attach much weight to the outward symbols of greatness. It was not without some feelings of envy that he had seen the Prince of Orange raised to the English throne, and Augustus of Saxony to that of Poland; and in an interview with William III. at the Hague, his pride had been not a little hurt that he had been forced to content himself with a common chair, while an arm chair had been set for the King! He had been several years negociating with the Emperor on this subject; but his elevation to the royal dignity had been warmly opposed, as well by politicians as by religious zealots, who did not wish to see the number of Protestant monarchs increased. The affair of the Spanish succession, however, determined the Emperor to secure a powerful ally by a concession which cost him nothing. By a treaty between the Emperor and the Elector, commonly called the TREATY OF THE CROWN, executed at Vienna Nov. 16th 1700, Leopold engaged to recognise the title which Frederick proposed to assume, of King of Prussia; while the latter bound himself to place 10,000 men in the field, to side

always in the Diet with Austria, to give his electoral vote in favour of the descendants of the Emperor's son Joseph, King of the Romans, &c. &c.[18] No sooner did the Elector hear of the signing of this treaty, than, in the middle of winter, he hastened with his family and court to Königsberg, and with great pomp and ceremony placed the crown upon his own head, January 18th 1701. The Emperor sent an envoy extraordinary to Berlin to congratulate him, and this example was followed by most of the European Powers, except France and Spain. The assumption of the Prussian crown was opposed only by the Teutonic Order, a body now of no importance, and by Pope Clement XI., who had ascended the chair of St. Peter November 23rd 1700. In an allocution in the Consistory, Clement lamented that the Emperor should have consented to an act so detrimental to the Church, without reflecting that the Holy Chair alone has the power of appointing kings![19]

Eugene, who had massed his army in the environs of Trent and Roveredo, descended into the plains of Verona towards the end of May 1701, with 25,000 men; Catinat, who commanded the French auxiliary army in Lombardy, retreating before him. Early in July, the Imperialists defeated the French at Carpi, in the duchy of Modena, and proceeded to occupy the whole district between the Adige and the Adda. The disappointment of Louis XIV. was extreme: he recalled Catinat, though the reverses of the French seem to have been owing more to the Duke of Savoy, their *generalissimo*, who in fact did not wish for their success. Catinat was succeeded by Marshal Villeroi, who soon gave another proof of the incapacity which he had displayed in 1695, by incurring a signal defeat at Chiari, near Brescia. This was the last action this year in Lombardy, where alone the war had as yet broken out.

The successes of Prince Eugene encouraged William III. to league himself with the Emperor; who on September 7th concluded at the Hague with England and the States-General the treaty which must be regarded as the basis of the second GRAND ALLIANCE. The object of it was stated to be, to procure his Imperial Majesty a just and reasonable satisfaction for his claims, and the King of Great Britain and the States-General a sufficient security for their territories, navigation, and commerce. The Spanish Netherlands were to be conquered in order to serve as a barrier to the United Provinces; also the Milanese, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the Mediterranean islands, and the Spanish possessions on the coast

[18] Rousset, *Supplt. au Corps Dipl.*, t. iii. pt. i. p. 461.

[19] Lamberty, *Mémoires*, t. i. p. 383; Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, t. iv. kap. 55.

of Tuscany. No peace was to be made without measures having been first adopted to prevent France and Spain from being ever united under the same king, to hinder the French from becoming masters of the Spanish Indies, and to insure to the English and Dutch the same commercial privileges in all the Spanish dominions which they had enjoyed under the late King of Spain. The German Empire was to be particularly invited to accede to this treaty, as interested in the recovery of certain fiefs that had been detached from it.[20]

War, however, was not yet declared against France, and might perhaps have been long deferred had not Louis committed the mistake already mentioned of recognising as king of England the son of James II. In consequence of this step an article was added to the treaty (March 1702), by which the Emperor engaged not to make peace with France till Great Britain had received satisfaction for this injury.[21] William III., availing himself of the feeling excited in England by Louis's act, summoned a new Parliament, which approved his now openly-avowed negociations and policy, and granted liberal supplies of men and money to carry them out; attainted the pretended Prince of Wales, and by the Act of Abjuration for ever excluded the Stuarts from the throne of Great Britain. But at the moment when he had thus matured and organised the great league for resisting the ambition of France, he was prevented by death from directing, as he had purposed, the operations of the war (March 19th 1702). His successor, Queen Anne, however, pursued the same line of policy which he had already chalked out; and the military affairs of the Grand Alliance probably suffered no detriment from being conducted, instead of the King, by the Earl of Marlborough, whom William had already despatched with 10,000 men to Holland. In the United Netherlands, also, the death of William occasioned no change of foreign policy, although it was followed by a species of domestic revolution. A little before his death William had endeavoured to procure the nomination of his cousin Friso of Nassau, who was already hereditary Stadtholder of Friesland and Groningen, as his successor in the Stadtholdership of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Guelderland, and Overyssel; but that dignity was now abolished in these five provinces, which resumed the republican form of government established in the time of De Witt. The chief share in the direction of the affairs of the United Netherlands now fell to Daniel Heinsius, Grand Pensionary of Holland. Heinsius, Marlborough, and Eugene formed

[20] Dumont, t. viii. pt. i. p. 89. [21] *Ibid.* p. 91.

the soul of the Grand Alliance, and obtained the name of the Triumvirate of the Coalition. Louis XIV. had endeavoured to take advantage of the death of William to seduce the Dutch from their allies; but Heinsius was a devoted adherent to the system of that politic prince, and the States-General indignantly repulsed the advances of France.[22] The three allied Powers declared war against France and Spain in May 1702.[23]

Leopold used every endeavour to engage the confederated body of the German Empire in the war; and in the preceding March he had succeeded in obtaining the accession of the five circles of Suabia, Franconia, the Upper and Lower Rhine, and Austria, to the Grand Alliance.[24] This example was soon afterwards followed by the Elector of Trèves and the Circle of Westphalia. Suabia, Franconia, and the Rhenish circles had previously belonged to a union, formed by the Elector of Bavaria, at the instigation of Louis XIV., in the summer of 1701, for the purpose of maintaining their neutrality in the quarrel between the Emperor and Louis.[25] The Elector of Bavaria also engaged in the cause of France and Spain his brother, the Elector of Cologne, that very Joseph Clement whose investiture had been so strenuously resisted by Louis, and had been the immediate cause of the war of 1688. Joseph Clement admitted French garrisons into the fortresses of his Electorate and into the citadel of Liége, while the Elector of Bavaria continued to affect neutrality, and to negociate with the Emperor; but in June 1702 he concluded a secret treaty with Louis XIV. and Philip V., who promised him the hereditary government of the Netherlands. In Lower Saxony the two malcontent Dukes of Brunswick Wolfenbüttel had raised an army of 12,000 men, and given the command to a Frenchman; but the Elector of Hanover entered their dominions with a stronger force (March 1702), and compelled them to disarm; and the Emperor afterwards found means to separate the brothers by promising the sole sovereignty to the elder.

On September 8th the Elector of Bavaria at length threw off the mask, and obtained possession of the imperial city of Ulm by sending into it, on the previous evening, soldiers disguised as peasants, who opened the gates to their comrades. Maximilian refused to give it up, in spite of a decree of the Diet of Ratisbon, as well as a remonstrance addressed to him by his father-in-law,

[22] Martin, t. xiv. p. 385.

[23] See their Manifestoes in Dumont, t. viii. pt. i. pp. 112, 115.

[24] *Ibid.* p. 104.

[25] Coxe (*Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. i. ch. 7) erroneously represents the *Emperor* as having "*forced* the Elector of Bavaria into a *treaty* of neutrality;" whereas the union was accomplished at the desire of Louis XIV.

the Emperor; and he proceeded to seize Memmingen and other places necessary to secure his communication with the French. The Emperor, having a majority in the Diet at Ratisbon, now issued a declaration of war against France in the name of the Empire (October 6th 1702), which differed little in essential points from that which he had already published as sovereign of Austria. The Diet also empowered the Emperor to adopt against Bavaria all the measures permitted by the constitution of the Empire; in consequence of which proclamations were issued commanding all subjects of the Empire, on pain of ban and over ban—that is, of death—to quit the service of the Elector, and to enter that of the Emperor and his allies. And a few weeks later the subjects of the Elector were released by Imperial letters patent from their allegiance to their sovereign.[26]

Before these occurrences, the war, which in the previous year had been confined to Lombardy, had already become general. It is not our intention, however, to enter into its details, but, as we have before done, to give a brief chronicle of the principal events of each campaign.

1702.—In Italy, Prince Eugene opened the campaign at the beginning of February by surprising Cremona, the French headquarters. His troops, however, were at length repulsed, but carried off prisoner Marshal Villeroi, the French commander-in-chief, who was replaced by the Duke of Vendôme. Vendôme compelled Eugene to raise the siege of Mantua (May). Philip V., who had landed at Naples in the spring, joined Vendôme at Cremona in July, to take the command of the army in person. The combined forces—Philip V. had brought a few thousand Spaniards—attacked Eugene near Luzzara, and captured that town (August). After this action, which was the last of any importance, Philip V. set off for Spain, on the news of a descent of the English and Dutch near Cadiz.

On the Lower Rhine, the English and Dutch, under Marlborough as commander-in-chief, began the campaign in April by an attack on the Electorate of Cologne, in execution of an Imperial monitory against the Elector Joseph Clement. In this quarter the French were nominally under the command of the Duke of Burgundy, but were really led by Marshal Boufflers. The allies successively took Kaiserswerth, Venloo, Stephanswerth, and Ruremonde; and Marlborough, being thus master of the Lower Meuse, marched on and captured Liége, October 23rd.

On the Upper Rhine the Imperialists were commanded by

[26] *Theatr. Europ.*, t. xvi. p. 590; Zschokke, *Baierische Gesch.* B. iii. S. 437. Anm. 216.

Joseph, King of the Romans, and by Prince Louis of Baden, while the command of the French had been given to Catinat. It was with much reluctance and after long deliberation that Leopold had appointed his son Joseph to this post, out of anxiety for the life of his successor; and the King of the Romans proceeded to the army with so much pomp and so long a train, that it was near the end of July before he joined the camp at Landau. That place, the boulevard of Alsace,[27] which had been already invested during several months by Prince Louis of Baden, capitulated September 9th, the day after the surprise of Ulm by the Elector of Bavaria. In the following month, Prince Louis was defeated at Friedlingen by Villars, who had joined the French army in Alsace, and was endeavouring to form a junction with the Elector of Bavaria (October 14th); but though this victory obtained for Villars the bâton of marshal, it led to no result.

In the autumn of this year an armament under the command of the Duke of Ormond, consisting of a combined English and Dutch fleet of fifty sail of the line, besides smaller vessels and transports, under Sir George Rooke, and having on board 14,000 soldiers under Sir H. Bellasis, attempted a descent at Cadiz, but were repulsed by the Marquis of Villadarias, "with a great deal of plunder and infamy," to use the expression of Colonel Stanhope, who took part in the expedition.[28] The allies were, however, in some degree consoled for their ill success by destroying the Spanish West India fleet, which had put into the Bay of Vigo (October 22nd). Seven French men-of-war, which formed part of its escort, and six galleons were captured, and many more were destroyed. The victors obtained a large treasure in bullion; and a still greater sum went to the bottom of the sea, a terrible loss for the Spanish finances.

1703.—Marlborough, who had now been made a duke, returned into the Netherlands with reinforcements in the spring of 1703; where he was opposed by Villeroi, who had been ransomed, as commander-in-chief of the French army, and under him by Marshal Boufflers. The allies took Bonn (May 15th), thus completing the conquest of the Electorate of Cologne; but Marlborough's enterprises were checked by the delegates of the States-General, and little else of importance was done in this quarter. The campaign ended by the allies capturing Limbourg and Gelders.

[27] Landau had been fortified by Vauban after the Peace of Nimeguen.

[28] See Lord Mahon's *War of the Succession in Spain*, p. 59; which work contains the best account of those occurrences of the war which took place in Spain itself.

The campaign in Germany had been more active. The Imperial forces had not been hitherto strong enough to take the offensive against the Elector of Bavaria; the Elector of Saxony, who was also King of Poland, and the King of Prussia, having been compelled to withhold their contingents in consequence of the invasion of Poland by the Swedes. But this spring, Count Schlick, the Austrian commander, and Count Styrum, general of the army of the Circles, invaded the Bavarian dominions; the former on the side of the Inn, whilst Styrum attacked the Upper Palatinate. But the Elector having defeated Schlick at Scharding (March 11th), and compelled Styrum to retire into Suabia, hastened to Ratisbon, and seized that important imperial city, the seat of the German Diet. Marshal Villars, who had made himself master of Kehl, now resolved to form a junction with the Elector, which was effected at Ehingen (May). But instead of adopting the suggestion of Villars and marching upon Vienna, the capture of which might probably have been easily effected, the Elector preferred to attack the Tyrol, where Vendôme, marching by way of Trent with half the army of Italy, was to form a junction with him. The Elector penetrated by Kufstein and Innsbrück to the foot of the Brenner, while Vendôme, who had been somewhat slow in his movements, was bombarding Trent. But the peasants of the Tyrol having risen against the Bavarians, whilst the Austrians had invaded Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate, the Elector was compelled to retreat and abandon the enterprise. Many misunderstandings ensued between the Elector and Villars, which prevented them from acting cordially together; but at length having formed a junction at Nordendorf, they inflicted a severe defeat on the Imperialists in the plain of Höchstedt (September 20th). New differences, however, arose between the two commanders, and Villars in disgust obtained his recall. He was replaced by Marshal Marsin, one of whose first exploits was to take Augsburg, which had been occupied by the Imperialists. Another opportunity now presented itself of marching upon Vienna. The insurrection in Hungary, led by Francis Ragotski, had assumed colossal proportions; the Hungarian light cavalry even threatened Vienna, and the Emperor was obliged to withdraw the garrisons from Passau and Pressburg in order to defend his capital. At the pressing instance of Louis XIV., the Elector now, when it was too late in the season, undertook to invade Austria, took Passau, and pressed on to Enns in the Austrian dominions; but the rigour of the season compelled him to desist, and he returned to Munich (January 20th, 1694).

Meanwhile the French army on the Rhine, under the Duke of Burgundy, Vauban, and Tallard, had taken Breisach (September 7th), defeated the Imperialists at Spirebach (November 15th), and recaptured Landau two days afterwards.

In Italy, Prince Eugene had temporarily resigned the command of the much reduced Imperial forces to Count Stahremberg; and had proceeded to Vienna to solicit reinforcements; in which capital he acted as president of the Council of War. Vendôme's fruitless expedition into the Tyrol, and partly also his own indolence, had, however, prevented him from taking advantage of his vast numerical superiority. The chief event in this quarter was the defection of the Duke of Savoy from the cause of his son-in-law, Philip V. The fickle Victor Amadeus, disgusted at not having received the command of the French and Spanish troops, as well as by the non-payment of the subsidies, and hoping also to obtain a share of the Milanese, acceded to the Grand Alliance in October.[29] He stipulated that the Emperor should have an army of 120,000 men in Italy, which he was to join with 15,000, and to have the command-in-chief. The Duke's negociations with the Emperor, which had been going on since January, were well known to Louis XIV.; the Piedmontese troops in the French service had been disarmed and arrested before the treaty was signed, and Vendôme had demanded the surrender of Turin, which, however, he was not in a condition to enforce.

The Duke of Savoy was not the only ally that Louis XIV. lost this year, although perhaps the most important; as by this event the communication with Italy was interrupted. The Admiral of Castile, alienated from the cause of Philip V. by having been dismissed from his office of Master of the Horse, had retired into Portugal; and he succeeded in persuading King Pedro II. to accede to the Grand Alliance, who was enticed by the promise of the American provinces between the Rio de la Plata and Brazil, as well as a part of Estremadura and Galicia (May 6th). Pedro also entered into a perpetual defensive league with Great Britain and the States-General.[30] In the following December, Paul Methuen, the English minister at Lisbon, concluded the celebrated commercial treaty between England and Portugal named after himself. It is the most laconic treaty on record, containing only two Articles, to the effect that Portugal was to admit British cloths, and England to admit Portuguese wines, at one-third less duty than those of France.

[29] Lamberty, t. ii. p. 547.
[30] *Ibid.* p. 501; Dumont, t. viii. pt. i. p. 127.

Don Pedro's accession to the Grand Alliance entirely changed the plans of the allies. Instead of confining themselves to the procuring of a reasonable indemnity for the Emperor, they now resolved to drive Philip V. from the throne of Spain, and to place an Austrian Archduke upon it in his stead. The Emperor and his eldest son Joseph formally renounced their claims to the throne of Spain in favour of the Archduke Charles, Leopold's second son, September 12th; and the Archduke was proclaimed King of Spain, with the title of Charles III. The new King was to proceed into Portugal, and, with the assistance of Don Pedro, endeavour to obtain possession of Spain. Charles accordingly proceeded to Holland, and embarked for England in January 1704; whence, after paying a visit to Queen Anne at Windsor, he finally set sail for Lisbon, February 17th.

1704.—The year 1704 was rendered memorable by Marlborough's brilliant campaign in Germany. The English general, finding that Villeroi and Boufflers were resolved to remain on the defensive in Flanders, determined to carry the war into Germany. After a rapid and unopposed march he formed a junction with Prince Louis of Baden, near Ulm, June 22nd; and, on July 2nd, the united armies stormed and took the heights of Schellenberg, near Donauwörth, where Max Emanuel and Marsin had established a strongly fortified position. This victory rendered the allies masters of the course of the Danube, with the exception of Ulm and Ingolstadt; and they now offered the Elector favourable conditions of peace, which, however, he refused. Marlborough was joined by Eugene with his forces at Donauwörth, August 11th. On the other hand, the French general, Tallard, having joined the Elector and Marsin, Max Emanuel determined to attack the allies at Donauwörth, in spite of the representations of the French generals, who were for remaining at Höchstedt, a position easy to defend. The French and Bavarians had arrived and encamped at a spot between Blenheim and Lutzingen, when, on the morning of August 13th, they were met by the allies, who had determined to anticipate their attack. In the BATTLE OF BLENHEIM, Marlborough commanded the left wing of the allied army, consisting of English and Dutch, and resting on the Danube. He was opposed to the French under Marshal Tallard; while Eugene, with the right wing of the allies, consisting of Austrians and Germans, was in face of the Elector and Marsin, who occupied the village of Lutzingen and some wooded heights in the neighbourhood. Tallard was first defeated and taken prisoner after a hot engagement, and Marlborough then detached some troops to the assistance of Eugene,

who was maintaining an unequal struggle with the Bavarians and French. But the Elector and Marsin, observing the rout of Tallard, retired towards Ulm in good order, without attempting to come to his assistance. The main struggle was at the village of Blenheim, where Tallard had imprudently massed a large body of infantry that was entirely useless. In the evening, all these troops, to the number of between 10,000 and 12,000 men, were forced to surrender themselves prisoners of war, while a still greater number of killed and wounded strewed the field of battle. In consequence of this decisive victory the French were compelled to recross the Rhine and evacuate all Germany. The allied generals also crossed the Rhine at Philipsburg, September 5th, Villeroi, with the French army of reserve in that quarter, not venturing to oppose them. The Germans and Austrians now invested Landau, where they were joined by the King of the Romans; while Marlborough, advancing to the Moselle, finished the campaign by occupying Trèves, taking Trarbach, and pushing his advanced posts to the Sarre.

Landau surrendered to the Imperialists, November 24th. While the siege was going on, the Elector of Bavaria's second wife, a daughter of John Sobieski, to whom he had abandoned the reins of government, appeared in the Imperial camp, and concluded a treaty with the King of the Romans, by which she agreed to dismiss her army, and to surrender to the Emperor all the fortresses of Bavaria, with the exception of Munich, which was to be reserved for her domain and residence, but dismantled.[31] The Emperor appointed Count Löwenstein Governor of Bavaria, and Max Emanuel was forced to content himself with his ancient government of the Spanish Netherlands.

The French were more successful in Italy, which the allies had been obliged in a great measure to sacrifice to their important operations in Germany. Vendôme succeeded in taking Vercelli and Ivrea, and in the following spring Verrua; thus rendering himself master of all the north of Piedmont, and re-establishing the communication with the Milanese, though he did not venture to attack Turin.

In March 1704, the Pretender, Charles III., together with an English and Dutch army of 12,000 men, landed in Portugal, with the intention of entering Spain on that side; but so far were they from accomplishing this plan that the Spaniards, on the contrary, under the Duke of Berwick, penetrated into Portugal, and even

[31] Dumont, t. viii. pt. i. p. 163.

threatened Lisbon, but were driven back by the Marquis das Minas. An English fleet under Admiral Rooke, with troops under the Prince of Darmstadt, made an ineffectual attempt on Barcelona; but were compensated for their failure by the capture of Gibraltar on their return. The importance of this fortress, the key of the Mediterranean, was not then sufficiently esteemed, and its garrison had been neglected by the Spanish Government. A party of English sailors, taking advantage of a Saint's day, on which the eastern portion of the fortress had been left unguarded, scaled the almost inaccessible precipice, whilst at the same time another party stormed the South Mole Head. The capture of this important fortress was the work of a few hours (August 4th). Darmstadt would have claimed the place for King Charles III., but Rooke took possession of it in the name of the Queen of England. In the naval annals of this year we have only further to mention an indecisive action between the French and English fleets off Malaga.

The general results, therefore, of the campaign of 1704 were greatly in favour of the allies, and may be said to have decided the whole colour of the future war. The French had been driven out of Germany and had lost Bavaria as an ally; Gibraltar, the key of the Mediterranean, had fallen into the hands of the English, who, established with the Dutch upon the Moselle, threatened France herself. Against all this Louis could only set off his slight and indecisive success in Italy.

1705.—This year was marked by the death of the Emperor Leopold, May 5th; a feeble prince, governed alternately by his wives, his ministers, and his confessors. His son, Joseph I., who as King of the Romans immediately assumed the imperial title, was of a more lively, enterprising, and decisive character. One of Joseph's first acts was to endeavour to conciliate the revolted Hungarians. In the preceding year, the party of Prince Ragoczy had seized many of the towns of Hungary, and had even insulted Vienna itself; but had been beaten in July near Raab, and in December near Tyrnau. From these defeats, however, they had recovered; yet, though Joseph endeavoured to conciliate them by dismissing from office the friends of the Jesuits, so detested by the Hungarians, and even accepted the mediation of England and Holland between himself and his revolted subjects, Ragoczy's party would hear of nothing short of the restoration of their elective constitution and the renunciation of Transylvania by the Emperor. In a Diet held in September 1705, Ragoczy was elevated on a buckler as the supreme head of the Magyar confederation. But,

without more assistance than Louis XIV. was now in a condition to afford to them, and while the Turks remained neutral, the Hungarian insurrection, though annoying, could not prove formidable to Austria, especially as Joseph, by way of diversion, had succeeded in exciting some of the Slavonic tribes against the Magyars.[32]

The campaign of 1705 was destitute of any important events on the side of Germany and the Netherlands. Villars, who, after resigning his command, had been employed in the somewhat inglorious office of opposing an insurrection of the *Camisards*, or Protestants of the Cevennes, was this year sent to oppose Marlborough on the Moselle, while Berwick was withdrawn from Spain to supply his place. Villars, occupying a fortified camp at Sierck, prevented Marlborough, who was but ill supported by the Imperialists, from penetrating into Lorraine;[33] and the rest of the season was spent in unimportant operations in the Netherlands. In Bavaria, the peasants, irritated by the oppressions of the Austrian Government, rose in a body in the autumn, and could they have been supported by France, would have placed the Emperor in great danger; but without that aid the insurrection only proved fatal to themselves. The insurgents were beaten in detail, and the Emperor now resolved on the complete dissolution of Bavaria as a state. The four elder sons of Maximilian were carried to Klagenfurt in Carinthia, to be there educated under the strictest inspection as Counts of Wittelsbach, while the younger sons were consigned to the care of a court lady at Munich, and the daughters sent to a convent. The Electress, who had been on a visit to Venice, was not permitted to return to her dominions, and the Elector Maximilian, as well as the Elector of Cologne, was, by a decree of the Electoral College, placed under the ban of the Empire.[34] The Upper Palatinate was restored to the Elector Palatine, as well as the title of Archdapifer (*Erztruchsess*); while by resigning the title of Archtreasurer (*Erzschatzmeister*), the Palatine enabled the Emperor to transfer it to the new Elector of Hanover, whose dignity was now universally acknowledged. The remaining Bavarian territories were confiscated, and divided among various princes.

While the campaign was thus unimportant in the Netherlands and Germany, the interest of the war was concentrated in Italy and

[32] For this insurrection see *Leben und Thaten des Prätendenten Jos. Ragoczy.*

[33] The Emperor Joseph, in order to allay Marlborough's discontent at the inactivity of the Imperial army, invested him with the confiscated Bavarian principality of Mindelheim, with a seat and vote in the Diet. Leopold had given him the dignity of a prince of the Empire after the battle of Blenheim. Menzel, B. v. Kap. i.

[34] See *Theatrum Europ.*, t. xvii. ad ann. 1706, Zschokke.

Spain. In the former country the French forces were disposed in two divisions; one in Piedmont, whose object it was to take Turin, and the other in Lombardy, charged with preventing Eugene from marching to the assistance of the Duke of Savoy. This last object was accomplished by Vendôme in person, who, having defeated Eugene at Cassano (August 16th), finally compelled him to re-enter the Tyrol. But this success was achieved by abandoning for the present the attempt on Turin; though, in other respects, the war in that quarter was favourable to the French, who, in the course of the year, made themselves masters of Mirandola, Chivasso, Nice, and Montmelian. The last two places were dismantled.

While the French were thus successful in Italy, the still more important events in Spain were in favour of the allies. The Spaniards, sensible of the importance of Gibraltar, speedily made an effort to recover that fortress, and as early as October 1704, it was invested by the Marquis of Villadarias with an army of 8000 men. The French Court afterwards sent Marshal Tessé to supersede Villadarias, and the siege continued till April 1705; but the brave defence of the Prince of Darmstadt, and the defeat of the French blockading squadron under Pointis by Admiral Leake, finally compelled the raising of the siege.[35] On the side of Portugal, the operations of the allies were confined to the taking of the unimportant towns of Valenza, Salvaterra, and Alburquerque on the borders of Estremadura, and an ineffectual attempt on Badajoz. This want of success, however, in the western boundary of Spain was more than compensated on the opposite quarter. Charles Mordaunt, the celebrated Earl of Peterborough, who, with some 5000 English and Dutch troops, had sailed from Portsmouth early in June with the fleet under Sir Cloudesley Shovel, was furnished with a sort of roving commission, well suited to his erratic and enterprising temper, either to aid the Duke of Savoy, or "to make a vigorous push in Spain," at Barcelona, Cadiz, or wherever an opportunity might offer. Peterborough, having taken on board at Lisbon the pretended Charles III., and at Gibraltar the Prince of Darmstadt, was by them persuaded to undertake the siege of Barcelona. On the way thither, the castle of Denia, in Valencia, was occupied without much opposition, where Charles III. was, for the first time, publicly proclaimed King of Spain and the Indies. The expedition arrived off Barcelona August 16th, and that important and strongly fortified city was at length reduced to

[35] On these affairs see Quincy, *Hist. milit. de Louis le Grand*, t. iv. p. 400 sqq.; Mahon, *War of the Succession*, ch. iv.

surrender (Oct. 9th), through the bold and hazardous but successful operation of Peterborough in first capturing Mont Juich, an almost impregnable fort which commands the city. The Prince of Darmstadt was killed in the assault on Mont Juich. Charles III. entered Barcelona Oct. 23rd, amidst the acclamations of the people, and was again proclaimed King of Spain. The whole province of Catalonia now declared in his favour, and the example was soon followed by the greater part of Valencia.

1706.—The military operations this year were still more disastrous for the French than those of 1704 had been. Philip V., in person, assisted by Marshal Tessé, made an attempt to recover Barcelona, assisted by a fleet under the Count of Toulouse; who however, on the approach of the English and Dutch fleets, was compelled to retreat, and the siege was then raised (May 12th). Philip V. and his army, afraid to retreat through Aragon amidst a hostile population, directed their march to Rousillon, and passing along the northern side of the Pyrenees, re-entered Spain through Navarre. The effect of this step was that all Aragon openly revolted, and proclaimed Charles III. The war on the Portuguese frontier was equally disastrous to Philip. The Duke of Berwick, who had assumed the chief command of the Spaniards in that quarter, was unable to arrest the progress of the allies. Alcantara and several other towns in Estremadura and Leon were rapidly taken; and on the news of the raising of the siege of Barcelona, the allies marched from Salamanca on Madrid. Philip V., who had regained his capital only a few days before, abandoned it on their approach (June 19th), having been preceded in his flight by the grandees, the councils of state, and the public tribunals; so that the allies on entering Madrid (June 25th), found it almost deserted. But the allied generals, Lord Galway and Das Minas, instead of pursuing and annihilating the Spanish forces, lost a whole month in the capital; while the Archduke Charles also delayed his march from Barcelona to Madrid, although he had been proclaimed King of Spain in that capital. Meanwhile the dormant loyalty, or rather, perhaps, the strong national feeling, of the Castilians and Andalusians was roused at seeing the capital of the monarchy in the possession of Portuguese and heretics. The Castilian cities rose against the garrisons which had been left in them by the invaders. At Toledo, where the Queen Dowager and Cardinal Portocarrero had taken up their residence, and forgetting their former quarrels in their common hatred of the new dynasty, had warmly welcomed the entry of the allies, the people rose in insurrection, tore down the Austrian standards which Portocarrero

had blessed, and which the Queen had hoisted in her palace, and constituted her a prisoner of state.[36] The Andalusians raised of their own accord 14,000 foot and 4000 horse for the cause of Philip. Towards the end of July, the Duke of Berwick, having united his small army with the troops which had returned through Navarre from the siege of Barcelona, as well as with some new levies, advanced upon Madrid; when the allied generals, seeing no hope of holding that capital in the midst of a disaffected population, marched out to meet the Archduke Charles and Peterborough, whom they joined at Guadalaxara, August 5th. Their united forces, however, were still unequal to those of Berwick; the men were suffering from sickness and want; dissensions arose among the generals, and Peterborough, disgusted with his position, set off for Italy to assist the Duke of Savoy, as he was authorised to do by his instructions. The allies now retreated, pursued by Berwick, into Valencia, where they took up their winter quarters. Thus terminated one of the most singular campaigns on record, in which Philip V., after being driven out of his kingdom, and seeing the allies in possession of his capital, regained it again in the space of a few months without a single general engagement; while the allied army, after beginning the campaign on the western frontier of Spain, closed it in the most eastern province of that kingdom.[37] Other events of this year in Spain were the capture of Alicant and Cartagena by the English and Dutch fleets; which also induced the Isles of Iviça and Majorca to declare for Charles III. But Cartagena was retaken by Berwick in the autumn.

The fortune of war was still more adverse to the French arms this year in Italy and Flanders. In the former country the campaign had indeed opened in favour of the French, and Vendôme had defeated the Austrian general, Reventlow, at Calcinato (April 19th), and prevented Eugene from penetrating beyond the district of Trent. But in the middle of June Vendôme was recalled from Italy to take the command in Flanders, and resigned his army on the 18th of the following month to the Duke of Orléans and Marsin; not, however, before he had been compelled by the advance of Eugene to abandon the line of the Adige and retire beyond the Mincio. Eugene continued to advance, Orléans retreating before him, till he joined the army of La Feuillade, which had invested Turin since May. Eugene having formed a junction with the Duke of Savoy near Carmagnola (August 29th),

[36] The Queen Dowager was kept thirty years at Bayonne, and being subsequently allowed to return to Spain, died at Guadalaxara.

[37] For this campaign, see *Mémoires* de Berwick, vol. i.

their united forces attacked the French lines before Turin, Sept. 7th, and gained a complete victory, all the siege artillery, more than 100 guns, and 40 mortars, falling into their hands. In this battle Marsin was killed, and the Duke of Orléans twice wounded. By the mismanagement of the French generals the consequences of this victory were that all Lombardy submitted to the Imperialists. Eugene and Victor Amadeus entered Milan Sept. 24th, where "Charles III." was proclaimed; and in March 1707, a convention was signed by which the French agreed to evacuate almost the whole of Northern Italy. The Imperialists took possession of the Milanese and the Duchy of Mantua, ceding to the Duke of Savoy the Alexandrine and Lomelline, according to agreement.

The chief event of the campaign in Flanders in 1706 was Marlborough's decisive victory over Marshal Villeroi at Ramillies, near Tirlemont, May 23rd. The result of this battle, in which more than 13,000 French were either killed, wounded, or made prisoners, and 100 guns and 120 colours were captured, was the conquest of all Brabant and the greater part of Flanders, by the allies in a fortnight. In consequence of this disaster, Villeroi was superseded by Vendôme, who was recalled from Italy, as already related; but though that general succeeded in covering Ypres, Lille and Tournai, he could not prevent Marlborough from taking Menin, Dendermond, and Ath. The campaign closed with the fall of the last-named place, October 2nd, which gave the allies the command of the line of the Dender. The jealousy of the Dutch had prevented Marlborough from besieging Dunkirk. On the side of the Rhine, where Villars commanded the French forces, nothing of much importance was attempted this year, either by that commander or by the Imperialists.

These reverses induced Louis XIV. to renew the offer for a peace which he had already indirectly made at the close of the preceding campaign. He had then proposed to certain members of the States-General that Spain should cede Naples, Sicily, and Milan; he now reverted pretty nearly to the terms of the Second Treaty of Partition, and offered that Philip V. should cede Spain and the Indies to Charles III., and the Spanish Netherlands to the Dutch, thus retaining only the Italian States. These offers were regarded with suspicion by the Imperial and English Cabinets as too favourable to be sincere, though the Dutch were inclined to accept them; but the Pensionary Heinsius yielded to the influence of Marlborough, and it was agreed to demand from Louis, as sole preliminary, the cession of the whole Spanish inheritance. Nay, the Austrian Cabinet went still further and hinted at the erection

of the two Burgundies into a kingdom, to be given by way of compensation to Philip V., and the restoration of the three bishoprics (Metz, Toul, and Verdun) to the Duke of Lorraine. It could hardly be expected that these terms should be accepted by the French King. Louis afterwards attempted, but with like success, to open a separate negociation with the Austrian Cabinet through Pope Clement XI., offering to cede the Italian provinces on condition that Philip V. should retain Spain and the Indies.[38]

1707.—The events of the following year were more favourable to Louis and his grandson. The campaign in Spain was opened by the memorable BATTLE OF ALMANZA, April 25th, which proved fatal to the cause of Charles III. in that country. Peterborough, who had returned to Valencia in the spring, but was soon afterwards recalled to England, had counselled the allies to remain on the defensive; but Galway and Das Minas resolved to attack Berwick, in the hope that they could do so before he had been joined by his reinforcements; in which, however, they were disappointed. Charles, by an unaccountable whim, had set off for Barcelona before the battle, taking with him several thousand Spanish and Dutch soldiers, so that when the allies arrived on the vega, or plain of Almanza, they had scarcely 12,000 infantry, whilst the enemy had double that number, besides being superior in cavalry.[39] The battle ended in the entire defeat of the allies, nearly the whole of whose infantry was either killed, wounded, or made prisoners; together with the loss of all their baggage and artillery and 120 standards. The bulk of the cavalry succeeded in escaping to Tortosa. This victory was purchased, on the part of the French and Spaniards, with the loss of only about 2000 men. It was remarked that on this occasion the French were commanded by the Duke of Berwick, an Englishman, and the English by a Frenchman, Ruvigni, a Hugonot refugee, who had been made Earl of Galway; and that neither of the kings, whose crown depended on the issue, appeared on the field of battle. The consequence of this victory was the submission of nearly all Valencia and Aragon to Philip V. Philip punished the Aragonese for their revolt by abolishing what still remained to them of their *Fueros*, or provincial privileges. The campaign was terminated by the siege and capture of Lerida, the bulwark of Catalonia, by the French

[38] Respecting these negociations see Lamberty, t. iv.; Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. xiv. p. 471.

[39] Coxe (who does not mention the departure of the Archduke), *Memoirs of the Bourbon Kings of Spain*, vol. i. p. 406, as well as the French historians (Martin, *Ibid.* p. 473), make the Anglo-Portuguese infantry at least double the number here given: but see Lord Mahon, *War of the Succession*, p. 230.

(November 11th). The arms of Philip had also been successful on the Portuguese frontier, where Ciudad Rodrigo was retaken, October 4th.

The successful progress of the allies in Italy was some compensation for their reverses in Spain. A small Imperial army, under Daun, marched through the papal territories and occupied Naples without resistance (July); and the Spanish viceroy, who defended himself awhile at Gaeta, having surrendered on September 30th, the whole kingdom submitted to the Imperialists. The reverses of Charles III. in Spain had contributed to this result, by leading the Neapolitans to hope that he would take up his residence in their capital. In Northern Italy, however, the operations of the allies had not been attended with the like success. The Duke of Savoy and Prince Eugene penetrating into France by the Maritime Alps and Nice, appeared before Toulon towards the end of July, while Sir Cloudesley Shovel blockaded it by sea. But the Imperialists were prevented by Marshal Tessé from completing the investment of the city, and the approach of some strong French divisions compelled them to make a hasty retreat beyond the Var. The Duke of Savoy and Eugene revenged themselves by driving the French from Susa, which they had still continued to occupy.

In the Netherlands, where Vendôme was instructed to remain on the defensive, and where the operations of Marlborough were obstructed by the States-General, nothing of importance took place. In Germany, Villars forced the lines of Stolhofen, which had been so long successfully defended by Prince Louis of Baden. That commander was now dead, and his place had been very incompetently supplied by the Margrave of Baireuth. Villars penetrated to the Danube, and laid all Suabia and Franconia under contribution; but the Elector of Hanover, afterwards George I. of England, having been appointed to the command of the Imperial army, ultimately forced the French to recross the Rhine.

1708.—The union between England and Scotland, effected at the beginning of the preceding year, had caused a good deal of discontent in the latter of those countries, of which Louis resolved to avail himself to attempt a descent of the Pretender, James III., in the Firth of Forth. Early in March, the Pretender put to sea from Dunkirk with 5000 men; but his fleet was dispersed by Admiral Byng, and the enterprise entirely frustrated.

The campaign this year was most active in the Netherlands, where Marlborough had been joined by Prince Eugene. Early in July, Ghent and Bruges, disgusted, it is said, by the extortions of the allies, opened their gates to the French. A few days later

(July 11th) the Duke of Burgundy and Vendôme, attempting to prevent the allies from passing the Scheldt near OUDENARDE, were defeated with great loss by Marlborough and Eugene. This victory enabled the allies to enter French Flanders, where they laid siege to Lille, its capital, and obtained possession of the town by capitulation, October 22nd. The citadel, valiantly defended by Marshal Boufflers, did not surrender till December 10th. Other noticeable events of this campaign were the compelling the Elector of Bavaria to raise the siege of Brussels, and the retaking of Bruges and Ghent. Thus all Spanish Flanders, and part of French Flanders, remained in the hands of the allies.

On the Rhine, both sides remained on the defensive. In Spain, where Galway and Das Minas had been succeeded by Count Stahremberg and General Stanhope, Tortosa and Alicant were recovered by Philip V., and Charles III. was compelled to shut himself up in Barcelona. Here he espoused a Princess of Brunswick. The operations at sea were more favourable to the allies. The island of Sardinia voluntarily submitted to Admiral Lake and proclaimed Charles III. (August); and in the following month Minorca was captured by the same admiral and General Stanhope. Port Mahon was garrisoned by British troops, and, like Malta at a later period, for many years continued to be England's stronghold in the Mediterranean.

The length and ill success of the war had now begun to tell with fatal effect upon France. The financial difficulties occasioned by the enormous disbursements were met by ruinous loans, injudicious and vexatious taxes, the forestalment of future revenue, and the issue of paper money. The public misery was still further heightened by a winter of unparalleled severity. Even the impetuous Rhone was arrested by the ice; the sea froze as in the polar regions; the vines and fruit trees were destroyed; the corn perished in the earth. The pursuits of pleasure and the affairs of business were equally suspended; the tribunals, the theatres, and the shops were closed; whole families of the poor were found frozen to death in their hovels or their garrets. The dearth and famine which ensued produced discontent and sedition; insulting placards appeared against the government, and were affixed even to the statues of the Great King. Louis, thus humiliated in the midst of all his glory, renewed his proposals for peace; and in the negociations which were opened at the Hague went so far as to renounce, in the name of his grandson, the whole of the Spanish succession, and even to offer to restore Strasburg to the Empire. The allies, however, and especially Marlborough and Eugene, entertained strong doubts of

his sincerity, and regarded his proposals as designed only to adjourn the war to a more convenient season. Philip himself, so far from displaying any intention to abandon Spain, was making every effort to rouse the zeal and loyalty of the people in his favour; and during the progress of the negociations he caused his son, an infant under two years of age, to be acknowledged by the Cortès of Castile and Aragon as Prince of Asturias and heir of the Spanish monarchy (April 7th 1709). It was suspected that Louis would secretly help Philip to maintain himself in the Peninsula, as he had before succoured Portugal against Spain after the Treaty of the Pyrenees, and he was therefore required to assist the allies in compelling the "Duke of Anjou" to quit Spain at the expiration of two months.[40] Louis availed himself of the apparent harshness of this condition to rouse the pride of the French nation in his favour. In a public manifesto he detailed the sacrifices which he had been willing to make, and the insulting offers with which they had been met; an appeal that could not fail to be responded to by a nation like the French, who resolved to defend the honour of their monarch to the last extremity.

1709.—Extraordinary preparations were now made on both sides for renewing the war. Villars was selected to oppose Marlborough and Eugene in Flanders, the chief scene of operations this year. He could not save Tournai from the hands of the allies (September 3rd), who then invested Mons. For this purpose they were obliged to attack Villars in a strongly-fortified position at Malplaquet, from which they succeeded in driving him, but not without suffering enormous loss (September 11th). From the numbers engaged, and the immense returns of killed and wounded—between 30,000 and 40,000 men on both sides, of which the far greater portion belonged to the allies—this has been reckoned the greatest and the bloodiest battle of the eighteenth century. Villars himself was severely wounded. In consequence of this victory, the allies obtained possession of Mons.

On the eastern frontier of France the Imperialists, under the Elector of Hanover, had formed the design of penetrating into Burgundy, where they were to be joined by the Duke of Savoy. But the Count de Mercy, with a chosen body of German troops, having penetrated into Haute Alsace, was defeated at Rumersheim

[40] For these negociations see *Mémoires* de Torcy, t. ii. (ed. 1756). Targe, *Hist. de l'avènement de la Maison de Bourbon*, t. v. p. 358, admits that Louis only meant to amuse his enemies. The French King's nephew, the Duke of Orléans, had endeavoured to supplant Philip V., and opened communications with the allies for that purpose through General Stanhope. See Mahon's *War of the Succession*, ch. vii.

(August 26th), and an end was thus put to the plan of the campaign. Nothing of much importance was done in Spain.

This year, Pope Clement XI., though friendly to the cause of Louis XIV. and Philip V., was compelled to recognise Charles III. as King of Spain. Clement had long complained in vain of the garrisons established by the Imperialists in the States of the Church, and of the exorbitant contributions which they levied, as well as of the acts of sovereignty exercised by Joseph in the duchies of Parma and Piacenza; and in July 1708 he had published a bull in which he threatened the Emperor with his temporal as well as spiritual weapons.[41] In pursuance of these threats, Clement took measures for levying any army of 25,000 men, which he confided to the command of Count Marsigli, a Bolognese who had been dismissed from the Imperial service for surrendering Breisach. But on the approach of General Daun, Clement adopted more moderate counsels; and by an agreement at Rome with the Marquis de Prié (January 15th 1709), he agreed to reduce his army to 5000 men, and to permit the Imperialists free passage through the States of the Church. In some secret articles he promised to recognise Charles III. as King of Spain, and to invest him with the crown of both the Sicilies. The questions respecting Parma, Piacenza, and Comacchio were to be settled in private conferences. A formal brief of recognition was eventually issued (June 26th 1709). This transaction, however, was rather prejudicial than otherwise to Austrian interests in Spain; since it gave the French party a handle to represent the German King to the zealous Spaniards as a favourer of heretical principles, and to confirm the insinuation, already made through his alliance with Protestant Powers, that it was intended to place a heretic on the throne of the Catholic Kings.

A treaty was also concluded this year (October 29th) at the Hague between Great Britain and the States-General, by which the latter engaged to guarantee the Protestant succession in England in favour of the House of Hanover; while Queen Anne, on her side, promised to procure for the Dutch an adequate barrier on the side of the Netherlands, consisting of the towns of Furnes, Nieuport, Ypres, Menin, Lille, Tournay, Condé, Valenciennes, Maubeuge, Charleroi, Namur, Halle, Damme, Dendermond, and the citadel of Ghent. Several of these places were not yet taken.[42]

1710.—In the spring of the year Louis renewed at Gertruydenberg the conference for a peace, and in addition to his former proposals

[41] See Menzel, B. v. S. 46.

[42] Dumont, t. viii. pt. i. p. 243.

he now offered the allies a subsidy of a million livres a month against his grandson Philip V., in case the latter should refuse to content himself with Sicily and Sardinia. It was, however, a suspicious circumstance that at this very time Louis bestowed on the infant son of the Duke of Burgundy the title of "Duke of Anjou," which belonged to Philip V. in case of his renouncing the throne of Spain.[43] The allies, who were determined on maintaining the war, required that Louis should himself expel his grandson from Spain without any assistance, except, perhaps, from their armies in Catalonia and Portugal. This outrageous proposition at once put an end to the conference.

There was no general engagement this year in Flanders, where the allies captured Douai, Béthune, St. Venant, and Aire, thus encroaching more and more on the French frontier. On the Rhine the armies contented themselves with observing each other; and a projected invasion of Dauphiné and Languedoc, from Savoy and the sea, proved a complete failure. The chief operations were in Spain, and were at first favourable to the allies. Stahremberg and Stanhope, by their victories at Almenara and Saragossa, were again enabled to penetrate to Madrid; while Philip V. and his court, and a great part of the population of the capital, retired to Valladolid. Charles III. entered Madrid for the first time towards the end of September, but was received by the inhabitants with a sullen silence, which caused him immediately to leave it for a villa in the neighbourhood. The arrival of Vendôme in Spain, who reorganised Philip's forces, and the advance of the Duke of Noailles to Perpignan, induced the allies to evacuate Madrid in November. Charles III. hastened to rejoin his consort at Barcelona. General Stanhope, with the rear-guard of the allies, composed of between 5000 and 6000 British troops, was overtaken by Philip and Vendôme at the little town of Brihuega (December 8th); where, being overpowered by superior numbers, and having exhausted all their ammunition, they were, after a brave and prolonged defence, compelled to surrender. Next day, Stahremberg, who was marching to Stanhope's relief, but too slowly, was defeated by Philip and Vendôme at Villa Viciosa, and compelled to hasten his retreat to Barcelona, where he arrived with only 7000 men. These events were decisive of the fate of Spain. The Duke of Noailles having invaded Catalonia, Charles found his Spanish possessions reduced to Barcelona and Tarragona.

1711.—The war was now to take an unexpected turn through

[43] Mahon, *War of the Succession*, p. 290. It might perhaps, however, be answered that Philip was to be king of Sicily and Sardinia.

some unforeseen occurrences. In the course of 1710 that famous change of administration had taken place in England by which the Whigs were supplanted by the Tories. The influence of Marlborough and Godolphin gave place to that of Harley and St. John; the new ministry were inclined to peace, and were supported by the nation; for the people were weary of a war of which they bore the chief burthen, though its advantages and emoluments were destined for others. While the English nation were in this temper, the death of the Emperor Joseph I., who expired April 17th 1711, at the age of thirty-two, changed the whole character of the War of the Spanish Succession. As Joseph left no male heirs, the hereditary dominions of the House of Austria devolved to his brother, the Archduke Charles; and though that prince had not been elected King of the Romans, and had therefore to become a candidate for the imperial crown, yet there could be little doubt that he would attain that dignity. Hence, if Charles should also become sovereign of Spain and the Indies, the vast empire of Charles V. would be again united in one person; and that very evil of an almost universal monarchy would be established, the prevention of which had been the chief cause for taking up arms against Philip V.

The English ministry had already made advances to the French King in January, before the death of the Emperor, and Louis had expressed his willingness to enter into a separate negociation with them. The terms proposed by the English Cabinet were: security that the crowns of France and Spain should never be united on the same head (a tacit acknowledgment of Philip V.); barriers for Holland and the Empire; the restitution of the conquests made from the Duke of Savoy and others; and a vague stipulation for "the satisfaction of all the allies." As regarded the particular interests of Great Britain, it was required that Louis should recognise Queen Anne and the Protestant succession in the House of Hanover, and dismiss the Pretender from France; that the fortifications of Dunkirk should be razed; that Gibraltar, Minorca, and St. Christopher's should be ceded to England, and that the privilege of the *Asiento*, that is, the monopoly of the slave-trade, should also be transferred to her; that the English should be placed on the footing of the most favoured nations in their trade with Spain; and that France should cede Newfoundland and Hudson's Bay and Straits; each country otherwise retaining its possessions in North America. These articles were signed as the preliminaries of a peace between France and England by Ménager, Louis's envoy to London, October 8th.

Meanwhile the war still continued. Marlborough, though he had lost his political influence at home, retained the command of the army in Flanders; but his only exploit in this campaign was the capture of the little town of Bouchain (September 12th). The war was almost equally null in other quarters. In Spain, Philip V. took Gerona and Balaguer; in the East, Marshal Berwick again prevented the Duke of Savoy from penetrating into Dauphiné. In Germany, Eugene, who had been recalled from the Netherlands to command the united army of Austria and the Empire, contented himself with covering the Electoral Diet which had assembled to choose an Emperor; nor was the Marquis d'Harcourt, the French commander, disposed to molest an assembly whose purpose would be of essential service to the actual policy of France. After an interregnum of half a year, during which the affairs of the Empire had been conducted by the Elector Palatine and the Elector of Saxony, as imperial vicars for South and North Germany, the Archduke Charles was unanimously named emperor by the Electoral College (October 12th); except that the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne, being under the ban of the Empire, had not been summoned to that assembly, and entered a solemn protest against its proceedings. Charles, who had embarked for Italy and Germany towards the end of September, leaving his consort at Barcelona as regent, and as a pledge for his return, received the imperial crown at Frankfort, December 22nd, with the title of Charles VI.

The news of preliminaries having been signed between France and England had been received with dismay and dissatisfaction at Vienna, and the Hague; and indeed the conduct of the new Tory ministry in thus separating from their allies can hardly be defended, although Great Britain had just reason to complain that neither the Emperor nor the States-General had borne their fair share in a war conducted chiefly for their benefit. It can scarcely be doubted that the measures of the Tory Cabinet were as much prompted by the desire of ruining Marlborough and his party as by any patriotic motives; and though the arrangement which they proposed to the French King was perhaps on the whole a politic one, and the concessions demanded for Great Britain no more than she was entitled to for her sacrifices, yet it would have been more becoming in a great nation to have made it openly, and if not with the concurrence, at least with the knowledge, of her allies. The envoys at London of the Emperor, the States-General, and the Elector of Hanover, the last of whom was embittered against France as the protector of his rival, strained every nerve

to overthrow the new ministry and defeat the peace; but though Prince Eugene came in person to support their representations, their efforts served only to confirm the English Court in its new policy. The majority of the House of Lords, which was adverse to the ministry, was swamped by the creation of twelve new peers; and Marlborough, besides being dismissed from all his offices, was accused of peculation. He was succeeded as commander-in-chief by the Duke of Ormond.

There was now no alternative but to agree to a conference for a general peace, which was opened at Utrecht, January 29th 1712. Three French plenipotentiaries, the Marshal d'Huxelles, the Abbé de Polignac, and Ménager, who had settled the preliminaries at London, had the difficult task of replying to eighty ministers of the allies; but they were supported by the English plenipotentiaries, the Bishop of Bristol and Earl Strafford. It had been a principle of the Grand Alliance that the allies should treat *jointly* for a peace, which the ministers of the Allied Powers interpreted to mean, all together, in one act or treaty. The French, however, insisted that it merely meant at one and the same time, but by separate acts or treaties; and this interpretation being approved by the English envoys, all general conferences ceased, and the ministers of the various States assembled in private to deliberate on their proceedings. France gave in her propositions, February 11th, which were in the main conformable to the preliminaries already mentioned as signed at London: viz., the recognition of Queen Anne and the Protestant succession in England; a barrier for Holland; the cession of Landau to the Empire, and of the two Sicilies, the Spanish Netherlands, and the Milanese to the House of Austria; the re-establishment of the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne, and the transfer of the Island of Sardinia to the former as compensation for the Upper Palatinate; finally, Louis engaged to agree to any measures that might be deemed requisite to prevent the reunion of the crowns of France and Spain. To these propositions the allies, with the exception of England, replied only by counter-propositions still more extravagant than those they had already made. The Emperor demanded to be recognised as universal heir of the monarchy of Charles II.; the Empire insisted on the restoration of Alsace, the three bishoprics, and Franche Comté; the States-General required as a barrier all the towns of the Netherlands which France had acquired by the treaties of Aix-la-Chapelle and Nimeguen, except St. Omer and Cambrai; even the Duke of Savoy demanded an accession of territory on the side of Dauphiné and the principality of Monaco.

These extravagant demands only further stimulated Louis to make a separate peace with England; but some fatal events which had taken place in France tended to protract the negociations even between these two countries.

The Dauphin had died in April 1711, and was succeeded in that title, as heir of the French monarchy, by his son, the Duke of Burgundy, the elder brother of Philip V. of Spain. The Duke of Burgundy had been the pupil of Fénélon, the Telemachus for whom the precepts of Mentor had been elaborated; and his talents and virtues, though the latter were perhaps of too ascetic and monastic a kind, had caused him to be regarded, both by his grandfather and the French nation, with joy and hope as the future king of France. Unfortunately, however, in February 1712, he sickened and died of a fever which had carried off, a few days before, his amiable consort, Mary Adelaide of Savoy. Nor was this the extent of the misfortunes of the royal House of France. The two children of the Dauphin were seized with the same disorder which had proved fatal to their parents; the elder, who bore the title of Duke of Brittany, expired in a few days; the younger, the Duke of Anjou, survived indeed the crisis of the malady, but was left in so debilitated a condition that it was feared he must soon follow his parents to the tomb.[44] This languishing infant of two years was, therefore, now the only life between Philip V. and the crown of France; and the English Cabinet, naturally desirous of fresh guarantees against its union with that of Spain, demanded that Philip should cede his eventual rights to his younger brother, the Duke de Berri. Louis objected that such a renunciation was contrary to the fundamental laws of France, which could be abolished by God alone;[45] nevertheless the English Cabinet stated that it should be satisfied with such a renunciation, on the ground that it would be regarded in England as valid, and that, at all events, the claims of the prince, in whose favour the renunciation was made, could be justly supported by the parties to the convention. The negociations on this subject, which were confined to the English, French, and Spanish Cabinets, were protracted several months.

[44] These events left only two lives, besides the Duke of Anjou, between Philip, Duke of Orléans, the nephew and son-in-law of Louis XIV., and the throne; viz., Philip V., who had renounced it, and the Duke of Berri, Philip's younger brother. The Duke of Berri had married the daughter of the Duke of Orléans, and was entirely governed by her. As the Duke of Orléans, as well as his daughter, bore an infamous character, he was suspected of having poisoned the Dauphin and his family, and his addiction to art and science tended to confirm the suspicion. The physicians and surgeons who had opened the bodies were divided in their opinions on the subject; but it seems most probable that they died from natural causes.

[45] *Mémoires* de Torcy, t. iii. p. 292.

Philip at length consented to abandon the country of his birth for that of his adoption. In November 1712, in presence of the Cortès assembled at Madrid, and of Lord Lexington, the English ambassador, he publicly renounced the rights and pretensions of himself and his posterity to the crown of France, to which the Duke of Berri was named next in succession after the Duke of Anjou; and in default of male heirs, the Duke of Orléans, Philip's uncle, the Duke of Bourbon, his cousin; and the remaining French princes in their order. The Dukes of Berri and Orléans also renounced in turn their claims to the Spanish monarchy; the succession to which, in default of heirs of Philip V., was assured to the House of Savoy, as descended from Catherine, sister of Philip II. Philip's renunciation was enregistered by the parliament of Paris in March 1713, and Louis cancelled the letters patent by which he had reserved to Philip his eventual claims to the French throne.[46]

Louis XIV. had acceded to these terms several months before, upon the English ministry showing a resolution to adopt vigorous measures. Meanwhile the allied armies had taken the field as usual in May; but Ormond had declined all active cooperation with Eugene; and in June, on receipt of intelligence that Louis had agreed to the proposed terms, he announced to the Germans in the pay of England an armistice of four months with France. On July 17th Ormond and the English troops separated from the allies; and about the same time a body of 5000 English took possession of Dunkirk as the price of the truce and a gage for the fulfilment of the promises made by the French King. Eugene, left to contend alone against Marshal Villars, soon felt the disastrous consequences of the defection of his allies. On July 24th he was defeated by Villars at Denain, who pursued this success by the recapture of Douai, Le Quesnoi, and Bouchain. In other quarters the war this year was wholly unimportant.

The defeat of the allies at Denain greatly modified the views of the Dutch; while Louis felt the advantage of his position, and insisted on a considerable modification of the barrier which they demanded. The English Cabinet persuaded the States-General to accept most of these alterations; and on January 29th 1713, a new Barrier Treaty was signed between the two Maritime Powers. The places destined to serve as a barrier were now reduced to Furnes,

[46] Dumont, t. viii. pt. i. p. 310. Philip had rejected another proposition of the English Cabinet, though it was warmly supported by his grandfather; viz., to relinquish Spain in favour of the Duke of Savoy, and to receive in return Naples, Sicily, and the duchies of Savoy and Mantua, which, with the exception of Sicily, were to be united to the crown of France, in case Philip succeeded to that kingdom; to which he was to retain his claims.

the fort of Knocque, Ypres, Menin, Tournai, Mons, Charleroi, the citadel of Ghent, and some fortresses in the neighbourhood of that city and Bruges; and Great Britain engaged to procure for the Dutch the right of garrison in them from the future sovereign of the Spanish Netherlands. There was now nothing to hinder a peace between England, France, and Holland; but it was delayed awhile in order that all the belligerents should, if possible, sign together. The Emperor, who complained that England had betrayed him, still refused to join in the negociations at Utrecht. He was desirous, however, of effecting a convention for the evacuation of Catalonia, where his army was compromised by the withdrawal of the English forces in the autumn, and subsequently of the Portuguese; whose king, now John V.,[47] had signed a truce at Utrecht November 7th. France and England agreed to a convention, the neutrality of Italy being also guaranteed, without which peace would have been impracticable; since, if Savoy should be attacked by the Emperor, the Maritime Powers were bound to come to the Duke's support. An amnesty was stipulated for the Catalans, and Queen Anne promised her good offices for the maintenance of their ancient privileges, or *Fueros*, a promise, however, that was shamefully neglected.[48] Charles VI. having by this convention recovered his troops and his consort, who was still holding her court at Barcelona, was only the more obstinate in rejecting the peace. The Catalans refused to accept the amnesty without the confirmation of their *Fueros*, and it became necessary to reduce them by arms. Barcelona was not captured by Marshal Berwick till September 12th 1714, after a defence of almost unparalleled heroism.

England had fixed April 11th 1713 as the day by which the allies were to accept the offers of France; after which term, neither of those countries was to be bound by them. Count Zinzendorf, the Imperial minister, having rejected a paper containing the French proposals handed to him by the British plenipotentiaries, the latter accordingly signed a treaty with France; and on the same day separate treaties were also signed with that Power by the ministers of the States-General, Prussia, Portugal, and Savoy.

The principal articles of the treaty between France and Great Britain were conformable to those already mentioned in the negociations between the two countries; viz., the recognition by France of the Hanoverian succession in England, the abandonment of the

[47] John succeeded his father, Pedro II., December 9th 1706.

[48] Dumont, t. viii. pt. i. p. 327. The Convention was executed at Utrecht, March 14th 1713.

Stuarts, the acknowledgment of the various renunciations of the French and Spanish crowns, as before stated, the destruction of the fort and fortifications of Dunkirk, the cession to England of Acadia (Nova Scotia), Hudson's Bay and Straits, Newfoundland and St. Kitts.[49] On the same day, a treaty of commerce was concluded between France and England, by which the subjects of either Power were placed on the footing of the most favoured nations.

The treaty between France and Portugal related only to colonial possessions, and some cessions were made in favour of the latter Power.[50]

By the treaty with Prussia,[51] Louis recognised the Elector of Brandenburg as King of Prussia, consented to give him the title of "Majesty" ceded to him, by virtue of a power from the King of Spain, the Spanish portion of Guelderland, except Venlo, and Ruremonde, but on condition that the Catholic religion should be upheld; assigned to him, as representative of the House of Châlons, amalgamated with that of Orange, the sovereignty of Neufchâtel and Valengin in Switzerland, vacant by the death of the Duchess of Nemours, without children, in 1707; when the States of Neufchâtel had decided in favour of the King of Prussia's claims. Frederick William, on his side, renounced his pretensions to the principality of Orange and the lands and lordships belonging to it. He was the only German prince who treated separately and independently in these conferences.

The treaty between Louis XIV. and Victor Amadeus II. of Savoy,[52] restored to the latter Savoy and Nice, and ceded to him Exilles, Fénestrelles, and Château Dauphin. The summit, or water-shed, of the Alps, was henceforth to be the boundary between France and Piedmont, and the plateau of those mountains was to be divided. Sicily, with the title of king, was guaranteed to the Duke; and he and his posterity were recognised as the legitimate heirs of the Spanish monarchy in default of heirs by Philip V., whether male or female. The cessions made to the Duke by the Emperor Leopold in the treaty of Turin (October 1703) were confirmed.

The treaty between France and the States-General[53] assigned to the Dutch all that part of the Spanish Netherlands still held by the French, which the States were to hand over to Austria so soon as a barrier should have been arranged; and a portion of the French

[49] Dumont, t. viii. pt. i. p. 339.
[50] *Ibid.* p. 312.
[51] *Ibid.* p. 356. Frederick I. of Prussia had died in February 1713, and the King with whom the treaty was concluded was his son, Frederick William I.
[52] *Ibid.* p. 362.
[53] *Ibid.* p. 366, 377.

Netherlands was also ceded in like manner through the States to Austria. The States, on their part, agreed to restore certain places to France, as Lille, Orchies, Aire, Béthune, &c. A commercial treaty was also concluded between the two countries.

Spain could not take part in the general pacification till Philip V. had been recognised, and the Spanish ministers therefore did not appear at Utrecht till the treaties had been signed by the principal Powers. The peace between Spain and Great Britain was retarded by the difficulties raised by Philip V. respecting the renunciation of Sicily; but these having been at length removed, a treaty[54] was signed between those Powers, July 13th 1713. The principal articles were the recognition by Spain of the Hanoverian succession, the cession of Gibraltar and Minorca to England, but on condition that no Moors nor Jews should establish themselves in either, and the assignment of the *Asiento* to an English company for a period of thirty years from May 1st 1713. In a previous assignment of this privilege by Philip V. to a French company in 1701, a fourth part of the profits of this trade had been reserved for the Kings of France and Spain, and similar shares were now assigned to the sovereigns of Spain and England. The number of negroes to be imported yearly into Spanish America was fixed, as before, at 4,800. At the intercession of the Queen of England, the Catalans were to have an amnesty, and *all the privileges enjoyed by Castilians*; a virtual abolition of their *Fueros*, or ancient and peculiar liberties.

By the treaty with the Duke of Savoy, August 13th 1713,[55] Spain ceded Sicily to that House as a kingdom, and Victor Amadeus II. was crowned at Palermo, November 14th 1713; but both the Pope and the Emperor refused to recognise him. Subsequently, by the Treaty of Quadruple Alliance, 1718, the Duke was forced to exchange Sicily for Sardinia.

The peace between Spain and the States-General was delayed till June 26th 1714, chiefly through the extravagant ambition of the Princess des Ursins, who wished to persuade Philip V. to erect some part of the Spanish Netherlands into an independent sovereignty in her favour, to which both the Dutch and the Emperor were opposed. The treaty between Spain and the United Netherlands relates chiefly to colonies and commerce.[56]

The last treaty signed at Utrecht was that between Spain and Portugal (February 1715), which had been delayed by the mutual animosity of the two nations. Everything taken during the war

[54] Dumont, t. viii. pt. i. p. 393. [55] *Ibid.* p. 401. [56] *Ibid.* p. 427.

was reciprocally restored, so that the limits of the two kingdoms remained the same as before. Spain ceded the colony of St. Sacrament, on the north bank of the river La Plata.[57]

All these treaties together form the PEACE of UTRECHT. As it consisted of so many particular conventions, which might be violated without the parties to them being in a condition to claim the assistance of their former allies, the Grand Alliance was consequently dissolved, and the Emperor, who was the centre of it, was left without support. A fresh delay, till June 1st 1713, was accorded to him to accede to the peace; but he could not yet digest the terms offered to him by France, and especially the proposal to give Sardinia to the Elector of Bavaria, by way of compensation for the Upper Palatinate, which had been restored to the Elector Palatine. He therefore resolved to continue the war, in the hope that the talents of Prince Eugene might procure him a victory, and enable him to treat on better terms. With this view he assembled all his forces on the Rhine; but the campaign turned out very much to his disadvantage. Eugene could not prevent Villars from taking Landau (August), and subsequently Freiburg, the capital of the Breisgau (November). Charles VI. now consented to treat. Eugene and Villars, so lately opposed in the field, met at Rastadt for that purpose; and their negociations proceeded much more rapidly than those of professional diplomatists. The Peace of Rastadt, signed March 7th 1714, was the last service rendered by Villars to Louis XIV., who told him that he had crowned all his laurels with that olive branch. The definitive treaty, however, was not signed till September 7th at Baden in Switzerland.[58] The treaty was formed on the basis of that of Ryswick, and no regard was paid to the protests of the German States against the fourth clause of that treaty, so prejudicial to the interests of Protestantism. The Pope had exhorted Louis not to abrogate the clause; but it has been only lately known that Clement was incited to this step by the Court of Vienna.[59] All places on the right bank of the Rhine were restored to the Empire; while Landau and its dependencies were ceded to France. The House of Austria was allowed to take possession of the Spanish Netherlands, according to the stipulations in the Treaties of Utrecht; that is, reserving a barrier for the Dutch, and also Upper Guelderland, which had been ceded to Prussia. Charles VI. was permitted to retain possession of all the places he occupied in Italy; as the Kingdom of Naples, the Duchy

[57] Dumont, t. viii. pt. i. p. 444. The treaties are also in Lamberty, t. viii.
[58] Dumont, *Ibid.* p. 436.
[59] See the correspondence on this subject in Garden, t. ii. App.

of Milan, Sardinia, and the fortresses on the Tuscan coast. The Electors of Bavaria and Cologne were reinstated in their dominions and dignities; but the Emperor preferred to restore the Upper Palatinate to the former, rather than give him the Island of Sardinia. The latter was promised to the Elector Palatine by way of compensation for the Upper Palatinate; but this promise was never performed.

Such was the treaty which the House of Austria, through its stubborn obstinacy, was at length compelled to accept, instead of the infinitely more advantageous terms offered by Louis XIV. at the Hague and Gertruydenberg!

The ministers of the Emperor and the States-General met at Antwerp to carry out the stipulations respecting the Dutch barrier, under the mediation of George I., who had now ascended the throne of England; and the third Barrier Treaty was signed November 15th 1715.[60] It was agreed that after the surrender of the Spanish Netherlands to the Emperor, a body of troops should be maintained in them, of which three-fifths were to be provided by the Emperor and two-fifths by the Dutch. There were to be Dutch garrisons in Namur, Tournai, Menin, Furnes, Warneton, Ypres, and the fort of Knocque, and a mixed garrison in Dendermonde; the Dutch commandants taking an oath to hold them for the House of Austria. The Emperor ceded Venlo and some other places, and especially such as were necessary for inundating the country in time of war. England guaranteed the treaty, and engaged to support it by arms. The Dutch delivered to the Emperor the Spanish Netherlands, as possessed by Charles II. in February 1716; but not till 1719 the places ceded by France.

Thus was at length terminated the War of the Spanish Succession, the greatest that had agitated Europe since the Crusades. Its effect was to modify considerably the situation of the different European States. Spain herself was apparently the greatest loser, having been deprived of her dominions in the Low Countries and Italy, and compelled to allow England a settlement in one of her islands and even on her very soil. But, on the other hand, she retained her American possessions; and the loss of her outlying territories seems rather to have strengthened her. At all events, it is certain that from this period she began slowly to revive; and the decrease in her population, which had been gradually progressing since the time of Charles V., was now arrested. Austria, though compelled to renounce the gigantic hope of reaping the whole Spanish suc-

[60] Dumont, t. viii. pt. i. p. 458.

cession, acquired the greater part of those territories of which Spain was deprived; yet as these acquisitions lay not contiguous, it may be doubted whether they were not rather a cause of weakness to her than of strength, by increasing her danger in a greater ratio than they multiplied her resources. France lost a portion of the frontiers which she had formerly acquired, as well as her influence in Germany; the fear with which she had inspired the different States driving them to unite themselves more closely with Austria. But these losses were nothing in comparison with her internal ills—the disorder of her finances and the exhaustion of her population.[61] After the Peace of Utrecht, France, though still one of the principal elements of the European system, could no longer be reckoned the dominant Power. The influence and reputation of England, on the contrary, were much increased by the results of the war, in which she had proved herself a counterbalance to the power of France and Spain. Holland, on the other hand, gained nothing besides her barrier, and from this time her commerce began to fall into the hands of England.

Neither Louis XIV. nor Queen Anne long survived the Peace of Utrecht. Anne expired of an apoplexy, August 1st 1714; a sovereign as remarkable for her nullity as her rival Louis was for engrossing the state in his own person. She was succeeded by the Elector of Hanover, with the title of George I.; a prince whose chief political tenet was hatred of Louis XIV. One of his first acts was to dismiss the Tory Ministry, whom he regarded with abhorrence as the advisers of the Peace of Utrecht. The Whigs were reinstated in office; and Marlborough, who at this very time was intriguing with the Pretender, was again made Captain-General and Master of the Ordnance.

Louis XIV. survived the English Queen thirteen months; but it would have been better for his fame if he had preceded her to the tomb. He was now sunk in the extremity of anile superstition, bigotry, and intolerance. Since the death of his confessor, Père la Chaise, in 1709, Louis had surrendered the keeping of his conscience to Father le Tellier, a Jesuit, whose religion was tinctured with pride and malignancy, instead of the Christian virtues of humbleness and charity. One of the first acts of Le Tellier was to procure the destruction of the celebrated convent of Port Royal, the refuge of the Jansenists, the enemies of his sect (November 1709). He also

[61] The Duke of Argyll, who travelled in France after the peace, declared that for forty miles together he had not seen a man capable of bearing arms. See Lord Russell's *Europe from the Peace of Utrecht*, vol. i. p. 6. But this must surely have been an exaggeration.

obtained from Pope Clement XI. the celebrated bull *Unigenitus* (September 1713), by which were condemned 101 propositions extracted from the "Réflexions Morales sur le Nouveau Testament," an esteemed work by Quesnel, now the head of the Jansenists; a book which had received the approbation of Père la Chaise, and even of Clement himself. It would have been fortunate, however, if Le Tellier had confined himself only to attacking speculative doctrines. He persuaded the King to revive the intolerant spirit of the Edict of Nantes, and to invade the privileges of conscience and the sanctuary of domestic life. In 1712, a royal ordinance was published prohibiting physicians from succouring, after the third day, patients labouring under dangerous maladies, unless they could produce from an ecclesiastic a certificate of confession!. This was followed, in 1715, by a still more atrocious edict, which denied those who died without receiving the sacraments the rites of sepulture.

Yet the political conduct of this royal zealot was marked in its last years by the grossest perfidy. Although he literally fulfilled his engagement to fill up the port of Dunkirk, he endeavoured to evade the spirit of it by causing to be made between that place and Mardyck a huge canal, a league in length, and capable of sheltering vessels of 80 guns. This was done on the pretence of providing an outlet for some canals previously emptied by the sluices at Dunkirk; and it was only after some threatening remonstrances from the English Government that the undertaking was suspended. Again, by the Peace of Utrecht Louis had solemnly recognised the succession of the House of Hanover in England, and had promised to withdraw his protection from the Stuarts; yet he secretly encouraged the pretended James III.'s ill-judged and abortive expedition to Scotland in 1715, by procuring for him a vessel, arms for 10,000 men, and a loan from Philip V. of 1,200,000 francs, which he was not able to advance out of his own funds. If these are bad specimens of Louis's political honesty, his legitimating his children by Madame de Montespan, the fruits of a double adultery, his endowing them with the rights of princes of the blood, and, making them capable of succeeding to the crown, are no less cogent proofs that in spite of his mechanical devotion, he was totally destitute of any feeling of genuine morality and religion.

It is not improbable that Louis's efforts in favour of the Pretender might have again precipitated France into a war with England had the King's life been prolonged. But in August 1715, he was seized with a slow fever, which terminated in symptoms of mortification, and after a confinement of three weeks put an end to his life,

Sept. 1st. In the last days of his existence, this mighty monarch was abandoned by all his family and courtiers—even by Madame de Maintenon, his wife—and expired in the presence only of priests, physicians, and attendants. He had attained the age of seventy-seven years, during seventy-two of which he had sat upon the throne; the longest reign on record. He died with constancy and resignation, and the last days of his life show him to more advantage as a man than the season of his greatest glory and prosperity. In the presence of eternity, the dazzling mists of vanity and ambition, already partly dissipated by experience and misfortune, faded entirely before his mental vision, and revealed to him in their naked truth the objects which he had pursued. It had been well for his kingdom had the aged monarch been impressed at an earlier period of his reign with those words of counsel which he addressed on his death-bed to the youthful Dauphin. "My child," said he, "you will soon be the sovereign of a great kingdom. Do not forget your obligations to God; remember that it is to Him you owe all that you are. Endeavour to live at peace with your neighbours; do not imitate me in my fondness for war, nor in the exorbitant expenditure which I have incurred. Take counsel in all your actions. Endeavour to relieve the people at the earliest possible moment, and thus to accomplish what, unfortunately, I am unable to do myself."[62]

These words, which were afterwards inscribed on the bed of Louis XV. by order of Marshal Villeroi, are, in fact, a condemnation by Louis himself of his whole reign. In that retrospect of conscience, he denounces his constant wars, his profligate expenditure, his uncontrollable self-will; and regrets that no time was left to him to repair the misfortunes which they had occasioned. This condemnatory review was confirmed by the French people. The day of his funeral was a day of rejoicing and holiday; the procession was greeted with laughter and songs by the carousing populace, who added another article of reproach over which the royal conscience had slumbered. Some proposed to use the funeral torches to set fire to the houses of the Jesuits;[63] but Louis had expired without giving the slightest indication that the course which he had pursued in religious matters occasioned him any compunction. In spite, however, of his defects, Louis XIV. must be allowed in many respects to have possessed the attributes of a great monarch. He was generous and munificent; in grace, affability, and dignity of manner, in all that goes to constitute the outward

[62] Saint Simon, t. xii. p. 483; Voltaire, *Siècle de Louis XIV.*, ch. xxviii.

[63] Voltaire, *l. c.*

bearing of a king, he was unrivalled; and all his projects, however unjust and impolitic, were marked by grandeur of conception and ability and perseverance in their execution. And now that the misery inflicted by his reign has been forgotten, and only its glory and conquests are remembered, it is probable that the image of Louis XIV. will continue to occupy a conspicuous niche in the national Pantheon of the French; a nation ever ready to pardon the faults of those who have extended their boundaries, upheld their military reputation, and promoted the fame of their literature and art.

CHAPTER VII.

WHILE these things were going on in Southern and Western Europe, the close of the seventeenth century was marked in the North by the breaking out of an extensive war. The death of Charles XI. of Sweden in April 1697, and the accession of his son Charles XII. at the age of only fifteen years, inspired several of the northern sovereigns with the hope of aggrandising themselves at the expense of so youthful a monarch, and of recovering some of the territories which had been wrested from them by his predecessors. Sweden still possessed the provinces which had been assigned to her by the Treaties of Oliva, Copenhagen and Kardis. Finnland, Carelia, Ingria, Esthonia and Livonia, as well as the greater part of Pomerania, the fortresses of Stettin and Stralsund, Wismar and its fortified harbour, and the duchies of Bremen and Verden continued subject to her sceptre. Augustus, Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, was the prime mover in this conspiracy of sovereigns, and must be regarded as the main cause of a war which desolated Northern Europe during twenty years, and ruined for a long period his own dominions as well as Sweden.

Augustus himself, however, was led into the war by the counsels of Patkul, the Livonian noble, whose flight from Sweden and from the tyranny of Charles XI. has been already recorded.[1] Patkul inspired Augustus with the hope of acquiring Livonia by painting in glowing colours the discontent which prevailed in that province. An article of the *Pacta Conventa* subscribed by Augustus on his election to the crown of Poland, by which, in vague terms, he had undertaken to recover the provinces which had been dismembered from that kingdom, might serve as an excuse with his Polish subjects for entering into the war; while, as regarded Sweden, it might be alleged that Livonia had been ceded to that Power by the Treaty of Oliva, only on condition that its privileges should be respected, and that these had been grossly violated by Charles XI. But under these plans of foreign aggression Augustus concealed another for the establishment of his power at home. Under

[1] Above, p. 129. Patkul's conduct, however, can hardly be imputed to self-interest, as his own estates had not been subjected to the "reduction."

pretence of the war, he contemplated introducing Saxon troops into Poland, and by reducing the party opposed to him in that kingdom, to make himself absolute, and render the crown hereditary in his family. To conciliate the leading Poles to his views, Cardinal Radziejowski, the primate of Poland, who enjoyed extensive influence, was bribed with 100,000 rix-dollars, which Patkul offered to him in the name of the nobles of Livonia; and a kind of capitulation was drawn up and signed by Augustus, August 24th 1699, for the future government and constitution of that province.[2]

As the King of Poland could not hope by himself successfully to oppose the power of Sweden, he determined to form alliances with such neighbouring princes as, like himself, were jealous of the Swedish might and ambition, or desirous of recovering some of the provinces which had been wrested from them by the Swedish arms. He first applied to the King of Denmark, the natural rival of Sweden, and now further embittered against that Power by the part which the Swedish King had taken against him in his quarrels with the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp. Fresh disputes had arisen in 1694 between Christian V. and Frederick, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp. The Danish Court having raised some difficulties about their common subjects doing homage to Frederick, the latter, with the aid of Swedish soldiers, constructed some new forts. In 1696 he formed an alliance with the Duke of Brunswick Lüneburg, in which Sweden was included; and subsequently he entered into treaties with Great Britain and the States-General; which Powers, in consideration of his furnishing a certain number of men for the war against France, guaranteed him from any attempt at coercion on the part of Denmark.[3] The Emperor now interposed, and in August 1696, a conference was opened at Pinneberg, in which the Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg acted as mediators between the King of Denmark and the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp. The debates were, however, protracted, and while the conference was still going on Charles XI. of Sweden died (April 5th 1697). His successor, Charles XII., was the intimate friend of the Duke of Holstein, with whom he had been educated. In 1698 Charles gave the Duke his sister in marriage, and promised to support him in his quarrels with Denmark; while Christian V. on his side concluded a secret defensive alliance with the Elector of Saxony, who, as already related, had been elected to the Polish crown in June 1697, with the title of Augustus II.[4] In the year 1699, Christian, having forcibly demo-

[2] Schmauss, *Einleitung zu der Staatswissenschaft*, B. ii. S. 253.

[3] Dumont, t. vii. pt. ii. p. 366.

[4] See above, p. 115.

lished the fortifications erected by the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, the latter sought the aid of his brother-in-law, Charles XII.; and, having been made generalissimo of the Swedish forces stationed in Germany, he entered his duchy with a body of Swedes and reconstructed his forts.

In the midst of these events Christian V. died, August 25th 1699. Frederick IV., his successor on the Danish throne, resolved to extend the alliance already entered into with Augustus II., and to make it an offensive one; and a treaty for that purpose was signed at Dresden, September 25th 1699.[4] It was arranged that Augustus should invade Livonia, while Frederick should divert the Swedish forces by an attack upon Holstein. In order, however, to insure the success of these measures, Augustus resolved to obtain the assistance of the Czar Peter, with whom a treaty was concluded, November 21st. This prince was now to play a remarkable part in the affairs of Europe, and it will therefore be proper to give a short account of his career.

The infirmities of Ivan, the next brother of Feodor, rendered him totally incapable to reign. Besides being weak of mind, he was almost blind and dumb; and in consequence of these disqualifications he solemnly renounced the crown in favour of his young step-brother Peter, in presence of the clergy, magistrates, soldiers, and citizens, who had assembled at the Kremlin, immediately after the death of Feodor, in April 1682. Peter now received the usual homage; but, as he was only in his tenth year, his mother, the Czarina Natalia Kirillowna, was declared Regent during his minority. Sophia, however, the third sister of Feodor, an ambitious and enterprising princess, having formed a party in her favour, and gained over the Strelitzes, a body of troops that resembled, by their privileges and influence, as well as by their unruly conduct, the Turkish Janissaries, succeeded in seizing the reins of government; when she caused Ivan to be proclaimed Czar jointly with Peter, and herself to be invested with the Regency. She even pretended to the title of Autocrat, and, with her paramour Golizyn, ruled everything at her pleasure. Sophia was in person a monster of deformity; very short, enormously fat, with a head as big as a bushel measure, and a face covered with hair; but under this repulsive exterior was concealed a mind of extraordinary acuteness, although capable of committing the greatest crimes for the attainment of power.[5] She had formed the design of espousing Golizyn, by whom she had children, after he should

[5] Hojer, *Leben Friderichs IV.*, B. i. S. 21.

have succeeded in shutting up his wife in a convent; they were then to set aside at a favourable opportunity the claims of Peter, and virtually to rule the state in the name of the incapable Ivan. But these plans were defeated by the courage and conduct of Peter. The marriage of the young Czar, in January 1689, with Eudoxia Feodorowna, a young lady belonging to the rich and ancient family of the Lapuchin, served very much to increase his power and influence; and he soon took an opportunity to assert himself. In the following June, on the occasion of a public solemnity at Moscow, he insisted that his sister should appear, not as Regent and Autocrat, but only as Grand Princess; and, on her refusing to comply, he banished her from the city. Sophia now formed a conspiracy to take Peter's life, in which she engaged some of the Strelitzes. But Peter, having received timely notice of the plot, escaped by flight the sword of the assassins; turned all Sophia's arts against her; accused her and her paramour of high treason; caused Golizyn and several other nobles to be banished, and Sophia to be shut up in a convent which she had herself erected at a little distance from Moscow (September 7th). Two days after, Peter entered the capital on horseback, mustered the now obedient Strelitzes to the number of 18,000, and conducted his wife and his mother in state to the Kremlin, amid the enthusiastic shouts of the people. Thus did Peter, at the age of seventeen, become sole ruler of the Russian Empire. He displayed, however, the greatest affection for his unfortunate brother, Ivan; and, till the death of that prince in 1697, allowed his name to appear at the head of all the Imperial Ukases.

Peter now applied himself to reform the State, and particularly the army, in which cares he was assisted by General Patrick Gordon and Le Fort, a Genevese. He also directed his attention to commercial affairs and to the navy. In order to extend the Russian trade he was desirous of getting a footing both on the Baltic and the Black Sea, and to possess a navy that might protect the commerce thus created. He invited shipbuilders from Holland, whom he employed in building small vessels on the Russian lakes; and, in company with these men, whom he treated as his familiar friends, he speedily acquired the Dutch language. Dissatisfied, however, with such small efforts, Peter journeyed, in the summer of 1693 and following year, to Archangel, the only part of his dominions where he could obtain any practical knowledge of the sea and maritime affairs. Here he assumed the dress and exterior of a Dutch skipper, made small voyages in his yacht, and sometimes appeared on the exchange and made contracts with

the merchants. It was during Peter's abode at Archangel that the keel of the first Russian merchant-vessel was laid down. It left that port in 1695 to carry, for the first time, the Russian flag into foreign harbours. In that and the following year Russia was engaged in the war in the Crimea, as already related. After the capture of Azof, in 1696, Peter relinquished the conduct of the war to his generals, in order that he might carry out a plan that he had formed for acquiring knowledge by travelling into foreign countries. Before he set out, his life was again exposed to extreme danger through a conspiracy which his sister Sophia had hatched against him on the occasion of the death of their brother Ivan, in January 1697; for Peter's reforms had excited great discontent among certain classes. But, having discovered and frustrated this design, and punished the ringleaders, the young Czar set out on his travels early in March.[6] His first journey was to Riga, whither he proceeded, under the name of Peter Michailoff, in the character of a military officer and one of the members of a splendid embassy consisting of 270 persons. The Czar's reception here by Count Dahlberg, the Swedish commandant, was afterwards made one of the pretences for his war with Sweden. From Riga Peter made his way through Königsberg and Berlin to Saardam in Holland. Here he hired from a poor widow an apartment, consisting of two rooms, in a back-dwelling, and putting on the dress of a common labourer, obtained employment in one of the dockyards as a shipbuilder. It must be confessed that he was more in his element here than among the *beau monde*, such as it then was, of Riga and Berlin, whom he at once amused and shocked by a strange mixture of barbarism, vivacity, and bashfulness. Thus, at a supper given by the Elector, alarmed by the fall of some earthenware on the marble floor, he sprang up from table, drew his sword and put himself upon his guard; and when he was at last satisfied that it was an accident, he demanded that the waiter who had caused it should be severely punished. On another occasion he snatched a smart new-fashioned peruke from the head of a master of the ceremonies, and, after examining it minutely, flung it away with a loud laugh.[7] Peter seems to have been more at

[6] In a letter written this year the person of the Czar is thus described: "C'est un prince d'une fort grande taille, puissant, robuste, beau de visage; et quoiqu'il ait l'oeil vif, noir, et perçant, quand il parle avec action, il a pourtant la physionomie très douce. Il est très affable et souhaite même qu'on l'entretienne de tout ce qui est curieux." See Brand, *Relation du Voyage de Mr. Evert Isbrand, Envoyé de sa M. C. à l'Empereur de la Chine*, p. 233. (Amst. 1699.)

[7] For these and other anecdotes of his travels see Bergmann, *Peter der Grosse*, B. i. S. 251 ff. Descriptions of the Czar's manners will also be found in the

home when drinking a glass of Geneva with the mothers or wives of his adopted fellow-workmen, or throwing plums from his hat to the boys in the streets of Saardam. When the Russian embassy entered Amsterdam with great splendour, Peter took his place in one of the last coaches, amid the noblemen who filled it; and while his representatives were living in state and luxury in houses rented for 100,000 guilders, he himself occupied a small lodging on the quay, boiled his own pot, and lived in every respect like a common labourer, under the name of Master Peter, or Carpenter Peter of Saardam. Our space will not allow us to dwell on all the adventures and pursuits of this extraordinary man while in Holland; his interviews with William III., his studies in natural history under Leeuwenhoek, of botany and anatomy under Boerhaave. His natural curiosity even prompted him to learn the art of tooth-drawing; his newly acquired skill in which he exercised without need on the jaws of his unlucky retinue. Early in 1698 Peter went over to England, where he preferred to Somerset House, which had been assigned to him as a residence, the house of Evelyn, near Deptford Dockyard. In England, as in Holland, his time was chiefly spent with workpeople and mechanicians of all descriptions. On his departure early in May, King William made him a present of a handsome frigate of twenty-four guns, which had been prepared for the King's own use. Peter was so pleased with his visit to this country that he used often to tell his nobles that "it was a happier thing to be an English admiral than Czar of Russia."[8] In June, Peter returned to his dominions by way of Dresden and Vienna. In his progress through Holland he had hired between 600 and 700 workmen, chiefly shipwrights, who were sent to Archangel; and at Vienna he took into his service nine Venetian sea-captains.

The Czar was diverted from his intended journey into Italy by a fresh insurrection of the Strelitzes, which caused him to return to Moscow. At Rawa, a small place not far from Lemberg in Poland, he met by appointment Augustus II.; and it was here, during entertainments which lasted three days, that the two monarchs formed the plan of an attack upon Sweden, for which, in the following year, they entered into a definite treaty. Patkul and General Von Carlowitz accompanied the Czar to Moscow to arrange the details. When Peter arrived in his capital (August 25th), he found that the Strelitzes had been already reduced to

letters of Sophia Charlotte in Erman's *Mém. pour servir à l'histoire de Sophie Charlotte*, p. 116 sqq.

[8] *Der jetzige Staat von Russland*, von Johann Perry, Capitain. Leipsig, 1717, 8vo. S. 258.

obedience through the courage and firmness of General Patrick Gordon, and that little remained for him to do but to punish the mutineers. During a period of three weeks many hundreds of the Strelitzes were hanged or beheaded under the inspection of the Czar himself, who is said to have executed many with his own hand, while he sometimes compelled those *Bojars*, or nobles, whom he suspected of disaffection to perform the office of hangman. Peter's own wife, Eudoxia, who was implicated in the investigation, and who had incurred his dislike by her zeal for those old Russian customs which he wished to abolish, was sent to a nunnery and compelled to take the veil, under the name of Sister Helena. In August 1700, he dissolved the whole corps of Strelitzes, then consisting of about 20,000 men.

Instead of the New Year's Day hitherto observed in Russia (September 1st), Peter introduced at the opening of the last year of the seventeenth century (January 1st 1700) the reckoning of the Julian calendar then in use in the Protestant countries of Western Europe. At the same time he made a change in the dress and manners of his subjects. The Dutch and German fashion of dress was ordered to be observed, models of which were hung up at all the entrances of the Imperial residence; and the police had orders to cut away to the knees the long frocks or pelisses of those who adhered to the ancient fashion. Even the women, who had been accustomed to wear large loose-flowing coats, were compelled to conform to the new mode. By introducing plays, concerts, balls, and the like he endeavoured to improve and soften the rude and barbarous manners of his subjects. In short, through all these improvements, and those which he introduced into the civil, military, and naval service of the country, Peter must be regarded as one of the most remarkable Reformers that the world has ever seen, and as better deserving the name of the "Great" than most of the princes to whom that epithet has been applied.

Peter's chief motive for joining the alliance against Sweden was the desire to possess a port upon the Baltic, and to open that sea to the navigation and commerce of his subjects, just as he had done in the Black Sea by the conquest of Azof. His ambition had at first been confined to a single port. While his war with the Turks was still going on, he had sent an envoy to Stockholm to explain his plans, namely, to direct the trade of Persia into the Baltic; and he had asked either for Narva or Nyenskans, for which he offered an equivalent. It was not till after these offers had been refused that Peter listened to the proposals of the Kings of Poland and Denmark; and indeed it was scarcely for his interest to assist

the Republic of Poland in the conquest of Livonia, a province to which he himself had pretensions.[9] In consequence of his negociations with general Carlowitz and Patkul at Moscow, Peter signed, on November 21st 1699, a treaty with Augustus II., by which it was agreed that the King of Poland should attack the Swedes in Livonia and Esthonia, and that the Czar, to whom a footing on the Baltic was secured, should invade Ingria and Carelia, as soon as he should have concluded a peace with the Porte. This was not effected, as we have already mentioned,[10] till July 1702, the negociations having lasted more than two years; but Peter, nevertheless, found himself enabled to take part in the war in 1700. The allies endeavoured to draw Frederick, the Elector of Brandenburg, into the league; but that prince, although he was on a good footing with all of them, and especially with the Czar, whom, as we have seen, he had entertained in his dominions, and had, besides, as much cause as they for making reprisals upon Sweden, yet he preferred to maintain inviolate his treaties with that Power.[11]

Augustus II., at the very time that he was preparing to make war upon his cousin,[12] was deceiving him by a show of friendship, and had sent an ambassador to Stockholm to negociate a treaty. The Saxon troops began to move towards Riga towards the end of 1699; but, through the dilatoriness of their commander, General Flemming, who had just married the daughter of a Livonian noble, the attack on Riga was delayed till near the end of February 1700, and the opportunity to surprise that place was consequently lost.[13] Nor did the Livonians rise in favour of Augustus as Patkul had led him to expect. Flemming was, therefore, compelled to turn the siege of Riga into a blockade, and to attack some smaller places, as Dünamunde, Budberg, &c. Dünamunde, important as commanding the mouth of the Dwina, was soon obliged to capitulate.

[9] Nestesuranoy, *Mém. du règne de Pierre le Grand*, t. ii. p. 431. Peter's *Journal*, drawn up under his own eyes and corrected in many places with his own hand, offers authentic materials for his reign down to the year 1721. There is a German translation by Bacmeister in the first two volumes of his *Beyträge zur Gesch. Peters des Grossen* (Riga, 1774, 3 B. 8vo.). The French translation by Formey terminates at the year 1714. On Peter's reign may also be consulted—Bergmann, *Peter der Grosse als Mensch und Regent dargestellt*; Alex. Gordon, *Hist. of Peter the Great* (Aberdeen, 1755, 2 vols. 8vo.); Herrmann, *Gesch. des russ. Staats*, B. iv.; Voltaire, *Hist. de Pierre le Grand*.

[10] See above, p. 116. Herrmann, *Gesch. Russlands*, B. iv. S. 96, erroneously places the definitive treaty with the Porte in July 1700. See Zinkeisen, *Gesch. des osman. Reiches*, B. v. S. 234 Anm.

[11] Bacmeister, Peters *Tagebuch*, B. i. § 2 ff.

[12] The Kings of Sweden, Denmark, and Poland were all related to one another. Charles XII. was the son of Frederick IV.'s aunt, and Augustus II. was the son of Charles XII.'s aunt.

[13] Bergmann's *Historische Schriften*, B. i. S. 119 sqq.

Meanwhile, Frederick IV., relying on this diversion, which he thought would prevent Charles XII. from assisting his brother-in-law, the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, had commenced an attack upon that prince. But he had completely mistaken the character of the Swedish King.

Charles, who had not completed his fifteenth year at the time of his father's death, was a few months after that event declared major by the Swedish States; the regency appointed by his father's will was set aside, and the youthful king took into his own hands the reins of government.[14] Count Piper, who had been the chief instrument in this affair, now became Charles's confidant and counsellor. During the first two or three years of Charles's reign, nothing happened to call forth his latent and yet hardly developed qualities; but he gave a foretaste of his reckless courage in desperate bear-hunts, in which the danger of the sport formed its chief relish. His character was first displayed to Europe through the confederacy organised against him by his cousins. The news of the invasion of Livonia by the Saxons filled his counsellors with anxiety and alarm. But Charles's noble address to the Senate soon calmed their apprehensions. "I have resolved," he said, "never to wage an unjust war; but, at the same time, never to close a just one except by the destruction of my enemies." The hopes inspired by this remark were increased by the change observed in Charles's mode of life. His hunting parties, as well as the expensive ballets, plays, and other divertisements in which he had indulged for the amusement of his sisters, were exchanged for military exercises and reviews, and instructive conversations with the few veteran officers who had survived the wars of his grandfather. The faithless conduct of his cousin, the King of Poland, had filled him with surprise and indignation; and when that monarch, after his ill-success at Riga, made some advances for an accommodation with Charles through the French ambassador, the Swedish King refused to treat till he should have inflicted some chastisement on his perfidious relative.

First of all, however, he resolved to fly to the aid of his brother-in-law, the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, who, as already related, had invoked his assistance against the King of Denmark. The Danes had entered Schleswic in March 1700, and, after taking Husum, Eiderstadt, and other places, laid siege to Tonningen, the Duke's

[14] For the history of Charles's reign see Nordberg, *Hist. de Charles XII. traduite du Suédois*; Lundblad, *Gesch. Karls des XII.* (übersezt von Jenssen, Hamburg, 1835, 2 B.); Voltaire, *Hist. de Charles XII.* (valuable for its style rather than as an authority); Adlerfeld, *Hist. militaire de Charles XII.*

principal town; from which, however, they were forced to retire on the approach of an army of Swedes, Hanoverians, and Dutch, under the Duke of Brunswick Lüneburg (June). Frederick IV., misled by the idea that the attack on Livonia by the Saxons and Poles would prevent the Swedes from going to war with him, had joined his army before Tonningen, in the confident hope of an easy victory; instead of which he was to see his own capital threatened with destruction.

Charles XII. had concluded at Stockholm a defensive alliance with the Dutch, February 22nd 1698, which, in the following May, was acceded to by William III. of England.[15] The object of this alliance was declared to be, not only mutual defence, but also the maintenance of peace in Europe; and the views of the Maritime Powers in forming it were, to keep Sweden in that line of anti-French policy which she had adopted since the Peace of Nimeguen. Charles XII., indeed, at the persuasion of Piper, also concluded a defensive treaty with France in July of the same year;[16] but this was only a temporary deviation from the policy adopted by his father. In January 1700 he had renewed and extended his alliance with the Maritime Powers by a fresh treaty,[17] by which, in case of attack, the reciprocal succour was fixed at 6000 men. But by a secret article, the King of Sweden bound himself to furnish 10,000 men, in case Great Britain or the States-General should be compelled to go to war to maintain the Peace of Ryswick; and, by another secret article, those two Powers guaranteed to the Duke of Holstein the rights secured to him by his treaty with Christian V. at Altona in 1689, which they had helped to mediate.[18] Agreeably to these treaties, Charles XII. now called upon the Maritime Powers for aid. A combined English and Dutch fleet, under Rooke and Allemonde, passed the Sound in June 1700, and in the following month formed a junction with the Swedish. The Danish fleet, too weak to contend with an armament which numbered upwards of sixty ships of the line, was compelled to take refuge under the guns of Copenhagen.

Notwithstanding the danger which threatened his capital, Frederick IV. obstinately refused to treat till a descent of the Swedes in Zealand, led by the King in person, rendered his position altogether desperate. Covered by the fleet, Charles effected a landing near the village of Humlebek, August 5th. With fiery impatience he himself was among the first to leap into the water,

[15] Dumont, t. vii. pt. ii. p. 439.
[16] *Ibid.* p. 441.
[17] *Ibid.* p. 475.
[18] *Ibid.* p. 231.

which reached up to his armpits.[19] The few troops that opposed the landing were soon dispersed; the Swedish camp was safely established; and so strict was the discipline maintained among the soldiers, that the Danish peasants brought in an abundant supply of provisions, for which they were punctually paid. Prayers were regularly offered up twice a day in the camp, and were attended by the King himself; who in this, as in many other particulars, offered a striking contrast to most of the contemporary sovereigns.

It being now obvious that Copenhagen could be saved only by a speedy peace, negociations were opened at the castle of TRAVENDAHL, and on August 18th a treaty[20] was concluded on better conditions than Frederick IV. might have expected. Charles, desirous of prosecuting the war with Poland, consented to easy terms, and, forgetting his own interests, stipulated only in favour of his brother-in-law. All the ancient treaties between Denmark and Holstein were renewed and confirmed, and the King engaged to pay the Duke 260,000 rix-dollars as an indemnity for losses suffered.

Thus did Charles finish his first war in the course of a few weeks without fighting a single battle. On September 3rd he returned to Helsingborg; and on the 8th, Admirals Rooke and Allemonde withdrew their fleets from the northern waters, in which they had been the heralds of peace rather than the ministers of war.

The Peace of Travendahl took the allies by surprise. The Czar, who was ignorant of it, declared war against Sweden September 1st, and, for the first time, with all the usual forms of European diplomacy. But this apparent advance in civilisation was counterbalanced by the observance of the good old Russian custom of throwing the Swedish resident at Moscow into prison; and this while the Russian envoy was giving Charles the warmest assurance of his master's friendship. The reasons which Peter alleged for hostilities could not but be very weak, and were chiefly grounded on the reception he had met with from the commandant at Riga. An army of 80,000 men—an immense force for that age—gathered together from all the Russian provinces, and even from Asia, was directed against Ingria under the command-in chief of Duke Charles Eugene of Croy. A division under Prince Trubetskoi, Governor of Novgorod, appeared before Narva September 19th, and was joined by the Czar and the Duke of Croy,

[19] The anecdote told by Voltaire, and often retailed, that Charles, on being told that the whistling which he heard was occasioned by the flight of bullets, exclaimed, "This shall henceforth be my music," appears to have no foundation. Lundblad, Th. i. S. 77, Anm.

[20] Dumont, t. vii. pt. ii. p 480.

October 1st, when the siege was commenced. Peter, on this occasion, assumed the rank and fulfilled the duties of a simple lieutenant; crossing the bridge which had been thrown over the river, pike in hand, with his company, in order to give the soldiers an example of subordination.[21] Charles XII., after his return from Zealand, had determined to lead his forces against the Saxons in Livonia; but, as he was embarking them at Karlshamn, his plans were altered by the news that the Russians had not only declared war against him and imprisoned his ambassador, but had even invaded Ingria. The Swedish armament sailed October 10th, and landed the troops partly at Pernau, partly at Revel. Charles immediately resolved to direct his march on Narva. The two divisions of his army, when they formed a junction at Wesenberg, numbered only 13,000 men, and after making the necessary detachments for the defence of the country, he advanced against the enemy with but 5000 foot, 3300 horse, and 37 guns.[22] On November 27th, Charles forced the reputed impregnable defile of Pyajokki, defended by 6000 chosen Russians under Scheremetoff, who fled in the greatest alarm to the Russian encampment before Narva, spreading the report that the Swedes were advancing 20,000 strong. On the morning of November 29th Charles had penetrated to Lagena, only six miles from Narva. The news of the defeat of Scheremetoff and approach of the Swedes had filled the Czar with consternation. At 3 o'clock on the morning of the 28th, Peter entered the tent of the Duke of Croy, almost mad with fright, and, after drinking several glasses of brandy, desired the Duke to take the entire command of the army, while he himself, accompanied by Princes Golovin and Menschikoff, hastily left the camp, under pretence of fetching reinforcements from Pleskow.[23]

The flight of their sovereign and principal commanders had a most demoralising effect on the Russian army. When the Swedes debouched from the wood of Lagena and formed in order of battle, they appeared to be so few that Croy took them only for the advanced guard of the 20,000 men reported by Scheremetoff. He declined, therefore, to leave his entrenchments, which were assaulted by the Swedes under cover of a snow-storm, that drove

[21] *Theatrum Europæum*, t. xv. p. 793.

[22] Lundblad, *Gesch. Karls des XII.*, Th. i. p. 92 ff.

[23] Hermann, *Gesch. Russlands*, B. iv. S. 115. The Saxon General Hallart, in a letter to Augustus II., describes these great bearded Russians as crying like children; characterises the Czar himself as "no soldier," and his generals as having "no more heart than a frog has hair on his belly." Cf. Lundblad, *Ibid.* p. 95; *Theatr. Europ.*, t. xv. p. 797; Gordon, *Hist. of Peter the Great*, vol. i.

into the faces of the Russians. In less than a quarter of an hour the Swedes had penetrated into the encampment; when the Russians, who no longer paid any regard to their officers, fled in disorder. In the pursuit hundreds were drowned in the Narova, the bridge over which had been broken down; others, who tried to shelter themselves behind some huts and baggage-waggons, were cut down like sheep. The young King of Sweden distinguished himself by the personal part which he took in this dreadful day. A spent ball lodged in his cravat; and in leading an assault he lost his sword and one of his boots in a morass. He was dragged out by his followers, and continued the battle with only one boot. It is said that 12,000 Russians fell in this battle, and on the following morning the remainder of their infantry surrendered; the cavalry had saved themselves by flight. As it was impossible to keep so many prisoners, they were dismissed, after defiling bare-headed before Charles to the number of 18,000 men, and giving up their arms and colours. The generals and higher officers alone were retained in captivity. The loss of the Swedes is computed at only 2000 men.

The battle of Narva is an epoch in the history of Russia. It opened the eyes of the Czar to the defects of his army; and as he was not of a temper to be discouraged by his defeat, he regarded it as a useful lesson and redoubled his efforts to bring his forces into a better condition. But as it afforded a handle to the discontented Bojars, and even threatened to produce a revolution, Peter hastened back to his capital, where his political courage and activity served to compensate for the lack of those qualities which he had displayed in the field.

Charles, who had taken up his winter-quarters in Livonia to refresh and recruit his little army, was long detained there in order to obtain reinforcements from Sweden. As it was uncertain whether, when he again took the field, he would direct his forces against the Russian provinces or the army of Augustus, that monarch and the Czar had an interview at Birsen in February 1701, to take measures for their future safety; where, amid banquets and drinking bouts, which both loved well enough, their friendship was cemented by personal acquaintance, a mutual interest and a common danger. On March 3rd, they concluded a new treaty, by which the Czar engaged to pay Augustus 200,000 rix-dollars, and to send him from 15,000 to 20,000 Russian troops. His motive for this last step seems to have been that his men might become habituated to European discipline.

Charles, having received large reinforcements from Sweden,

broke up from Dorpat June 27th 1701, the anniversary of his birthday. On July 20th, he crossed the Dwina a little below Riga, and defeated the Saxons under Marshal Steinau. Agreeably to the Czar's promise, Prince Repnin was leading 20,000 Russians to the aid of Steinau, of which, however, only 4000 had been able to form a junction with that general before he was attacked by the Swedes. Kockenhusen, Dunamünde, and other places held by the Saxons were recovered before the end of the year, and all Courland was occupied by Charles's troops. The Swedish King might now have concluded an honourable and advantageous peace. The Czar, alarmed at the rapid progress of the Swedish arms, endeavoured to propitiate Charles through the mediation of the States-General. Augustus II. had still more cause for alarm, as Charles, in letters addressed to the Cardinal Primate, Radziejowski, and to the Polish Senate, had plainly intimated his wish that Augustus should be deposed. The Polish King solicited the interference of the chief European Powers; and William III., who was desirous of maintaining peace in Northern Europe, strongly persuaded Charles to reconcile himself with his adversaries, and pointed out that he was in a position to dictate his own terms. But Charles refused to listen to any such proposals till he had gratified his revenge. That the perfidious conduct of Augustus was a reasonable ground of offence, and that the war in its origin was a just one, cannot be questioned; but the vindictive feelings of Charles, and it must be added also his passion for war, made him overlook the true interests of Sweden, and finally precipitated both his country and himself into irretrievable ruin.

The Polish Republic, however, had given Charles no cause for complaint; for though the war was ostensibly waged by Augustus in the interest of Poland, yet it was carried on with Saxon troops, and against the wish of the Poles, who frequently assured Charles of their friendly disposition. He had cantoned his army along the borders of Samogitia, the frontier province of Poland Proper; but it was long before he could make up his mind to cross the borders. His first expedition was into Lithuania in the winter of 1701, whither he was attracted by the feuds of the two powerful families of Sapieha and Oginski. The faction of Sapieha was inimical to Augustus, whom they denounced as the enemy of the national liberties. But this rash expedition, which Charles undertook with only 1500 horse and a few hundred infantry, without apparently any settled plan, led to no result. At Friski Charles was surprised by the troops of Oginski, and with difficulty found his way back to his own army. It was after his return from this expedition that

Augustus despatched to him his mistress, the beautiful Aurora von Königsmark, a Swedish countess, to sue for peace; but Charles saw through his cousin's design, and with a prudence and self-command remarkable in so youthful a prince, refused to receive the fair ambassadress. A deputation from the Diet assembled at Warsaw met with scarcely a better reception. Charles, who was now on his march towards that capital, successively appointed to meet the envoys at Kovno and Grodno, but evaded both these appointments, and only at length gave them an audience at Dlugowice (May 4th 1702). The purport of their message was, that the Polish Republic desired peace, but that they could never consent to the dethronement of their monarch; and they desired that the Swedish troops should evacuate Samogitia and Courland, which were fiefs of the Republic.[24] Such demands, unsupported by an army, were little regarded by Charles. He refused to treat with Augustus, or to recognise him as King of Poland; and he directed his answer to Radziejowski, the Cardinal Primate, as if the throne had been vacant.

Against the advice of his best generals and counsellors, especially Stenbock, Piper, and Oxenstiern, Charles now pushed on for Warsaw, and on May 24th reached the suburb of Praga on the right bank of the Vistula. His approach occasioned a panic in the capital. Most of the nobles, including the Primate, retired to their estates; King Augustus set off for Cracow, where he had appointed his Saxons troops to rendezvous. Charles entered the town and castle without opposition. His army numbered only 9000 men: with such a force had he undertaken to hold a city of 60,000 inhabitants, and to direct the policy of fourteen million Poles! He had expected to meet warm partisans at Warsaw, and was surprised and hurt at the sullen silence with which he was received. It was only after repeated invitations that the Primate, who had retired to his archbishopric of Gnesen, could be induced to return to Warsaw. Charles received him with all military honours in his tent outside the town, but in a manner which the Primate afterwards complained of as inconsistent with the respect due to his age and to his rank as second person in the kingdom. Charles advanced a few steps to meet him, but no chair was offered, and both King and Cardinal remained standing. Charles was on this occasion dressed in his ordinary costume, a coat of coarse blue cloth with metal buttons, stiff boots which reached above his knees, leathern small clothes, large gloves whose elk-skin cuffs reached to his elbows, a

[24] *Theatr. Europ.*, t. xvi. p.

ponderous sword, designed for use rather than beauty. Charles endeavoured to draw the Primate to his views; but Radziejowski declined to sanction the deposition of Augustus, or even to call a Diet, on the ground that he was not constitutionally empowered to do so.

Charles XII. did not pursue his march towards Cracow till about the end of June. This interval had enabled Augustus, whose cause was favoured by the nobles of the palatinates of Cracow and Sandomir, to raise a much larger force than that of his adversary; and he was so elated by this circumstance that he resolved to give battle, though his most prudent generals advised him to wear out the Swedes by marches and countermarches. The two monarchs met July 20th, near Clissow, a place between Warsaw and Cracow; when Charles gained a complete victory over 20,000 Saxons and 12,000 Poles, under Jerome Lubomirski, and captured the camp of Augustus, with forty-eight guns, many standards, the military chest, and the King's silver dinner-service. Charles's joy at this victory was, however, somewhat damped by the death of his brother-in-law, Frederick of Holstein-Gottorp, who was killed by a cannon-ball. In consequence of this victory, Cracow fell into the hands of Charles, and Augustus retired to Sandomir. Here the nobles of Little Poland, exasperated by the exactions of the Swedes, rallied round Augustus, and formed a confederation to support him, which was afterwards joined by many of the nobles of Great Poland and Lithuania. They sent an embassy to Charles to offer very favourable conditions of peace,[25] which, however, were refused by that monarch. A fall from his horse, by which he broke his thigh-bone, detained Charles longer at Cracow than he had intended. It was not till October 12th that he began his march towards Sandomir in a litter; while Augustus, on his approach, set off for Thorn in Polish Prussia.

The winter was spent in debates and negociations. The Cardinal Primate, whose wavering policy, dictated by self-interest, seemed sometimes to incline for Charles and sometimes for Augustus, summoned the Senate to meet at Warsaw; while the Polish King called a Diet at Marienburg, which gave its sanction to the confederation of Sandomir. Meanwhile Charles had taken up his winter-quarters at Lublin, and towards the middle of April 1703, he concentrated all his forces at Warsaw. Hence an attack was directed against a Saxon division under Steinau, posted at Pultusk on the Narew, which was completely defeated (May 1st), with the

[25] See Lundblad, Th. i. S. 215 Anm.

loss of only twelve men on the part of the Swedes. Charles now directed his march upon Thorn, where Augustus had left 7000 men. He appeared before that town May 23rd, but did not succeed in taking it till October 15th, when it surrendered at discretion. The fortifications were now demolished, and the garrison sent to Sweden. Charles remained at Thorn till November 21st, and then put his army into winter-quarters in the neighbourhood of Dantzic and Elbing.

In the course of this summer Augustus had summoned another Diet at Lublin, which formed, as it were, the complement of that of Marienburg. This assembly showed itself favourable to the King. It again sanctioned the confederation of Sandomir, and authorised Augustus to take means for prosecuting the war; for which purpose the army of the crown was to be raised to 36,000 men, and that of Lithuania to 12,000; but Saxons were not to be admitted into it, nor was any alliance to be formed with Russia. It was resolved that the question of the King's deposition should never be debated in the Diet. The Primate had the boldness to appear in this assembly and declare that he had taken no part against the King. He was received with a tumult of indignation; the bitterest reproaches were levelled against him; shouts arose of "The Swedes' friend! the betrayer of his country!" nay, swords were even drawn; yet the prelate, by his imperturbable coolness, succeeded in allaying all this animosity, and even seemed to have convinced the assembly of his innocence![26] The Diet resolved to despatch a deputation to Charles with terms of peace; he was to be allowed a space of six weeks to decide whether he would accept them; and if at the expiration of that period he should declare for war, Augustus was to be at liberty to seek foreign aid. The offers made by the Diet, which were supported by the Court of Vienna and the States-General, were, the confirmation of the Peace of Oliva and the complete neutrality of Poland. But Charles refused to receive any proposals that had not for their basis the deposition of Augustus, and in September he published a circular denouncing the proceedings of the Diet of Lublin. Augustus, in consequence, made a new treaty with the Czar, by which the latter engaged to send him 12,000 men, and promised 200,000 roubles yearly.[27]

Only a few months after these proceedings, the treacherous Primate summoned another Diet at Warsaw (January 1704); giving out that Charles, with whom he was in communication, and who sent two ambassadors to the assembly, would treat with the

[26] *Theatr. Europ.*, Th. xvi. pt. ii. p. 393.
[27] Halem, *Leben Peters des Grossen*, B. i. S. 225.

Polish Republic, but not with the Polish King. The Diet, which was composed of only ten senators and the nuncios of Grand Poland, formed itself into a confederation to effect the deposition of Augustus. The propositions made to Charles, through the Countess of Königsmark, which she had delivered into the hands of the Swedish ministers, were made a ground of accusation against Augustus. They proved that, in order to buy a peace, he had offered to cede some of the Polish provinces to Sweden. This charge excited universal indignation. Not a voice was raised in the King's favour; the throne was voted to be vacant, and on February 16th 1704, an interregnum was publicly proclaimed.

The Primate had been led, by his friendship for James Sobieski, to take this open and irretrievable step against Augustus. The memory of his father, King John, had rendered James Sobieski very generally popular among the Polish nobles; and it had been agreed, with the concurrence of Charles, to raise him to the throne. But Augustus frustrated this design by seizing the person of his intended successor. James Sobieski and his brother Constantine dwelt in the castle of Ohlau, near Breslau; and as they were one day riding towards that city they were suddenly surrounded by a party of Saxon dragoons and carried to Leipsic, where they were kept in a sort of honourable confinement in the Pleissenburg. Alexander, the youngest brother of John Sobieski, having declined the proffered crown, much difficulty arose as to the choice of a king. Four candidates appeared in the field: Jerome Lubomirski, grand general of the crown; Charles Stanislaus Radzivill, chancellor of Lithuania; Piemiazek, voyvode of Siradia; and Count Stanislaus Lesczinski, voyvode of Posen. The claim of Lubomirski was supported by the Primate; but Charles preferred Stanislaus. The Swedish army was moved towards Warsaw; a detachment appeared on the plain of Vola, the place of election; and on July 19th 1704, against the wish of the higher nobles, and without the concurrence of Radziejowski, Stanislaus was saluted King of Poland.[28]

He was not, however, to enjoy his new dignity in quiet. Augustus, who had still a considerable party in his favour, had retired to Cracow, and afterwards, for greater security, to Sandomir, where his adherents, under the name of "Reconfederates," published a manifesto against the proceedings at Warsaw and the election of Stanislaus (July 28th). The new monarch was recognised by no Power except Sweden; and the Primate Radziejowski, who had ultimately acknowledged him, was deprived of all his dignities by a Papal bull. Soon after the election Charles and his army pro-

[28] *Theatr. Europ.*, Th. xvii. p. 254.

ceeded to Heilsberg to levy contributions, leaving Stanislaus with only a few troops at Warsaw; and he afterwards marched into Red Russia, or Gallicia. Augustus quickly took advantage of this political as well as strategical error. By a rapid and dexterous march he pushed on his cavalry, among whom was a large body of Cossacks, to Praga; he himself, with the remainder of his forces, appeared before Warsaw, August 31st, and the Swedish general Horn was compelled to surrender the town and castle. Stanislaus now fled to Charles for protection; his estates, as well as those of the other confederates, were plundered; and he found himself deserted by many of the nobles who had adhered to him.

While these things were going on at Warsaw, Charles, whose chief object seems to have been plunder, was forming an expedition against Lemberg, the capital of Gallicia. Having failed to surprise that place with a body of horse, he captured it by assault at the head of his dismounted troopers, he himself being among the first to mount the ramparts. Here it was that he was joined by Stanislaus, and he now hastened to repair the faults he had committed. The march of the Swedish army was again directed upon Warsaw, before which it appeared October 24th, after capturing Zamosz by the way. Augustus, after making some show of disputing the passage of the Vistula, deemed it more prudent again to evacuate his capital, and fled with his cavalry to Cracow. The Swedish infantry now took possession of Warsaw, while Charles, with his horse, pursued the Saxon foot under Schulenburg, whom he overtook at Pünitz, in the palatinate of Posen. But Schulenburg, by the admirable disposition of his troops, resisted for some hours all the attacks of Charles, till night came to his assistance, during which he effected his retreat in good order. The Swedish troops were now put into winter-quarters along the frontiers of Silesia; while Augustus repaired to Dresden, his capital, and, as if with a presentiment of his fate, employed himself in putting the fortifications in order.

The following year (1705), though almost destitute of military events, was fertile of political ones. The Cardinal Primate, who had taken refuge at Dantzic, was at length persuaded to sanction the coronation of Stanislaus, but on condition that the King of Sweden should engage to support him during five years in his new dignity; that he should cease to levy the exorbitant war-taxes which were ruining the country, and that he should protect the Primate against the effects of the Pope's anger against him for having consented to the coronation.[29] The Primate, however,

[29] Lundblad, Th. i. S. 322.

declined to put the crown on the head of Stanislaus with his own hand, and that office was performed by the Bishop of Lemberg, October 3rd. Charles himself, accompanied by Count Piper and the Prince of Würtemberg, was present *incognito* at the ceremony; while the Swedish soldiers that guarded the church-doors betrayed the source to which Stanislaus owed his crown.

The Cardinal Primate survived this event only a few days. Stanislaus appointed the Bishop of Lemberg as his successor, while Augustus named the Bishop of Cujavia. As the confederates of Sandomir had mostly declared in favour of the conqueror, nothing now stood in the way of a treaty of peace and alliance between Sweden and the Polish Republic, which was accordingly signed at Warsaw, November 18th. The principal articles were, the confirmation of the Peace of Oliva; a general amnesty, except for the *ci-devant* King Augustus and his adherents, whether Saxons or others; no peace was to be made with Augustus till he should have renounced the Polish crown, and given satisfaction to the Republic, as well as to the King of Sweden, for all their losses by the war; the contracting parties were to pursue the war against the Czar of Muscovy with united forces till they had compelled him to give satisfaction; dissenters were to enjoy the free exercise of their religion; the Sapiehas, and other nobles of Lithuania, were to be restored to their estates and dignities.[30]

After these occurrences the only hope of Augustus seemed to rest on the friendship of the Czar Peter, with whom he had an interview at Grodno towards the end of the year. Augustus on his way thither was met at Tykoczyn by a large body of the most distinguished dignitaries and nobles of Poland, including Lubomirski, the general of the crown, who came to assure him of their friendship. At Grodno the meetings of the Polish senators were attended both by Peter and Augustus; and a new treaty was concluded between the Czar and the Polish King.[31] The Czar was called away to Moscow by some disturbances at Astrachan; but he left 15,000 men, under Ogilvy, at the disposal of Augustus. In spite, however, of Peter's friendly behaviour, Augustus put but little trust in him; and it was precisely at this time that he caused Patkul to be apprehended, who had left his service for that of Peter, and was now Russian envoy to the Saxon Court. Patkul, who was suspected of endeavouring to promote a peace between the Czar and the King of Sweden, was confined in the fortress of Königstein.[32]

[30] Dumont, t. viii. pt. i. p. 173.

[31] Peter's *Tagebuch*, B. i. S. 152; Gordon, *Peter the Great*, vol. i. p. 178.

[32] The circumstances of Patkul's arrest are fully related and explained by Hermann, *Gesch. Russlands*, B iv. S. 197–223.

Charles XII. set out in mid winter with 20,000 men to attack Augustus at Grodno, before which place he arrived towards the end of January. In this ill-considered expedition the Swedish army suffered incredible hardships from cold and hunger, of which, however, if it be any excuse, it must be allowed that Charles himself bore his share. Nor did they meet with the slightest reward for all these hardships. Augustus escaped from Grodno with his cavalry; the Russian infantry shut themselves up in the town, and Charles, who could neither besiege nor assault it, retired to Kamionka, a place at some little distance, where he and his army lay two or three months inactive, enduring the greatest privation and misery.[33] Augustus had ordered Schulenburg to march with the troops cantoned in Silesia to the relief of Grodno; but he was defeated at Frauenstadt (February 13th 1706) by the Swedish general Rehnskiöld, when the Saxon infantry was almost annihilated. After all, the Russian infantry, under Ogilvy, escaped Charles's vigilance, and made good their retreat in the spring from Grodno into Volhynia, whither he immediately followed them. His reasons for this difficult and dangerous march through almost impassable forests and morasses are said to have been to refresh his troops in Volhynia, and to annihilate the party of Augustus in that province. The Russians had placed themselves out of his reach by crossing the Dniepr; and though the Volhynians acknowledged Stanislaus with their lips, it was evident that their new-born devotion would vanish as soon as Charles's back was turned. The only satisfaction he derived from this laborious expedition was the maintaining his army and replenishing his military chest at the expense of the nobles who adhered to Augustus.

At length, however, after so many campaigns without a plan, Charles hit upon a scheme which might have put an end to his struggle with the Polish King some years earlier. He resolved to march into Saxony and dictate a peace to Augustus in his own capital. Although Charles kept his design concealed even from his own generals till the last moment, yet his movements appear to have raised a suspicion of it in the mind of Augustus, who, with a view to divert him from his enterprise, had formed a junction in Lithuania with 20,000 Russians under Prince Menschikoff. But

[33] Charles's disregard of physical obstacles frequently amounted to a want of common sense. Thus, after breaking up from Grodno and arriving at the Niemen, it was found that the ice had been melted by the sun so as to render it unsafe. Charles, however, impatient of the slow process of throwing a bridge over the stream, attempted to cross it on foot; when the ice breaking, he was precipitated into the water, and was with difficulty brought out alive! Lundblad, Th. i. S. 345.

Charles, without heeding this demonstration, marched straight to his object, and on September 1st entered Silesia with about 20,000 men. That province belonged to the Emperor; but as Joseph was then engaged in the War of the Succession with France, it was not to be feared that he would avenge this breach of its neutrality, especially as Augustus had also allowed himself that licence. On September 16th, the Swedes crossed the Elbe, having established themselves in Saxony without meeting with any serious resistance.

Augustus was filled with dismay at the news of these events. He addressed an humble letter to Charles, beseeching him to spare an unfortunate prince and relative; and he sent envoys to the Swedish camp at Altranstädt, near Leipsic, to negociate a peace, "on moderate and Christian conditions," including the resignation of the Polish crown. Charles, in reply, dictated the following terms through his minister, Count Piper: that Augustus should renounce the throne of Poland for himself and his descendants, retaining, however, the title of King, but not of Poland; that he should give up his alliance with Russia, liberate the princes Sobieski, and deliver up all renegades, especially Patkul. Augustus had no alternative but to comply with these conditions, which form the principal articles of the Treaty of Altranstädt, signed September 24th 1706.[34] The Swedes were to be allowed to take up their winter-quarters in Saxony, at the expense of the inhabitants. The treaty was to be kept secret till such time as Augustus could disengage himself from the Russians, and was therefore represented as a mere armistice. The most disgraceful feature of it was the surrender of Patkul, who had been seized in violation of the law of nations, and in spite of the protest of Prince Galitzin, the Russian minister at the Court of Saxony. The unfortunate Patkul, after being kept prisoner nearly a year with the Swedish army, was broken on the wheel at Casimir in October 1707.[35]

The necessity for keeping this treaty secret from the Russians placed Augustus in an awkward dilemma, and had nearly occasioned the upsetting of the whole peace. Augustus, as we have said, was with the army of Prince Menschikoff; who no sooner heard that Charles had entered Saxony, leaving in Poland only a small force under General Marderfeld, than he resolved to attack this commander; and Augustus, after exhausting every pretext for delay, found himself compelled to join in the attack. As the only way to avert it, he gave Marderfeld secret notice of the peace that had been concluded, and exhorted him to retire with his

[34] Dumont, t. viii. pt. i. p. 204. [35] Halem, B. i. S. 232, 238.

troops. But the Swedish general, regarding this advertisement as a snare, was only the more eager to give battle. The armies met at Kalisch, October 30th, when Marderfeld, being deserted by the Poles, and having lost a great part of his Swedes, was compelled to surrender himself prisoner with the remainder. Augustus wrote to Charles to excuse this unfortunate occurrence, and, after sending the Russians into winter-quarters in Volhynia, he himself hastened into Saxony to pacify the anger of the Swedish monarch. On December 27th he had an interview at Leipsic with Charles XII. and his own supplanter Stanislaus I., when he affected indifference for a crown that had caused him so much bitterness.

The Peace of Altranstädt marks a pause in the struggle between Charles and Augustus, of which we shall avail ourselves to take a brief retrospect of the progress of the Russians.

After his return from Birsen,[36] the Czar had employed himself in exercising his troops at Novgorod and Pleskau. Towards the end of the year (1701) he again ventured to take the offensive. A Russian corps, under Scheremeteff, invaded Livonia, and defeated the Swedish general Schlippenbach at Erraster, in the district of Dorpat (December 30th), an exploit for which Scheremeteff was made field-marshal. During the winter, Peter employed himself in constructing a fleet on Lake Peipus, with which, in the following summer, he gained some advantages over the Swedes. The Russians were also successful on land; and, in July, Schlippenbach was again defeated at Hummelshof. The Russians abused their success by the barbarous destruction of several Livonian towns and villages. Marienburg was captured in September, an event which was destined to have an important influence on the Czar's future life. Among the prisoners made on this occasion was Catherine, a young peasant girl of Esthonia, and then a servant in the family of Glück, the Provost of Marienburg, who, a few years after, became the wife of the Czar, and ultimately sovereign of Russia with the title of Catherine I. In October Peter himself was present, as a captain of bombardiers, at the taking of Nöteburg, a fortress which lay on an island in the Neva. Peter's desire to possess a fort on the Baltic was gratified the following year by the capture of Nyenschanz. Here, accompanied by his favourite, Menschikoff, he put to sea with thirty small vessels and captured two Swedish barks, which had come to the relief of the place. Peter celebrated this event as the first naval

[36] See above, p. 225.

victory gained by the Russians, and decreed to himself and Menschikoff the order of St. Andrew, which he had recently revived. As Nyenschanz, however, did not appear to be well seated for the purposes of trade, he laid the foundations of a new city in an island, at the mouth of the Neva. The site of this place still belonged, according to treaties, to the Swedes; yet he already destined it to be the future capital and chief marine station of his empire, and named it after himself, or his patron saint, St. Petersburg. It would be impossible for anything to display in a stronger light Peter's keen view and just appreciation of the situation and prospects of his adversary. Nyenschanz was ordered to be razed and the population transferred to the new city; for whose defence he caused fortifications to be erected on an island that lies before the mouth of the Neva. This fortress, then known by the name of Kronschlot, has since become the formidable Kronstadt. In the two following years, some Swedish vessels in vain endeavoured to bombard and capture it. In giving his new capital a German name, it was Peter's intention to remind his subjects that they must adhere to that adoption of foreign, and especially German, manners which he had prescribed for them. In November he celebrated his victories by entering Moscow in triumph; when the inhabitants beheld with astonishment their mighty Czar following on foot, at the head of his company of bombardiers, the magnificent sledges of his generals Scheremeteff, Repnin, and Bruce.

The Russian campaign of 1704 was signalised by the capture of the important towns of Dorpat and Narva. After the taking of the latter place, the Russian soldiers indulged in the most detestable cruelties. The Czar himself cut down some of the offenders; and, throwing his sword, still reeking with blood, on the table of the Burgomaster, exclaimed, "Fear not! this is Russian blood, not German." In the following year, Peter entered Lithuania with 60,000 men. Hence he despatched Scheremeteff into Courland, who was beaten by the Swedish general Lövenhaupt, at Gemauerthof, near Mitau; nevertheless the Swedes, being so inferior in numbers, were ultimately compelled to evacuate the province. The Czar himself, with 10,000 men, took Mitau. Peter's interview with Augustus at Grodno, towards the end of 1705, has been already mentioned, as well as Charles's pursuit of the Russians in the following spring, and the battle of Kalisch in October. The other operations of the Russians, in 1706, were not of much importance. A Swedish corps of 4000 men, under General Moydel, penetrated, in July that year, to within a few miles of St. Petersburg; but the Russian conquests

in that quarter were now too well established to be easily recovered. It was at Narva, in December 1706, that the Czar learnt the Peace of Altranstädt, and he immediately set off for Poland, to retain the heads of the Republic, without whose consent or knowledge the peace had been concluded, in the Russian alliance. The Bishop of Cujavia, the primate nominated by Augustus, showed himself a zealous adherent of Russia. He summoned, in January 1707, an assembly of the Senate at Lemberg, which declared its readiness to adopt the views of the Confederation of Sandomir; but it was difficult to bring them to any resolutions, and their only aim seemed to be to sell themselves at the highest price.[37] At length a diet of the Russian-Polish party assembled at Lublin, at the instance of Peter, declared the throne vacant, and issued summonses for an elective diet (July 8th).

To parry this blow, Charles set himself in motion in September, the Czar and his forces evacuating Warsaw at his approach, and retiring towards Vilna. As the Swedish army, well refreshed by its quarters in Saxony, and recruited to the number of 44,000 men, was too formidable to be attacked, Peter resolved to harass and wear it out by long marches,[38] a policy which was crowned with entire success. In October the Swedes went into winter-quarters in Polish-Prussia, but broke up early in 1708. Charles now marched upon Grodno, and, after seizing that town, proceeded to Minsk, the Russians retiring before him and destroying all the bridges and magazines. Charles passed the Beresina July 10th, a river destined to be fatal, a century later, to a still greater conqueror than himself. A few days after he defeated Scheremeteff, who, with 30,000 Russians, occupied an entrenched camp at Golowstschin, and pushed on to Mohileff, on the Dniepr. It seems to have been the opinion of Charles's own army, as well as of the Russians,[39] that it was his intention to march on Moscow; and, in fact, after some stay at Mohileff, he crossed the Dniepr, and advanced on the road to Smolensko. But all the difficulties of his undertaking began now to stare him in the face. The villages and houses were abandoned, the crops burnt, the roads fortified, the foraging parties in constant danger from the enemy's cavalry. When Charles at length asked the advice of his quarter-master-general, Gyllenkrook, as to his proceedings, that officer replied by inquiring what plan he had formed for the campaign?

[37] Parthenay, *Hist. de Pologne sous Auguste II.*, t. iii. p. 181 sqq.

[38] *Tagebuch*, B. i. S. 194.

[39] Peter, in his *Journal*, describes the march of Charles upon Smolensko only as a feint, to draw away the Russians from the roads leading to the Ukraine. *Ibid.* B. i. S. 213.

To his astonishment and alarm the King answered: "I have no plan." Gyllenkrook could scarcely believe but that Charles was jesting. Rehnskiöld, however, whom he consulted on the occasion, confirmed this state of things, and assured him that, when he consulted Count Piper as to the future operations, he had often been told by that minister: "The Devil, who had hitherto been chief adviser, may, for me, continue to be so."[40] In fact Charles's only idea of warfare was to march straight at the enemy; and hitherto this very rashness, supported by the excellent troops which he commanded, had proved successful. But he had now seen the term of his prosperity. The Russian empire presented a still more vast and difficult field of enterprise than Poland; and in Peter he had to contend with a much more wary and skilful adversary than Augustus.

Charles now turned to the south and determined to march through Severia to the Ukraine, whither he had been invited by Ivan Mazeppa, Hetman of the Cossacks. In the minority of Peter, during the regency of his sister Sophia, Mazeppa had been made Hetman by Prince Galitzin (1687), and he had subsequently gained the confidence of the Czar by his exploits against the Turks. But Mazeppa, though near eighty years of age, was devoured by an insatiable ambition. He had formed the plan of making himself independent; the victorious progress of the Swedish king seemed to offer him a means to achieve his wish; and he opened communications with Charles through King Stanislaus, with whom he had become acquainted when stationed in Southern Poland. Charles's situation after leaving Mohileff presented only a choice of difficulties; and he was decided by the pressing importunities of Mezeppa to make for the Ukraine, as well as by the consideration that a position in that country, while it insured a communication with Poland, would also enable him to annoy the Russian empire. On September 20th his leading columns took the road for Severia; nor could the representations of his generals induce him to await the arrival of Löwenhaupt, who was bringing a reinforcement of more than 12,000 men, together with large quantities of stores and ammunition. Peter immediately perceived the mistake of the Swedish king. Marching with one of his divisions to Liesna, he totally defeated Löwenhaupt at that place (October 9th), destroyed half his men, and captured his convoy; so that when that general at length succeeded in joining Charles, he brought only about 6000 or 7000 men. Peter was

[40] Lundblad, Th. ii. p. 49 sqq.

not a little elated with his victory. "The battle of Liesna," he says in his Journal, "is the true foundation of all the following successes of Russia, and our first essay in the art of war; it was the mother of the victory of Pultava, gained nine months later."[41] His joy was increased by the news which he soon after received of the miscarriage of an attempt of the Swedish general Lübecker to penetrate, with 12,000 men, from Finnland to the Neva, and to destroy St. Petersburg and Kronstadt.[42]

After a difficult march through the almost impassable forests of Severia, Charles arrived in November in the Ukraine. At Gorki, to his exceeding surprise and discouragement, he was met by Mazeppa, not as an ally with the 30,000 men whom he had promised, but as a fugitive and suppliant with some forty or fifty attendants! The Hetman had succeeded in inducing only about 5000 Cossacks to join his standard, and by these he had been deserted on the third day![43] Baturin, Mazeppa's capital, was taken by assault by Menschikoff, Nov. 14th. Charles took up his winter-quarters at the Cossack town of Gaditsch; where he lost several thousands of his men through the intensity of the cold and continual skirmishes. In the spring of 1709 he somewhat recruited his numbers by an alliance with the Saporogue Cossacks,[44] whom Mazeppa persuaded to join the Swedes. But the army was in a miserable state. The men's clothes were worn out and sufficed not to protect them from the weather, and many hundreds were without shoes. Mazeppa, as well as Piper, counselled a retreat into Poland; but Charles listened in preference to Rhenskiöld and his new allies the Saporogues, who were for besieging Pultava. The Swedes sat down before that place April 4th. The siege had lasted more than two months with little effect, when an army of 60,000 Russians, under Scheremeteff, Menschikoff and Bauer, the Czar himself serving as colonel of the guards, was announced to be approaching to its relief. Although Charles's army numbered only about 20,000 men, nearly half of whom were Cossacks and Wallachians, he resolved to give battle. A wound in the foot, received

[41] *Tagebuch*, B. i. S. 219.

[42] *Ibid.* p. 223.

[43] Hermann, *Gesch. Russlands*, B. iv. S. 242. Some writers, however, represent Mazeppa as bringing 4000 or 5000 men.

[44] These hordes were so called from their inhabiting the islands *beneath the waterfalls* (*sa parogi*, Russ.) of the Dniepr, some 300 miles beyond Kiev. This singular people, a sort of male Amazons, who lived chiefly by plunder, professed to repudiate the commerce of women, and were recruited by renegades from all nations. Nevertheless their numbers seem also to have been kept up in the natural way, though their wives were domiciled in distant places, and were not allowed to be seen in the *Setschj*, or capital of the men; a sort of town or village of mud huts surrounded with an earthen rampart. See Engel. *Gesch. der Kosaken*, S. 43 (*Allgem. Welthistorie*, Halle, 1796); Lundblad, Th. ii. S. 95 f.

a few days before while reconnoitring, obliged the Swedish King to relinquish the command in chief on this important day to Rhenskiöld, although he himself was present on the field in a litter. It is said that the movements of the Swedes were not conducted with their usual firmness; it is certain that they were short of ammunition, and without cannon; and though they made several desperate charges with the bayonet, and displayed all their usual valour, they were at length compelled to yield to superior numbers. Of the Swedish army, 9000 men were left on the field, and about 3000 were made prisoners; among whom were Rhenskiöld himself, the Prince of Würtemberg, Count Piper, and several other distinguished personages. Charles, whose litter was found on the field shattered to pieces by balls, escaped with difficulty in a carriage. Peter distinguished himself by his activity and courage on this eventful day. Mounted on a little Turkish horse presented to him by the Sultan, he flew through the ranks encouraging his men to do their duty. A bullet pierced his cap; another lodged in his saddle. After the battle, he entertained the captured generals at his table, presented Rhenskiöld with his own sword, and caused that of the Prince of Würtemberg to be restored to him.[45]

The Victory of Pultava, achieved July 8th 1709, may be said to form an epoch in European history as well as in the Swedish and Russian annals. It put an end to the preponderance of Sweden in Northern Europe, occasioned the Grand Alliance to be renewed against her, and ultimately caused her to lose the conquests of Gustavus Adolphus and Charles X. Russia, on the other hand, now began to step forward as a great European Power. The penetrating mind of Peter saw at a glance the importance of his victory, which he commanded to be annually celebrated. In a letter addressed to Admiral Apraxin at St. Petersburg only a few hours after the battle, he observes: "Our enemy has encountered the fate of Phaeton, and the foundation stone of our city on the Neva is at length firmly laid."[46] The annihilation of the remnant of the Swedish army was speedily achieved. Of the 54,000 Swedes that had quitted Saxony, and the reinforcement of 16,000 led by Löwenhaupt, only 9000 remained; the rest had perished in the steppes of Russia. With this small force Charles was disposed again to try his fortune against the enemy; but he was at length persuaded by his generals to cross the Dniepr with an escort of a few hundred

[45] Peter now assumed, at the request of his ministers, generals, officers and soldiers, the title of Lieut.-General in the army, and Rear-Admiral at sea. *Tagebuch*, B. i. S. 271.

[46] Halem, *Leben Peters d. Gr.*, B. i. S. 270 (Leipzig, 1803).

men, and accompanied by Mazeppa, to seek a refuge at Bender, in Bessarabia, where he was honourably received by the Turkish commandant.[47] Before he took his departure, he intrusted the command of the army to Löwenhaupt, and he had some hopes that that general would be able to effect his escape into Tartary; but on the approach of a Russian division under Menschikoff, Löwenhaupt surrendered on capitulation (July 11th). Thus was annihilated an army which a few months before had been deemed invincible; and Sweden was unable to furnish another.

The misfortunes of Charles XII. occasioned the renewal of the Grand Alliance against Sweden. Frederick IV. of Denmark concluded a treaty with Augustus at Dresden, June 28th 1709, by which he engaged to invade Sweden so soon as the Czar should have acceded to the alliance. Thus the false step which Charles had made in marching to the Ukraine was already plain to standers by before the battle of Pultava. After that event, Lubomirski, with several other Polish nobles, proceeded to Dresden to invite Augustus to resume the crown of Poland; and that prince, declaring that the Peace of Altranstädt had been imposed upon him by force, marched to Thorn with an army of 13,000 men; the Confederation of Sandomir was renewed, Stanislaus, deserted by most of his adherents, retired into Pomerania, and Augustus II. was again generally recognised. The Czar Peter, who had proceeded to Warsaw in September, was congratulated by the Diet on his victory at Pultava, which, they said, had preserved their liberties and restored to them their legitimate king![48] Early in October Peter had an interview with Augustus at Thorn, when a reconciliation took place between them and their former alliance was renewed. Augustus renounced the pretensions of the Polish Republic to Livonia, and Peter promised him a corps of 1000 men. The King of Denmark was received into the alliance, and a league offensive and defensive was concluded at Copenhagen between him and the Czar, Oct. 22nd.[49] Frederick I. of Prussia entered into defensive treaties with the allies, and promised to aid them so far as might be compatible with the neutrality which he had assumed.

In consequence of this renewal of the Grand Alliance, Frederick IV. declared war against Sweden, Nov. 9th 1709, and in the course of that month a Danish army of 18,000 men landed in Schonen,

[47] The Porte had made proposals for an alliance to Charles after he had dethroned Augustus, and he appears to have reckoned on the support of the Khan of Tartary on arriving in the Ukraine. Von Hammer, *Osm. Reich*, B. vii. S. 136 f.

[48] *Tagebuch* (Bacmeister, B. i. S. 278).

[49] *Ibid.* S. 281.

took Helsingborg, and laid siege to Landscrona and Malmö. But they were defeated by Stenbock, March 10th 1710, and compelled to reembark.

In the course of this year (1710) the Emperor of Germany, Great Britain, and the States-General concluded two treaties (March and August[50]) guaranteeing the neutrality of all the states of the Empire, including the Swedish and Danish; to the latter of which treaties the King of Prussia and several other German princes acceded. But Charles XII. having protested from his retirement at Bender against these treaties, and declared that he should regard the parties to them as his enemies, the northern allies considered themselves absolved from their obligation of neutrality towards his German possessions; and in August 1711, a combined army of Saxons, Poles, and Russians crossed the Oder, occupied Anclam and Greiswald, and blocked Stralsund. In the following year siege was laid to Stettin, while the Danes, having crossed the Elbe, took Stade and occupied the duchies of Bremen and Verden. On the other side the Swedish general Stenbock entered Mecklenburg, occupied Rostock, Nov. 14th, and on the 20th, defeated the King of Denmark in person at Gadebusch. Hence he penetrated into Holstein and burnt Altona (Jan. 9th 1713); a disgraceful act which he attempted to justify on the plea of retaliation. But after several reverses, he was compelled by the allies to surrender with his whole army (May 16th).[51]

The Swedish possessions in Germany being deprived of all defence by this event, the Swedish ministers, in the hope of saving some portion of them, proposed a sequestration into the hands of the King of Prussia. The throne of that kingdom was now occupied by Frederick William I., Frederick I. having expired Feb. 25th 1713. Frederick William was not averse to a proposal which might ultimately place many important towns in his hands without the risk or expense of fighting for them; and the northern allies on their side were willing to conciliate a sovereign whose enmity might be dangerous to them. By the Convention of Schweedt,[52] Oct. 6th 1713, Prince Menschikoff agreed, on the part of the northern allies, that Stettin, Demmin, Anclam, Wolgast, and other places of Swedish Pomerania, should be placed in the hands of the King of Prussia, and should be occupied till a peace by garrisons composed partly of his soldiers, and partly of those belonging to the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp.

[50] Dument, t. viii. pt. i. p. 249 and 254. *Ibid.* p. 388.
[51] By the Capitulation of Oldensworth. [52] *Ibid.* p. 407.

We must now cast a glance on the affairs of the Czar, and of his adversary, Charles XII., since the battle of Pultava. After the capitulation of the Swedish army, Scheremeteff was despatched with 40,000 men into Livonia to secure that important province and the coast of the Baltic. Peter himself, after his interview with Augustus II. at Thorn already related, proceeded, in November, to Riga, and opened the siege of that place by firing three bombs with his own hand. Hence he hastened to the Neva to inspect the progress of his new city, for the adornment of which his nobles were ordered to construct palaces of stone. Among other improvements, a canal was planned between Lake Ladoga and the Volga, by which a water communication was established with the Caspian Sea. Towards the close of the year Peter entered Moscow with a triumphal procession, in which figured the captured Swedes. In 1710 the conquest of Livonia and Carelia was completed.

Meanwhile Charles XII. had been straining every nerve to incite the Porte to hostilities against Russia; in which he was assisted by his friend Count Poniatowski, by the Khan of Tartary, and by the French ambassador at Constantinople. Their efforts at length succeeded. On November 21st 1710, the Sultan Achmet III. declared war against the Czar, and, according to Turkish custom, imprisoned Tolstoi, the Russian ambassador, in the Seven Towers. Peter, relying on the negociations which he had entered into with the Hospodars of Moldavia and Wallachia, despatched a Russian division, under Scheremeteff, to the Pruth; and he himself set off in the same direction in the spring of 1711. Demetrius Cantemir, the Hospodar of Moldavia, a prince of Greek origin, who had engaged to assist the Czar in his war with the Turks on condition that Peter should aid him in rendering his sovereignty hereditary, induced the Russians to cross the Pruth by representing that they would be able to seize some considerable Turkish magazines. But Peter, when he had crossed the river, found that he had been completely deceived. The Moldavians were not inclined to rise, and the want of forage and other necessaries soon compelled the Czar to retreat. But he had not proceeded far when he was overtaken and hemmed in by the Turkish army, which was infinitely more numerous than his own, in a spot between the Pruth and a morass. In this situation, to retreat or to advance was equally impossible; yet the want of provisions allowed him not to remain stationary. Despair now seized the heart of Peter. A single hour might upset all those plans and labours for the benefit of his country which had occupied his whole life; and in

his distress and agitation, which he cared not to betray, he shut himself up in his tent, and gave strict orders that nobody should be admitted to his presence.

In these circumstances, a council of the principal Russian officers determined that the only chance of escape was to come to terms with the Grand Vizier, Mohammed Baltadschi, who commanded the Turkish army. None, however, was bold enough to communicate this decision to the Czar, except Catherine his wife. Catherine, who, before her capture at Marienburg, had been betrothed to a Swedish corporal, had subsequently been the mistress of Scheremeteff and Menschikoff. In this last capacity she attracted the notice and love of Peter, who secretly married her in 1707, and before setting out on this expedition against the Turks, in which she accompanied him, he had publicly proclaimed her to be his lawful consort. Catherine, besides a handsome person, had been endowed by nature with an excellent understanding and the most engaging manners. Although so ignorant that she could not even read or write, she had great skill in penetrating the characters of those with whom she was connected, and of adapting herself to their views and dispositions. She had gained complete empire over Peter by entering warmly into all his plans, and while she seemed to humour him in all his caprices, she entirely governed him. She alone undertook an office which might have cost another his life; she entered Peter's tent, soothed him by her caresses, and persuaded him to send a messenger to the Vizier with offers of peace. She obtained from the principal officers what money they had to make up the customary present on such occasions,[53] to which she added her own jewels. Fortunately for the Russians, Mohammed Baltadschi was anything but a hero. An intimation on the part of the Czar, supported by a slight demonstration in the Russian camp, that, if his proposals were not accepted, he meant to force his way through at the point of the bayonet, induced the Vizier to come to terms. In this moment of awful suspense, Peter displayed the great qualities which he really possessed, though they were sometimes obscured by the peculiarities of his temperament. He addressed a letter to his Senate, in which he directed them that, in the event of his being made a prisoner, they should no longer regard him as their sovereign nor

[53] Some authors represent the sum collected as large enough to bribe the Grand Vizier to betray his duty and grant a peace. It seems, however, more probable that it represented only the usual gift on such occasions, according to eastern custom. See Zinkeisen, *Gesch. des osm. Reichs*, B. v. S. 424. See for these events De La Motraye, *Voyages*, t. i. ch. 19, t. ii. ch. 1 and 2; Fabrice, *Anecdotes du Séjour du Roi de Suède à Bender*; Poniatowski, *Remarques*, &c.

obey any instructions they might receive in his name, even though signed with his own hand; while, if he should be killed, they were immediately to elect another Czar.[54] The Vizier, however, consented to receive the Russian plenipotentiaries, and on July 21st was signed the Capitulation of the Pruth.[55] By this Convention the Czar agreed to restore Asov to the Porte, to destroy the fortifications of Taganrog, Kamenska, and Samara, to recall his army from Poland, and to forbear from all interference in the affairs of the Cossacks subject to the Khan of Tartary. No stipulation was made respecting the King of Sweden, except that he should be permitted to return unmolested to his own dominions.

When the Russian army was first surrounded in a situation from which it seemed impossible to escape, Poniatowski, who had accompanied the Grand Vizier, despatched a messenger in all haste to Charles XII. at Bender, begging him to come without delay and behold the consummation of his adversary's ruin. Charles instantly obeyed the summons, but, to his unspeakable mortification and rage, arrived only in time to see in the distance the last retreating ranks of the Russian rear-guard. Loud and bitter were the reproaches which Charles addressed to Baltadschi for his conduct. He besought the Vizier to lend him 20,000 or 30,000 men, wherewith he promised to bring back the Czar and his whole army prisoners; but Baltadschi, with a mortifying apathy, pleaded the faith of treaties, and Charles, rushing from the Vizier's tent with a loud and contemptuous laugh, mounted his horse and rode back at full gallop to Bender. Here he and Poniatowski, in conjunction with the Khan of Tartary, employed themselves in effecting the ruin of the Grand Vizier. He was accused of having taken bribes to grant the peace; and though the news of the Capitulation had at first been received at Constantinople with every demonstration of joy, these accusations, supported by the enemies of Baltadschi in the Seraglio, procured his banishment to Lemnos, where he died the following year.

The Sultan now endeavoured to hasten the departure of the King of Sweden from his dominions, who was both a troublesome and an expensive guest. But Charles was not disposed to quit except on the most exorbitant terms. He demanded a payment of 600,000 dollars and an escort of 30,000 men, while the Porte was inclined to grant only 6000 men and no money. After a for-

[54] De La Motraye, t. ii. p. 19; Stählin, *Anecdotes orig. de Pierre le Grand*, p. 45 (Strasburg, 1787).

[55] The terms of this treaty, which is also called the Capitulation of Hoeste-Guesty, will be found in De La Motraye, t. ii. p. 20.

bearance of many months, the Sultan at length prepared to use force. Charles's daily allowance was withdrawn, and the Janissaries were commanded to seize his person, dead or alive. Charles betrayed on this occasion a characteristic obstinacy and recklessness. Although surrounded by a force that left no hope of successful resistance, he resolved, with a few hundred followers, to defend to the last extremity his little camp at Varnitza,[56] which he had fortified with a barricade composed of chairs, tables, casks, bedding, and whatever came to hand; and it was not till after a desperate hand-to-hand conflict, in which he was more than once wounded, that he was at length secured (February 1713). Charles was now carried to Adrianople, and thence to Demotica, where a residence was assigned to him, but with a very reduced allowance. Shortly after his departure from Bender, King Stanislaus arrived at that place with the view, it is said, of mediating a peace between Charles and Augustus by resigning the crown of Poland. But Charles would not hear of such an arrangement. He still entertained the hope that the Porte might be induced to take up his own cause as well as that of Stanislaus. But these expectations were frustrated by a treaty concluded in April 1714, between the Porte and Augustus II., by which the Peace of Carlowicz was confirmed.[57] Augustus undertook that Russian troops should no longer be suffered in Poland, while, on the other hand, the Pasha of Bender received orders to dismiss from that place all Polish "malcontents." Stanislaus, who seemed to be tacitly included in this designation, set off in the autumn for the King of Sweden's duchy of Deux-Ponts, with the hope of finding in a private station that quiet and contentment which had been denied to him during his insecure and stormy reign.

About the same time, Charles XII., at length abandoning all hope of inducing the Porte to take up his cause against the Czar, was persuaded by General Lieven to return to his kingdom, or rather to his army in the north of Germany. The Emperor promised him a safe passage through his dominions; the Sultan provided him with an escort to the frontiers; but Charles, impatient of the slow progress of the Turks, set off with only two companions from the Wallachian town of Pitescht, and crossing the Hungarian frontier at the Rothenturm Pass, proceeded through Hermannstadt, Buda,

[56] A village within a mile or two of Bender. This extraordinary fight, which lasted seven hours, is known by the name of the *Kalabalike*. That Charles should have escaped with his life can only be accounted for by the circumstance that the Janissaries endeavoured to capture him alive. Lundblad, Th. ii. Kap. xviii.

[57] Zinkeisen, B. v. S. 454 f.

Vienna, Ratisbon, Hanau, Cassel, Gustrow, and Tribsen, to Stralsund. This extraordinary journey, which was lengthened by a considerable *détour*, and must have been at least 1100 miles in length, was performed for the most part on horseback, and was accomplished in seventeen days.[58]

One of the first steps of Charles, after his arrival in the North, was to demand from the King of Prussia the restitution of the places which he held in Pomerania; and as Frederick William demurred to comply with this demand, Charles proceeded to occupy the Isle of Usedom with 3000 Swedes (April 1715). This was the signal for war. The King of Prussia immediately caused the troops of the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, which, along with the Prussians, formed the garrisons of Stettin and Wollin, to be disarmed; and he despatched 20,000 of his troops to join the Danes and Saxons in the siege of Stralsund. Both he and the King of Denmark appeared in person before that place in the summer; and although Stralsund was defended and victualled on the sea side by the Swedish fleet, and on the land side was protected by an entrenched camp of 12,000 men, animated by the presence of their warlike king, yet the operations of the allies were gradually successful. Charles, foreseeing the fall of Stralsund to be inevitable, endeavoured to avert it by offers of peace; and on their rejection, he embarked for Sweden, and landed at Trelleborg, on the coast of Schonen. In the same year the Czar appeared with a large fleet on the coasts of Gothland, while Prince Golitzyn marched to the Gulf of Bothnia and threatened the northern boundaries of Sweden. In 1715, the allies were assisted in the siege of Wismar by George I., King of England and Elector of Hanover, who had entered into an alliance with the King of Denmark, and obtained from him, for a large sum of money, the Duchies of Bremen and Verden.[59] Wismar, the last place held by the Swedes in Germany, surrendered April 19th 1716.

After this event the war languished, and a mutual jealousy began to sow dissension among the allies. The Czar perceived that it

[58] Charles left Pitescht on November 5th and arrived at Stralsund on the 21st. See a detailed account of the journey in Lundblad, Th. ii. S. 422 Anm. His companion, Captain Düring, was almost killed with fatigue, and the King himself had got a bad sore in the leg, not having taken off his boots for eight days. The royal suite, left behind at Pitescht, did not arrive at Stralsund till the summer of 1715. Cf. De La Motraye, t. ii. ch. 9; Fabrice, p. 337 sq.

[59] As a pretext for declaring war against Sweden and to veil his real motive, George alleged the obligations imposed upon him, as director of the Circle of Lower Saxony, to maintain the tranquillity of that district. Koch et Schöll, *Hist. abr. des Traités*, t. xiii. p. 257.

would not be advantageous for him that Denmark should conquer Sweden, nor that Augustus should establish absolute monarchy in Poland; but rather that the two Scandinavian kingdoms should remain in a state of mutual weakness, and that the Poles, under the name of liberty, should be plunged in perpetual anarchy. These political motives were strengthened by his disgust at the conduct of the allies after the taking of Wismar. He had hoped to obtain that city for his nephew-in-law, the Duke of Mecklenburg; but after its capture, the allied army had forcibly prevented a Russian corps from entering it and forming part of the garrison. Of the other allies, the King of Prussia was satisfied with having obtained possession of Stettin and the mouth of the Oder, and all the country between that river and the Peene, which had been relinquished to him by the allies after the capture of Stralsund; while Augustus II. was precluded from taking any further part in the war by the events which had taken place in Poland. Although all the differences between the Polish Republic and the Ottoman Porte had been arranged in April 1714, by the treaty already mentioned, the Saxon troops had been still retained in Poland, to the great jealousy of the Polish nobles. In the autumn of 1715, two Confederations were formed, one by the army of the Crown at Gorzyca, the other by the troops of Little Poland at Tarnogrod, to expel the Saxons; and hostilities broke out, which were at length pacified by the mediation of the Czar. By a perpetual peace proclaimed at Warsaw, November 3rd 1716, Augustus engaged to dismiss all his troops from Poland, except 1200 guards; never to declare war without consulting the Diet, nor to absent himself from Poland more than three months in the year.[60] These conditions established him on the throne, but precluded him from taking any part in the Northern War.

Charles XII., however, still counted among his adversaries the Czar, the King of Denmark, George I. of England, as Elector of Hanover, and the Dutch. But the Czar, as we have before remarked, was not inclined to prosecute the war with any vigour. He had already wrested from Sweden nearly all that he could expect or desire. In 1713, almost all Finland had been reduced under his dominion, he himself commanding the van of the fleet under Apraxin. His cares were henceforth directed chiefly to the preservation of his conquests and to the creation of a powerful navy, by purchasing ships in England and Holland, and building them at St. Petersburg—an operation which he often personally

[60] Koch et Schöll, *Hist. abr. des Traités*, t. xiii. p. 260.

superintended. On the occasion of a launch in that city in May 1714, he addressed a remarkable speech to the spectators, in which he adverted with a justifiable pride to the success of his labours. "Who among you, my brethren," he said, "would have dreamt, thirty years ago, that you would have been shipbuilding here with me on the Baltic? or that, in the garb of Germans, we should have fixed our dwellings in lands subdued by our valour and perseverance, should have provided ourselves with so many brave and victorious soldiers and sailors, so many skilful mechanics, born or educated in foreign countries, and have acquired the esteem of all princes and peoples? The arts and sciences, taking their rise in Greece and Italy, have spread themselves over Germany and Poland. Our turn will come next, and you will then support me in my endeavours at improvement, not from blind obedience, but of your own free will. I may compare the progress of the sciences to the circulation of the blood. I suspect that they will at some period leave their abode in England, France, and Germany, to dwell some centuries among us, thence to return to Greece, their proper dwelling. Meanwhile, I exhort you to remember the precept, 'Pray and work;' for be assured that even perhaps during our own lives we may put to shame other civilised nations, and raise the fame of our country to its highest point."[61]

While such were Peter's feelings with regard to the war, the attempt on the part of one of the King of Sweden's ministers to detach him from his allies proved no difficult task. Baron Görtz, a man of large views and enterprising character, not content with the circumscribed sphere of action which the service of the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp afforded to his abilities, resolved to enter that of Charles XII., and to retrieve, if he could, the desperate fortunes of that monarch and his kingdom. In the spring of 1716 Görtz proceeded to Holland on the ostensible mission of procuring money for Charles. His principal object, however, was to conciliate the Czar through Prince Kurakin, the Russian minister at the Hague; and though no formal alliance was yet concluded, or even negociated, between Charles and Peter, and though the Czar continued to act ostensibly with his former allies, yet his conduct showed that the efforts of Görtz had not been without success. Charles XII. having invaded Norway in the spring of 1716 and occupied Christiania, the capital, the Czar and the King of Denmark agreed to make a diversion by a descent in Schonen, in which they were to be supported by an English and a Dutch squadron. The Czar

[61] Weber, *Das veränderte Russland*, S. 11.

assumed the command of the combined fleet, which numbered more than eighty vessels of war; but when everything seemed ready for the enterprise, Peter, to the surprise and disappointment of the Danish King, suddenly declared that the season was too far advanced to attempt such an operation (September). It is most probable that he had never seriously thought of undertaking it, and that his only objects had been to throw dust into the eyes of his allies, and to involve the King of Denmark in a useless expenditure. His behaviour was so equivocal that he was even suspected of a design to surprise Copenhagen. Instead of 20,000 Russian troops he had introduced double that number into Zealand; and they behaved with such insolence that Frederick was compelled to demand their withdrawal. Peter put them into winter-quarters in Mecklenburg, which they continued to occupy in spite of the remonstrances of the Emperor and the Elector of Hanover. Peter is said to have conceived a design of settling himself also at this extremity of the Baltic, and becoming an unwelcome member of the German body.

The views of the Czar were manifested by his subsequent policy. Görtz, after the negociations of the Hague already mentioned, proceeded to France, where he intrigued with the Pretender, promised to help him to the British throne, and endeavoured to obtain the assistance of the Regent Orléans in his schemes. Peter, who himself visited Holland and France in 1717, likewise used his influence with the Regent to further these views, but without avail, as that prince was unwilling to endanger his alliance with England. Among other things it was proposed that Charles XII., who had conceived a mortal hatred against George, should invade England with 12,000 men. One fruit, however, of the Czar's journey to Paris was the Treaty of Amsterdam, which may be said to have introduced Russia into the general European system. It was the design of Peter to occupy the place of Sweden which he had humbled, as the leading Power of the North, and to succeed her in the French Alliance. Prussia also was induced to become a party to this treaty. Frederick William I. had indeed already formed an alliance with France by a secret treaty, September 4th 1716, by which the possession of Stettin and Pomerania as far as the Peene had been assured to him, whilst he, on his side, guaranteed the Treaties of Utrecht and Baden, and promised to use his endeavours to prevent the Empire from declaring war against France.[62] The chief articles of the Treaty of Amsterdam,

[62] Stenzel, *Gesch. des Preuss. Staats*, B. iii, S. 283.

concluded between France, Russia, and Prussia, August 4th 1717, were that the Czar and the King of Prussia should accept the mediation of France to restore peace between them and Sweden, and France promised not to renew the treaty of subsidies with Sweden which expired in 1718.[63] This abandonment of the Swedish alliance by France was the Czar's principal object. On the other hand, the Regent persuaded him to withdraw his troops from Mecklenburg, and to suspend his designs upon the German Empire.

The intrigues of Görtz having come to the ears of the English Government, he had been apprehended at Arnheim in February 1717, and a like fate had befallen Gyllenborg, the Swedish ambassador in London. After a few months' detention, however, they were set at liberty, and Peter on returning into Holland after his visit to France had an interview with Görtz at Loo. The Swedish minister having engaged to bring about in three months, at the expense of Denmark and Great Britain, a peace that should be agreeable to the Czar, Peter agreed to abstain from all hostilities against Sweden. The schemes of Görtz had been aided by the Spanish minister Alberoni. Spain was now at open variance with Great Britain and the other members of the Quadruple Alliance.[64] She had seized Sardinia, and was contemplating a descent on Sicily; and, in support of this movement, Alberoni wished to pacify and unite Russia and Sweden, to direct their joint arms with those of Spain against Great Britain, and affect the dethronement of George I. and the restoration of the Pretender.[65] On his return to Sweden, Görtz procured the consent of Charles XII. to the negociation of a peace with Russia; for which purpose a Congress was held in May 1718, at Lofoe, one of the Aland Islands, under the mediation of a Spanish agent. The preliminaries of a treaty were here arranged, of which the following is a general outline. Ingria, part of Carelia, Esthonia, and Livonia were to be ceded to the Czar, he undertaking to help Charles to compensate himself for these losses in other ways. He engaged to depose Augustus II. and reinstate Stanislaus on the Polish throne; to procure for the King of Prussia, in conjunction with Sweden, an equivalent for the restoration of Stettin and its territory, but at the expense of the Polish dominions in West Prussia;

[63] Dumont, t. viii. pt. i. p. 490. In consequence of this treaty, France for the first time established regular diplomatic relations with Russia, to which she sent an ambassador and consul.

[64] See below, B. VI. Ch. I.

[65] St. Philippe, ap. Coxe, *History of the Kings of Spain of the House of Bourbon*, vol. ii. p. 338.

to assist Charles in conquering Norway, as well as in an attack upon Germany; and especially he promised to march with all his troops against the King of England, as Elector of Hanover, and to compel him to restore to Sweden the Duchies of Bremen and Verden; or, as an alternative, Peter would persuade the Duke of Mecklenburg to abandon his dominions to Charles, that sovereign being compensated by some part of the Polish territories.[66]

Although these preliminaries had not been ratified in a formal treaty, Charles XII. reckoned so securely on a peace that, with the view of compensating himself for his sacrifices and losses by the conquest of Norway, he directed all his available forces towards that kingdom, leaving his capital itself almost denuded of troops. A division, under Armfeldt, was directed to invade the northern part of Norway; while Charles himself, with the main body, entered the south, and in November laid siege to Frederikshald. Before this place, in the cold winter nights of that northern climate, Charles often slept in the open air on a plank or a bundle of straw, covered only with his cloak. In inspecting the progress of the trenches he frequently exposed his person to the enemy's fire, and in an assault of one of the forts he led the storming column in person and planted the ladder with his own hand. But he at length paid the penalty of his rashness. On the night of December 11th he was shot, while in the trenches, with a musket-ball through the head. Charles, at the time of his death, was thirty-six years of age.

After this event, the Swedish commanders immediately resolved to evacuate Norway. The retreat of Armfeldt, in January 1719, over the mountains of the frontier was most disastrous; his whole force except about 1500 men perished of cold, and he himself returned home mutilated by the frost. Charles Frederick, the young Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, then eighteen years of age, was serving in the division before Frederikshald; and, being the rightful heir of the Swedish crown, as the son of Charles's eldest sister, the generals in command had, after the death of that monarch, testified a disposition to acknowledge him as their sovereign. But the youthful prince wanted resolution to seize the occasion, and the Swedish crown was soon snatched from his grasp. The revolution that took place at Stockholm had been long prepared, but was so quickly developed after Charles's death as to

[66] Koch et Schöll, t. xiii. p. 277 sqq.; Lundblad, Th. ii. S. 521; Bacmeister, B. iii. Beylage xvi.; Schmauss, *Einleitung*, &c. B. ii. S. 384 ff.

lead to a suspicion[67] that it was connected with a foreknowledge of that event. The Senate kept the fatal occurrence secret till it had taken its measures to secure the Government; when, passing over the rightful heir, they named Ulrica Eleanora, Charles's second sister, as their queen. Ulrica was married to Frederick, hereditary Prince of Hesse Cassel, who had likewise been serving under the late king in Norway, and after his death had assumed the command of the army. One of the first steps of the Government was to arrest Baron Görtz. That minister was arraigned, before an illegally constituted tribunal, for having intended to procure the crown for the Duke of Holstein and to introduce the Russians into the kingdom; for having depreciated the currency, and other things. Even if these charges were true, Görtz had acted with the consent or by the order of the late king; but he was sentenced to death against all forms of law and justice, and executed March 13th 1719. An assembly of the States was summoned in February, and completely altered the constitution. Sweden was declared an elective kingdom, and the government was vested in a council of twenty-four members, divided into eight colleges, who were invested with a power so absolute that their elected queen was reduced to a mere shadow. In short, the ancient oligarchy was restored, and Sweden became the prey of a few noble families.

The foreign policy of the new Government was precisely the reverse of that of Görtz. The conferences with the Russian ministers were indeed continued till September 1719, but they were then broken off, and Sweden approached the other Powers from which Russia had separated herself. In November a treaty was signed at Stockholm between Sweden and Great Britain, by which the Duchies of Bremen and Verden were ceded to George I. in consideration of a payment of one million rix-dollars.[68] By another treaty in January 1720, George engaged to support Sweden against Denmark and Russia, and to pay a yearly subsidy of 300,000 dollars during the war.[69] About the same time an armistice was concluded with Poland till a definitive treaty should be arranged on the basis of the Peace of Oliva. Augustus was to be recognised as King of Poland; but Stanislaus was to retain the royal title during his life, and to receive from Augustus a million rix-dollars. Both parties were to unite to check the preponder-

[67] On the grounds for suspecting that Charles met his death from the hand of an assassin, see Lundblad, *Gesch. Karl des XII.*, Th. ii. S. 563 ff.

[68] Dumont, t. viii. pt. ii. p. 15.

[69] *Ibid.* p. 18.

ance of the Czar, whose troops excited great discontent and suspicion by their continued presence in Poland. On February 1st a peace was concluded with Prussia under the mediation of France and Great Britain. The principal articles of this treaty were that Sweden ceded to Prussia, Stettin, the Islands of Wollin and Usedom, and all the tract between the Oder and Peene, together with the towns of Damm and Golnau beyond the Oder. The King of Prussia, on his side, engaged not to assist the Czar, and to pay two million rix-dollars to the Queen of Sweden.[70]

The terms of a peace between Sweden and Denmark were more difficult of arrangement. Frederick IV. had conquered Stralsund, the Isle of Rügen, part of Pomerania, &c., and the example of Hanover and Prussia seemed to justify his pretensions to retain what he had gained. The allies, however, did not deem it advisable that the Swedes should be entirely expelled from Germany, and Denmark, as the weakest among them, was compelled to abandon her claims. By the Treaty of Stockholm, June 12th 1720, the King of Denmark restored to Sweden, Wismar, Stralsund, Rügen, and all that he held in Pomerania; Sweden, paying 600,000 rix-dollars and renouncing the freedom of the Sound. Thus the only territorial acquisition that Denmark made by the war was the greater part of the Duchy of Schleswig, the possession of which was guaranteed to her by England and France.[71]

Sweden and Russia were now the only Powers that remained at war. During the years 1719, 1720, and 1721, the Russians gained many advantages both by sea and land, and committed the most frightful devastations on the Swedish coasts.[72] These calamities, as well as the fear of being deprived by the Czar of his new kingdom, induced Frederick I., to whom, with the consent of the States, the Swedish crown had been transferred by his consort, Ulrica Eleanora, in the spring of 1720, to use every endeavour to procure a peace with Russia. As a means of intimidation, the Czar had pretended to adopt the cause of the young Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, with whom he had an interview at Riga in March 1721. That prince was seeking to assure himself of the Czar's protection by a marriage with his daughter, Anna Petrowna. At length, through the mediation of France, conferences were opened in May 1721, and the Peace of Nystad was signed, September 10th. Peter would not relax any of the conditions agreed upon with Görtz. The

[70] Dumont, t. viii. pt. ii. p. 21.

[71] Dumont, *Ibid.* p. 29; Allen, *Gesch. des Königreichs Dänemark*, S. 308 (Kiel, 1846). Frederick IV. obtained the whole of Schleswig except the territories belonging to the House of Glücksburg.

[72] For these events see Bacmeister, B. ii. S. 172 ff.

only portion of his conquests that he relinquished was Finnland, with the exception of a part of Carelia; but as, by his treaty with Augustus II., at the beginning of the war, he had promised to restore Livonia to Poland if he conquered it, he paid the Crown of Sweden two million dollars in order to evade this engagement by alleging that he had purchased that province. The Czar engaged not to interfere in the domestic affairs of Sweden.[73]

Thus was at length terminated the Great Northern War, which had lasted upwards of twenty years. In a letter to Dolgoruki, his ambassador at Paris, written a few days after the conclusion of the Treaty of Nystad, Peter observes: "Apprenticeships commonly end in seven years; ours has lasted thrice as long; but, thank God, it is at last brought to the desired termination, as you will perceive from the copy of the treaty."[74] The apprenticeship was indeed long and arduous, but the results were in proportion. Having to contend with a state formidable both by sea and land, Peter found it necessary to remodel his army and to create a navy; and it was from the Swedes themselves, then the most warlike nation of Europe, that he at length learnt how to beat them—a fact which he was always ready to acknowledge. His triple apprenticeship could not have been spent in a better school; but it required qualities like his to reap the full advantage of it: a mind acute and large enough to perceive his own deficiencies and those of his people; modest enough to learn how to remedy them; energetic enough to submit to any privations and dangers for that purpose. After this peace, the Senate and Synod conferred upon him the title of "Emperor of all the Russias;" and, on his return to St. Petersburg in October, he was saluted by his nobles and people as "the Father of his country, PETER THE GREAT." Never, perhaps, have these titles been more fairly earned. Peter had risen, not by right of birth, but by his own abilities and perseverance, from the voluntary condition of a mechanic and the rank of a subaltern to be one of the first potentates of Europe.

[73] Dumont, t. viii. pt. ii. p. 36.
[74] Bergmann, *Peter der Grosse*, Th. v. S. 89.

CHAPTER VIII.

At this epoch we pause a moment to cast a glance on some of the characteristics of the period comprised in the present volume, extending from the Peace of Westphalia to the first French Revolution.

The wars that sprang out of the Reformation were closed by the Thirty Years War—a crime too gigantic to be repeated. So long a strife, if it did not extinguish, at least mitigated religious animosity; above all, Rome saw that she had no longer the power to excite and nourish it. The results, both of the war and the peace, must have convinced the most sanguine Pope that no reasonable hope could any longer be entertained of subjugating the Protestants by force. Nearly all Europe had been engaged in the struggle, and the cause of Rome had been vanquished. Nay, the Papal Court had been even foiled in the more congenial field of negociation and diplomacy. The influence exercised by the Papal Nuncios at the Congress of Münster had been quite insignificant. A peace entirely adverse to the Pope's views had been concluded, against which, instead of those terrible anathemas which had once made Europe tremble, Innocent X. had contented himself with launching a feeble protest, which nobody, not even the Catholic princes, regarded.

The Peace of Westphalia may therefore be considered as inaugurating a new era, whose character was essentially political. It is true that the religious element is not altogether eliminated in the intercourse of nations. The Catholic and the Protestant Powers have still, in some degree, different interests, and still more different views and sentiments; and in the great struggle, for instance, between Louis XIV. and William III., the former monarch may in some measure be regarded as the representative of the Papacy, the latter of the Reformation. Yet in these contests political interests were altogether so predominant that what little of religion seems mixed up with them was only subservient to the former, and served rather as a means than an end.

These changes were not without their effect on the intellectual condition of Europe. The same causes which produced the Reformation had set all the elements of thought in motion, had given rise

to bold and original geniuses and great discoveries. The human mind had seemed all at once to burst its shackles and to march forth to new conquests. It was the age which showed the way. Columbus discovered a new hemisphere, Copernicus a new system of the universe, Bacon a new method of all sciences. Boldness and originality also characterised literature, and the age of the Reformation produced Shakspeare and Rabelais. The period which followed, and of which we are here to treat, employed itself in working on the materials which the previous era had provided for it, and in setting them in order. It was the age of criticism and analysis. Intellectual efforts, if no longer so daring, were more correct. Science made less gigantic, but surer, steps; literature, if less original, no longer offended by glaring blemishes at the side of inimitable beauties. The spirit of the age was best exhibited in France. French modes of thinking, French literature, French taste, French manners, became the standard of all Europe, and caused the period to be called the AGE OF LOUIS XIV. Its influence survived the reign of that monarch, and gave a moral weight to France, even after her political preponderance had begun to decline.

When we talk of the "Age of Pericles," the "Age of Augustus," the "Age of Louis XIV.," we naturally imply that the persons from whom those periods took their names exercised a considerable influence on the spirit by which they were characterised. In reality, however, this influence extended no further than to give a conventional tone and fashion. We have already expressed our opinion that the intellectual condition which prevailed from about the middle of the seventeenth century till towards the close of the eighteenth was the natural result of the period which preceded it; and it might, perhaps, not be difficult to show that the same was the case with the two celebrated eras of Athens and Rome. It would be absurd to suppose that the patronage of the great can call works of genius into existence. Such patronage, however, especially where there is no general public to whom the authors of works of art and literature may address themselves, is capable of giving such works their form and colour—in short, of influencing the taste of their producers; and this is precisely what the Courts of Augustus and Louis XIV. effected. The literature and art of the Athenian commonwealth were subject to somewhat different conditions. The appeal was made more directly to the public, but a public that has not been found elsewhere—a body of judges of the most critical taste and discernment. Hence Attic literature and art present an unrivalled combination of excellences; all the

vigour and fire of originality, subdued by the taste of a grand jury of critics. We mean not, however, to assert that the writers of the age of Augustus and Louis possessed no original genius, but only that it was kept more in check. It cannot be doubted, for instance, that Virgil and Horace, Racine and Molière, possessed great original powers, which, in another state of society, they might probably have displayed in a different, and, perhaps, more vigorous fashion, but at the sacrifice of that propriety and elegance which distinguish their writings.

If Louis XIV. claimed to represent the State in his own person, still more did he comprise in it the Court, which set the fashion in literature, as well as in dress and manners. There was much, fortunately, in Louis's character that was really refined and elegant, and which left an unmistakeable impress on the nation. Although unrestrained in his earlier days by any notions of morality, he was far removed from coarseness and indecency. His manner towards women was marked by a noble and refined gallantry; towards men, by a dignified and courteous affability. There was no doubt a great deal of *acting* in all this; but it was good acting. He had made it his study to support the character of a great king with a becoming dignity and splendour, for he felt himself to be the centre of Europe as well as of France. His fine person was also of much service to him. Hence, as regards merely external manner, his court has perhaps never been surpassed, and it is not surprising that it should have become a model to all Europe. There was at that time nothing that could be compared to it. The courts of Austria and Spain were shackled by a cold and formal etiquette, destructive of all wit, taste, and fancy. The only court that approached the French was that of England under Charles II. Essentially, perhaps, Charles was not more immoral than Louis; but he wanted that refinement which deprives immorality of its grossness. The result is manifest in the contemporary literature of the two nations, and especially the drama, the best test of the manners of a people. The English dramatists of that age, tragedians as well as comedians, with quite as much fire and genius as their French contemporaries, were grossly indecent.

In patronising literature and art, Louis XIV. only followed the example given by Richelieu, with whom it was a part of policy. He knew that literature glorifies a country and gives it a moral strength; that it makes the prince who patronises it popular at home, respected and influential abroad. The benefits which Louis bestowed on literary men were not confined to those of his own

country. Many foreign *literati* of distinction were attracted to France by honourable and lucrative posts; pensions, honorary rewards, flattering letters, were accorded to others. There were few countries in Europe without some writer who could herald the praises and the munificence of Louis XIV.

Even if it were compatible with the scope of this work, space would not allow us to enter into any critical examination of the great writers who adorned the reign of Louis. The dramas of Racine and Molière, the poems of Boileau and La Fontaine, the sermons and other writings of Bossuet and Bourdaloue, besides the works of numerous other authors, are still in the hands of all persons of taste, not only in France but throughout Europe. For a like reason we pass over the great French writers who adorned the eighteenth century, many of whom will not suffer by a comparison with their immediate predecessors. A bare list of names—and our space would allow us to give but little more—would afford neither instruction nor amusement. During this period, however, arose that school of philosophical writers whose works contributed so much to produce the Revolution. To productions of this class, having a direct political bearing, it will be necessary to advert with considerable attention in a future chapter, when we come to consider the causes of that event.

If royal patronage can give a tone to works of imagination, it can still more directly assist the researches of learning and science. The King, in person, declared himself the protector of the *Académie Française*, the centre and representative of the national literature, and raised it as it were to an institution of the State by permitting it to harangue him on occasions of solemnity, like the Parliament and other superior courts. In the state of society which then existed, this was no small addition to the dignity of letters. Under the care of Louis and Colbert arose two other learned institutions; the *Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres*, and the *Académie des sciences*. The origin of the former was sufficiently frivolous. It was at first destined to furnish inscriptions for the public monuments, motives and legends for medals, subjects for artists, devices for fêtes and carousals, with descriptions destined to dazzle foreign nations with the pomp and splendour of French royalty. It was also to record the great actions achieved by the King;[1] in short, it was to be the humble handmaid of Louis's glory. But from such a beginning it became by degrees the centre of

[1] Martin, t. xiii. p. 161.

historical, philological, and archæological researches. The *Académie des sciences* was founded in 1666 after the example of the Royal Society of London. In the cultivation of science, England had indeed taken the lead of France, and could already point to many eminent names. The French Academy of Architecture was founded in 1671, and the Academy of Painting and Sculpture, originated by Mazarine in 1648, received a fresh development at the hands of Louis and his ministers.

But it was probably the manners of the French court, the elegant society which sprang up under the auspices and example of Louis XIV., that tended quite as much as her literature to promote the influence of France in Europe; and even contributed also to spread the French tongue, by giving it that grace and polish which render it so apt an instrument of polite conversation. The court of Louis XIV. was a model of dignified etiquette, combined with graceful ease. Every one knew and acquiesced in his position, without being made to feel his inferiority. The King exacted that the higher classes should treat their inferiors with that polite consideration of which he himself gave the example. Thus the different ranks of society were brought nearer together without being confounded. The importance of the great nobility was reduced by multiplying the number of dukes and peers; while civic ministers and magistrates were loaded with titles, and brought almost to a level in point of ceremonial with persons of the highest birth. At the same time certain honorary privileges were reserved for the latter which afforded some compensation to their self-love. They alone could dine in public with the King; they alone could wear the *cordon bleu* and the *justaucorps à brevet*; a sort of costume adopted by the King, which could be worn only by royal licence, and which established a sort of equality among the wearers. All these regulations tended to produce a mutual affability between the different classes, which spread from the court through the nation, and produced a universal politeness. It was especially in the conduct he observed towards women that Louis put the seal to all these refinements, and rendered his court the model of European civilisation. He set the example of the most refined courtesy towards women of all conditions, and is said never to have passed one even of the lowest condition without raising his hat. Hence French society attained an unrivalled elegance of manner, which it retained down to the Revolution.

If we turn from the court to the cabinet of Louis, we find him here also affecting the first part. But it was in reality by the ability of his ministers, Le Tellier, Colbert, Lionne, Louvois, that

he found the means of sustaining the glories of his reign. After the death of the last of these, who, though a detestable politician, was an excellent military administrator, the affairs of Louis went rapidly to decay. Jean-Baptiste Colbert, one of the ablest ministers that France had ever seen, was born in 1619, the son of a trader of Reims. After receiving the rudiments of a commercial education, he became successively a clerk to a merchant, a notary, and an attorney, and finally entered the service of the Government by becoming clerk to a treasurer of what were called the *parties casuelles*. Thus Colbert, though subsequently a warm patron of art and literature, had not received the slightest tincture of a classical education, and began at the age of fifty to study Latin, to which he applied himself while riding in his carriage. He owed his advancement to Le Tellier, who saw and appreciated his merit. In 1649 that minister caused him to be appointed a counsellor of state, and from this period his rise was rapid. He obtained the patronage of Mazarine, for whom, however, he felt but little esteem. The cardinal on his death-bed is said to have recommended Colbert to the King; and in 1661, after the fall of Fouquet, he obtained the management of the finances. The mind of Colbert, however, did not confine itself merely to his official department, but embraced the whole compass of the State. He had already conducted all the affairs of France during eight years, before he obtained, in 1669, the office of secretary of state, with the management of the admiralty, commerce, colonies, the King's household, Paris, the government of the Isle of France and Orléans, the affairs of the clergy, and other departments.

Colbert had taken Richelieu as his model, and like that statesman had formed the grandest plans for the benefit of France by promoting her agriculture, manufactures, and commerce, and by developing the moral and intellectual as well as the material resources of the kingdom. He increased the revenue by making the officers of finance disgorge their unjust profits, by reforming the system of taxation, and reducing the expenses of collection. He improved the police and the administration of justice. He facilitated the internal communications of France by repairing the highways and making new ones, and by causing the canal of Languedoc to be dug, which connects the Mediterranean with the Atlantic. He also formed the scheme of the canal of Burgundy. He caused Marseilles and Dunkirk to be declared free ports, and he encouraged the nobility to engage in commerce by providing that it should be no derogation to their rank. He formed the harbour of Rochefort, enlarged and improved that of Brest, and established large marine

arsenals at Brest, Toulon, Havre, and Dunkirk; while, by the care which he bestowed upon the fleet, France was never more formidable at sea than at this period. His commercial system, however, though perhaps suited to the wants and temper of France in those days, would not meet the approbation of modern political economists. He adopted the protective system, and instead of encouraging private enterprise, established monopolies by forming the East and West India Companies, as well as those of the Levant and of the North. Colbert retained office till his death in 1683. His end seems to have been hastened by the ingratitude of the King in appreciating his great services.

We will now take a brief view of some of the political consequences that attended the close of the era of the Reformation. It can scarcely be doubted that Germany, the chief scene of that event, if viewed as a Confederate State, was much enfeebled by it. Had the Empire remained united in its allegiance to Rome, or had it become, as it at one time promised, universally Protestant, France and Sweden would not have been able to play the part they did in the Thirty Years' War, and to aggrandise themselves at its expense. The bad political constitution of the Empire, which naturally contained within itself the seeds of perpetual discord, was rendered infinitely more feeble by the introduction of Protestantism. Having become permanently divided into two or three religious parties, with opposite views and interests, materials were provided for constant internal dissensions, as well as for the introduction of foreign influence and intrigues. The same was also the case in Poland. On the other hand, in those countries where the Reformation was entirely successful, as England and the Scandinavian Kingdoms, its tendency was to develope and increase the national power.

It is true, however, that the different German Princes, and especially the larger ones, grew individually stronger by the Thirty Years' War and the Peace of Westphalia. Such was the case even with the House of Habsburg, which, after the battle of Prague, in 1620, was enabled to render the crown of Bohemia hereditary. The maintenance of a standing force of mercenaries, which obtained in most of the German States after the war, contributed to the same result, by enabling the Princes to usurp the rights of their subjects. The provisions of the Capitulation extorted from the Emperor Leopold in 1658 had the same tendency, by rendering the territorial Princes less dependent on the grants of their people;[2] and, as this Capitulation was wrung from Leopold

[2] Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. iv. S. 324.

through the influence of France, it must be regarded as a direct consequence of the Thirty Years' War. The enhancement of the power of the Electors of Bavaria and Brandenburg by this means is particularly striking. In Bavaria, the States, which were seldom assembled, intrusted the administration of financial matters to a committee appointed for a long term of years; with which the Elector found the transaction of business much more easy and convenient. The power of the Prince made still greater progress in Brandenburg under Frederick William, the "Great Elector." After the year 1653 the States of the Mark were no longer assembled. Their grants were replaced by an excise and a tax on provisions, which the Elector had introduced in 1641 immediately after his accession; and, as these did away with the direct taxes levied monthly and yearly, they were popular with the householders, and there was no difficulty in making them perpetual. The conduct of Frederick William in Prussia was still more arbitrary. When the sovereignty of that duchy was finally confirmed to him by the Peace of Oliva, he put an end, though not without a hard struggle, to the authority of the Prussian States, by abrogating their right of taxation; and he signalised this act of despotic authority by the perpetual imprisonment of Rhode, Burgomaster of Königsberg, and by the execution of Colonel Von Kalkstein, another assertor of the popular rights.

But the strength of the Empire, as a Confederate body, was diminished in the exact ratio of the increase of that of its separate States, because the interests of its various territorial Princes were not only separate from, but frequently hostile to, those of the general Confederation and of the Emperor. The minor States, which could not hope to make themselves important and respected alone, attained that end by combining together. Hence, the Catholic and Protestant Leagues, formed under French influence soon after the Peace of Westphalia and under the pretext of maintaining its provisions. These leagues became still more inimical to the Imperial power, when, soon after the election of Leopold, they were united into one under the title of the Rhenish League.

It must be confessed that the personal character of the Emperor Leopold contributed not a little to produce this state of things. Leopold, who reigned during forty-seven years as the contemporary of Louis XIV., was in every respect the foil of the French Monarch. Hence much of the diversity in the political development of Germany and France. While the Imperial authority was being diluted by that of the German Electors and Princes, Louis was epitomising the State into his own person. Under Leopold.

the Diets, the chief bond of German Federation, lost all their importance. That of 1663, summoned on account of the Turkish War, he opened not in person; and he afterwards attended it only as a kind of visitor. He took no care to terminate its disputes on the important subject of the Capitulations of future Emperors, and permitted the Assembly to be interminable. Thus the authority and constitution of the Diet became completely changed. Henceforth neither Emperor nor Prince of the Empire appeared in it in person, and the Imperial Assembly shrank into a mere Congress of ambassadors and deputies without plenipotentiary authority, who, before they could act, were obliged to apply to their principals for instructions. Business was reduced to a mere empty observance of forms and ceremonies, and a perpetual contest of the most trivial kind arose about degrees of rank and titles. Hence, from the Court and Diet, formality penetrated through all the ranks of the German people. Even in the promotion of science, literature, and art, which add so much to the grandeur of a nation by extending its moral influence, Leopold, though a more learned prince than Louis, showed himself less judicious and efficient. Louis promoted the vernacular literature of France by every means in his power, and with such success that he rendered the French tongue the universal language of educated Europe. On the other hand, little or no Imperial patronage shone on German literature, because almost all the men of genius were Protestants. Leopold, who, being bred up to the Church, had received a scholastic education, amused himself by inditing Latin epigrams and epistles, and by conversing in that language with the learned; while, with his courtiers and family, and in the literary assemblies which he held in his apartments in the winter, the conversation was usually in Spanish or Italian. Hence German literature was still confined in the chains of scholastic bondage.

France, after the Peace of Westphalia, presents a picture the very reverse of this. The scattered elements of political power, instead of being divided and dissipated, were concentrated in a narrow focus, and an intense nationality was developed. The progress of France, like that of Germany, had been arrested by the consequences of the Reformation, and by the long wars of religion under the Valois. It was Henry IV. who first restored tranquillity and prepared France to take that place in Europe to which her resources and situation called her. But with the demands for liberty of conscience had been mixed up a republican spirit, to which even Henry's own example as the leader of a fac-

tion may have contributed; and this was further nourished by the immunities which he granted to the Hugonots. It was often difficult to distinguish between those who merely desired religious freedom and those who wished to overthrow the monarchy. Richelieu subdued this dangerous faction and founded the absolute integrity of the French Monarchy. Having thus secured domestic unity and strength, he turned his attention to the affairs of Europe; and by his able but unscrupulous policy, well seconded by Mazarine, France secured, at the Peace of Westphalia, the advantages already related, which were further extended by the Peace of the Pyrenees in 1658.

Thus, when Louis XIV. assumed the reins of government he had only to follow the course marked out for him. Without wishing to detract from the merit of that prince, it may be safely affirmed that the state of Europe contributed very much to facilitate his political career. It was principally the weakness of Germany, resulting from the misfortunes of the Thirty Years' War, and that of the Spanish branch of the House of Austria, that created the strength of France, and helped her to become for a while the dictator of Europe. Spain, at the Peace of Westphalia, was still, indeed, to all appearance, a great Power. She possessed Naples, Sicily, and Milan, Franche Comté, and Flanders, besides immense territories in both the Indies. Yet this vast empire, from the necessity it entailed of defending remote provinces connected with her by no natural tie, was a source rather of weakness than of strength. France, entrenched within her own boundaries, and with scarce a single foreign possession, was a much more formidable Power. Spain was also internally weakened through bad government, fanaticism, and bigotry. The spirit of the two neighbouring countries was entirely opposite. While France was founding a new era of progress, Spain was falling back into the middle ages. In spite of the declining condition of the kingdom, the number and the wealth of ecclesiastics increased to such a degree that, in 1636, the Cortès of Madrid, in return for a grant, obtained from Philip IV. a promise that for the next six years no more religious foundations should be established; yet even this limited promise appears not to have been fulfilled.[3] At the same time, while most of the principal towns of Spain had lost the greater part of their trade with a corresponding decay in their population, while whole districts were in some instances reduced almost to desolation, and the kingdom to a state of universal

[3] Sempère, *Hist. des Cortès*, ch. xxxi.

bankruptcy, the Court of Spain, mindful rather of its ancient grandeur than of its present misfortunes, kept up a splendour and magnificence far above its means, and opened in this way another source of poverty. Add to all these evils the revolts of Catalonia and Portugal. The annexation of Portugal during a period of sixty years had tended to revive the declining power and prestige of Spain; and now she was not only deprived of this support, but the long wars which she entered into for the recovery of that kingdom became a source of weakness to herself and of strength to her enemies.

If the condition of Germany and Spain favoured the progress of France, that of England offered no obstruction. Cromwell, who assumed the reins of power soon after the Peace of Westphalia, flung his sword into the French scale; and the two succeeding Stuarts, the pensioners of Louis, seldom ventured to dispute his behests. It was not till the accession of William III. that England again became a considerable Power in the European system. From this time was established a new balance of power, which may be best explained by throwing a hasty glance on the origin and progress of that system.

The first well-marked symptoms of that national jealousy which ultimately produced the theory of the balance of power, may be traced to the ambition of the House of Austria, and the suspicion that it was aiming at a universal monarchy. During the reign of Charles V., such a consummation seemed no improbable event. Master of Germany, Spain, the Netherlands, a great part of Italy, besides his possessions in the Indies, that monarch seemed to encircle the earth with his power, and to threaten the liberties of all Europe. It was natural that France, whose dominions were surrounded by those of the Emperor, should first take alarm; and hence the struggle between Charles and Francis I. recorded in the preceding volumes. But France had to maintain the struggle almost alone. She sought, indeed, allies, and her treaties with the Porte show how the ideas of religion were already beginning to be superseded by political ones; indeed, the subsequent alliances between Catholics and Heretics were hardly so monstrous as this between Christians and Infidels. France also sought the aid of England, and sometimes obtained it; but from about as much regard for the balance of European power as was entertained by the Turks themselves. The policy of England, then directed by the counsels of Wolsey, had for its object, as we have before attempted to show, rather the national advantage, or even the personal aggrandisement of the great Cardinal, than the establishment of a

balance of power. So far from this being the case, English policy was often adverse to such a balance, and, instead of supporting France, was thrown into the scale of her gigantic adversary. Nay, it may well be doubted whether Francis himself was ever actuated by any abstract ideas of the political balance, and whether he was not rather governed in his hostility to Charles at one time by ambition and the love of military glory, at others by the requirements of self-defence, or the cravings of unsatisfied resentment.

Nevertheless, it is certain that the rivalry between France and Austria first gave rise to the idea of a balance of power. So great was the impression of alarm created by the exorbitant power of the House of Hapsburg, that even the abdication of Charles V., and its severance into two branches, could not dissipate it. Half a century after that event, Henry IV., or his minister Sully, formed the scheme of opposing the *Theocratic Monarchy*, supposed to be the object of that House, by a *Christian Commonwealth*, in which all the nations of Europe should be united;[4] a design in which, however chimerical it may appear, we see the first formal announcement of the theory of the balance of power as a rule of European policy. After the death of Henry IV., French politics changed for a while, and a friendly feeling was even established with Spain; but on the accession of Richelieu to power, Henry's anti-Austrian policy, though not his extravagant scheme, was renewed, and was continued, as already related, by Mazarine.

We are thus brought down to the Thirty Years' War and Peace of Westphalia, which, as we have said, first in any degree practically established the European equilibrium. We mean not to affirm that such a result was actually contemplated either by the princes who took part in the war, or by their plenipotentiaries who negociated the peace. The former were actuated by various motives, and certainly not by any regard to the political balance; while the treaties afford no evidence that its future maintenance was the object of their ministers' care. Such, nevertheless, was the practical result of this great struggle. For although the attempt of the House of Austria, during the period of Catholic reaction, to extend its power, along with that of the Roman Church, and thus to found a religious and political absolutism which would have been dangerous to all Europe, was chiefly opposed by France and Sweden, yet most of the European nations had been more or less directly engaged in the war; and we have seen that only three Powers, England, Russia, and Poland, were absolutely unrepresented in the

[4] See Vol. II. p. 431.

congresses which assembled to arrange the peace. At no preceding epoch, except, perhaps, during the Crusades, had the nations of Europe been so universally brought together. The Northern Powers now for the first time became of any importance in the European system. Sweden had played a part in the war more than equal to that of France, and had reaped corresponding advantages from the peace; and an intimate alliance was contracted between these two Powers which lasted a considerable period, and was of great importance in the affairs of Europe. Sweden became a leading Power in the North; and, though she did not long retain that place, she only quitted it to make room for another Northern Power, that of Prussia, whose influence had likewise been founded by the events of the Thirty Years' War. Thus Northern Europe added another member to the European system, and another element to the balance of power. The discussion and adjustment of the differences which had arisen among these various nations in the Congresses of Münster and Osnabrück, and the rules then laid down for future observance, naturally drew them closer together, and cemented them more into one great commonwealth. It was now that the practice of guaranteeing treaties was introduced. Before the Peace of Westphalia it would be difficult to point to a treaty formed with a direct view to the balance of power; while after that event such treaties are frequent. Such was the Triple Alliance of 1668, the League of Augsburg in 1687, the Grand Alliance of 1701, and others. From the same cause also sprang that more intimate, as well as more extended diplomatic intercourse which now arose among the nations of Europe. Permanent legations were generally established, and the forms and usages of diplomacy were brought to perfection. The French ministerial despatches of this period are among the best models of their kind.

The changes produced in the relative strength of nations through the Thirty Years' War and its consequences materially altered their European relations. Before that event the House of Austria had been the dominant Power. But the policy of Henry IV., of Richelieu and Mazarine, against that House, had been so successfully pursued and consummated, that it was France which became the object of jealousy and alarm. Louis XIV., before the close of his reign, was thought to aim at being the universal monarch; and Europe, to save herself from his extravagant ambition, formed new leagues to regulate the political balance. It was not, however, till towards the close of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century that all the materials were provided for this purpose. Great Britain finally took her proper station as one of the arbiters

of Europe only in the reign of William III. Nor was it till about the same period that the strength of Prussia and Russia began to be developed, and to complete the balance.

The League of Augsburg, already mentioned, or rather the Treaty of Vienna by which it was followed, formed under the auspices of William III., may be regarded as inaugurating the present European system. The main-spring of it was the rivalry between France and England. The alliance between Great Britain and Austria, in 1689, was purely political. There was no question of trade or commerce between the two countries, while their sentiments regarding civil and religious government were entirely opposite. Their sole object was to check the exorbitant pretensions of France, and preserve the political balance. On this foundation England continued to build. She generally threw her sword into the scale of Austria, though there is a period of remarkable exception. After the war of the Austrian Succession, Maria Theresa, as we shall have to relate in a subsequent chapter, deserted her most faithful ally, and formed a connection with France which lasted down to the time of the French Revolution. The declining state of France, however, at that period rendered this unnatural alliance less important than it might otherwise have proved.

From this time the continental influence of Great Britain went on increasing. During the war of the Spanish Succession she began to employ the method of subsidising foreign nations, whence the rise of her national debt. Prussia and Russia, as we said, began to assume the rank of great European Powers, though their influence was not fully developed till the latter half of the eighteenth century, in the reigns of Frederick the Great and Catherine II. By their means the North and East of Europe were brought into closer connection with its southern and western nations. By this new state of things both France and Sweden began in turn to feel that opposition to their predominance which they had themselves carried on against the House of Austria. Both those countries, at the death of Louis XIV., had lost most of the power and prestige which they had derived from the Peace of Westphalia.

As the intercourse between the European States became, after that event, more frequent and intimate, so a more perfect system of international law grew up, and was indeed required for its regulation. This science had hitherto been very meagre and imperfect. There was no system of public law during the Middle Ages. When difficult cases arose, appeals were made sometimes to the Pope, sometimes to the Jurists, and especially to the celebrated school of Bologna. Thus, for instance, the question be-

tween the Lombard cities and the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, at the famous Diet of Roncaglia, in 1158, was decided by the opinions of four doctors of Bologna, who appear to have been guided by the principles of the Roman law. It was natural, from the spirit of those ages, that the Pope should be made the arbiter of secular disputes, in which his authority supplied the place of a code of public law. For the same reason, we are not surprised to find that the science had its origin among the monks and clergy, in those times almost the sole depositaries of learning, and especially among the casuists of Spain. The bigotry of that country and the proceedings of the Inquisition, naturally attracted the attention of the learned to cases of conscience; and it is an appeal to conscience that forms the basis of all international law. Hence Spain became unrivalled, as well in the number of her casuists as in their intellectual acuteness. The attention of these men was first directed towards the principles of international law by the discovery of America, which opened up so many questions respecting the conduct to be observed towards the natives. We find these principles first touched upon in the writings of Francis de Victoria, who began to teach at Valladolid in 1525, and in those of his pupil Dominico Soto. Soto, who was confessor to Charles V., dedicated his treatise on "Justice and Law" to Don Carlos. Soto was consulted by Charles V. when the conference was held at Valladolid, between Sepulveda, the advocate of the Spanish colonists, and Las Casas, the humane champion of the natives of the West India Islands, respecting the lawfulness of enslaving these unhappy people. The opinion of the monk, that no distinction should be drawn, as to natural rights, between Christian and Infidel, and that the law of nature is the same for all, is highly honourable to him, and shows him far in advance of his age. The Edict of Reform of 1543 was founded on Soto's decision in favour of the West Indians. Soto even showed himself, perhaps from the broader and more logical basing of his principles, more consistent in his humanity than Las Casas; for while the latter opposed the enslaving of the American Indians, he was not averse to save them by means of the African slave trade, whilst Soto denounced slavery altogether, in whatever shape.[5]

The science made some progress in the hands of Francis Suarez, a Jesuit of Granada, who flourished at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century. One of the books of his "Tractatus de Legibus ac Deo Legislatore" is devoted to the law

[5] See on this subject, Mackintosh, *Dissertation on Ethical Philosophy*, Sect. iii.; Wheaton, *Hist. of the Law of Nations*, p. 34.

of nature and nations. It was Suarez who first perceived that the principles of international law do not only rest on the abstract principles of justice, but also on usages long observed in the intercourse of nations, or what has been called the consuetudinary law. His views on this point are even clearer than those of his contemporary, the Italian Alberico Gentili, though the latter has been by some considered as the founder of the science of public law. Gentili's father, one of the few Italians who embraced the Reformation, was forced to fly his country, and sent his son to England, where he ultimately obtained the Chair of Law at Oxford. Grotius acknowledges his obligations to Gentili's treatise "De Jure Belli," published in 1589, and dedicated to his patron the Earl of Essex. He had previously published (1583) a treatise "De Legationibus,"[6] dedicated to Sir Philip Sydney.

Balthazar Ayala, a Spanish writer who flourished about the same time, was not a casuist but a jurisconsult. He was Judge Advocate of the Spanish army in the Netherlands, under the Prince of Parma, to whom he addressed, in 1581, from the camp at Tournai, his treatise "De Jure et Officiis Bellicis." It is divided into three books; the first of which treats of war as viewed by the law of nations, with examples from Roman history and jurisprudence. The second book concerns military policy, and the third martial law. The ninth chapter treats of the rights of legation.

Several other authors had written on the subject of public law before the time of HUGO GROTIUS, who enumerates most of them at the beginning of his work "De Jure Belli ac Pacis." Their treatises, however, were fragmentary, and the work of Grotius is the first in which the subject is systematically handled. Hence Grotius has been justly regarded as the founder of the public law of Europe, and his book must be regarded as forming an epoch in the history of philosophy.

We have already recorded Grotius's flight from Paris on account of the Arminian controversy, and the composition of his celebrated book in that capital,[7] where it was published in 1525. Thus it was written during the first fury of the Thirty Years' War, and he announces, as his motive for composing it, the licence of wars waged without any adequate pretext. Grotius recognises, as the foundation of public law, along with the law of nature, the right springing from custom and the tacit consent of nations. In this respect he differs from Puffendorf, who wrote about half a century later, and his followers Wolf, Vattel, and Burlamaqui, who found the

[6] It was in this work, as we have before said, that Gentili defended Machiavelli's *Principe*, as a disguised satire upon princes. See Vol. II. p. 30.

[7] Vol. II. p. 479.

law of nations entirely on the law of nature. Grotius supported his views of natural law by testimonies drawn from the poets, orators, philosophers, and historians of antiquity, and thus gave his work an appearance of pedantry for which he has been sometimes unjustly reproached, as if he wished to cite those writers as authorities without appeal, instead of mere witnesses to the general sentiments of mankind. Few writers have exerted a more extensive influence on opinion than Grotius. His work soon became a text-book in foreign universities, though its progress was slow in England. Gustavus Adolphus is said to have slept with a copy of it under his pillow.[8]

It was not, however, till after the Peace of Westphalia that sufficient materials were collected to build up a complete system of international law. Leibnitz first made a collection of treaties to facilitate the study. Hence arose the technical school of publicists as opposed to the speculative, showing the last development of the science. Moser first founded that practical system of international law which rests on custom alone; in which school the works of Professor George Frederick de Martens are the most celebrated.[9]

Among other characteristics of the period under consideration, was the growth of what has been called the financial, or mercantile system. The production of wealth, the fostering of trade and commerce, became principal objects with most of the European Governments. But these subjects were still imperfectly understood. The chief aim was to obtain a favourable balance of trade, as it was called. With this view tariffs were framed and commercial treaties concluded. Recourse was had to restrictive, monopolising, and prohibitory systems, which tended to produce isolation and even war. It was not before the latter half of the eighteenth century that philosophers began to promulgate more rational theories, and it was reserved for our own age to see them carried into practice. Commerce was now chiefly founded on colonisation, which had reached a high pitch of development, and exercised a material influence on the prosperity and power of some of the leading States of Europe, enriching them both by the products of various climates and by the manufactures and other articles of native industry exported in return. Vast mercantile navies were thus created, the nurseries of hardy seamen; while the large fleets of war required for the protection of the colonies supplied a new element of national strength. Hence the colonial

[8] Hallam has given an elaborate analysis of the *De Jure et Belli ac Pacis*, in his *Hist. of Literature*, vol. iii.

[9] On this subject see Garden, *Traité de Diplomatie*, t. i. p. 62 sq.

system has played so important a part in the wars and negociations of the last two or three centuries, that we shall here give such a brief connected outline of its progress, down to the Peace of Paris in 1763, as our limits will permit.[10]

We have already taken a general view of maritime discovery and colonisation down to the opening of the seventeenth century. The Spaniards and the Portuguese, as they were the first ocean navigators and discoverers, so they were the only nations that up to that period possessed any settlements out of Europe. The Spanish colonies were almost confined to the Western Hemisphere. They comprised, on the North American continent, New Spain or Mexico, with all the countries dependent on that viceroyalty: viz. California on the west, the vast and undefined region called New Mexico on the north, and on the east, Yucatan, Honduras, and all the countries on the isthmus which separates the two American continents. Some of these, however, and especially the northern and western districts, were but scantily settled, and subdued rather than occupied. In South America, Spain possessed Peru and its dependency Chili, the kingdom of New Granada, the kingdom of Tierra Firme, stretching from the isthmus of Darien to the mouth of the Orinoco, and the southern colony of La Plata, or Paraguay. All these vast regions were subject to the Viceroy of Peru. Besides these continental possessions, Spain also held all the principal islands in the Caribbean Sea.

The maritime enterprises of the Portuguese, the rivals of the Spaniards in discovery and colonisation, had been chiefly directed towards the East. We have already indicated generally their settlements in Asia and Africa, as well as the foundation of the empire of Brazil in South America.[11] By the conquest of Portugal by Philip II. in 1580, all the Portuguese colonies fell under the dominion of the Spanish Crown; so that at this period Spain was the sole possessor of all the European settlements in America and the East Indies. In the latter quarter the only Spanish possession, previously acquired, was the Philippine Isles, occupied in 1564. These were governed by a viceroy; but they were chiefly valued by the bigoted court of Spain as the seat of Catholic missions, and

[10] On this subject see Robertson, *Hist. of America*; Raynal, *Hist. des établissemens des Européens dans les deux Indes*; the *Hist. générale des Voyages*; Lafitau, *Hist. des découvertes et conquêtes des Portugais dans le nouveau monde*; Lüder, *Gesch. des Holländischen Handels* (from Luzac's *Hollands Rykdom*); Du Tertre, *Hist. générale des Antilles habitées par les Français*; Heeren, *Handb. der Gesch. des Europ. Staatensystems und seiner Colonieen* (for a general view of Colonisation and its European effects; in English, *Political System of Europe and its Colonies*); Bancroft, *Hist. of the United States of America*; Mill's *Hist. of British India*, &c.

[11] See Vol. II. p. 14.

most of the soil belonged to the monks. A regular commerce, carried on by a few South Sea galleons, had been established between Manilla and Acapulco, which diverted to the East much of the Mexican silver.

The union of the Portuguese colonies in Asia under the Spanish sceptre, by exposing them to the attacks of the enemies of Spain, as well as by the neglect which they experienced from the Spanish Government, was one of the chief causes of their ruin. Nor had they been governed by the Portuguese in a way calculated to promote their strength and provide them with the means of resistance. The frequent change of viceroys, who were recalled every two or three years, prevented the establishment of a strong administration. King Sebastian rendered matters still worse by distributing the colonies under the three independent governments of Monomotapa, India, and Malacca, and by further lessening the authority of the viceroys by the addition of a council. To these sources of decay must be added the wretched system of administration of a corrupt government, and the depressing influence which a bigoted and superstitious church naturally exercised upon all enterprise.

The shutting of the port of Lisbon against the Dutch in 1594, and the edict of Philip III. prohibiting his subjects from all commerce with that people, were followed by the most disastrous effects to the Portuguese colonies. The Dutch being thus deprived of their customary trade, and having discovered the weakness of the Spaniards at sea, resolved to extend their enterprises beyond the bounds of Europe, to which they had hitherto confined them, and to seek at the fountain-head the Indian trade, of which they had up to this time partaken only at second hand through the medium of the Portuguese. We have already given a general sketch of the progress of the Dutch in the East Indies.[12] Batavia, founded in 1619, became the centre of their commerce and the seat of their government in the East. Trade, not colonisation, was their aim. They at first avoided the Indian continent, where the Mogul dynasty was then very powerful, and sought in preference to establish themselves in the islands, with a view especially to the spice trade. Throughout the century their power continued to increase in Asia. In 1661, they wrested from the Portuguese Palicata on the coast of Coromandel, Calicut, Cochin and Cananor in Malabar, together with several places in Ceylon, Malacca, &c. The Portuguese were also expelled from Japan, and the Asiatic possessions of that nation were ultimately reduced to Goa and Diu.

[12] See Vol. II. p. 419 sq.

The extensive jurisdiction of the Dutch East India Company was divided into the five governments of Java, Amboyna, Ternate, Ceylon, and Macassar, besides several directories and commanderies; the whole under the central government of Batavia. Their colony at the Cape of Good Hope, founded in 1653, constituted a sixth government, and formed a sort of defensive outwork to their East Indian possessions.

The Dutch long enjoyed their pre-eminence in the East. The enterprises of the English and French, their only rivals in this quarter of the globe, were at first but slow and feeble. The attempts of the English East India Company, founded as we have said in the year 1600, to open a trade with the Spice Islands, excited the jealousy of the Dutch, and the most bloody engagements ensued between the two nations in the Indian Ocean and its islands. To put an end to these horrible scenes, a treaty was concluded in 1619 between James I. and the States-General, by which the English were to be admitted to a share of the spice trade; but the Dutch, by their cruelties at Amboyna, to which we have already referred,[13] succeeded in excluding them from the Moluccas. In other respects, also, the progress of the English East India Company during the first half of the seventeenth century had been so unsatisfactory that it seemed on the point of dissolution. It had not attempted to make settlements and build forts, and had contented itself with establishing a few factories at Bantam and along the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel. It had, however, acquired Madras, by permission of the King of Golconda (1640). The Protector Cromwell somewhat revived the Company, by granting it new privileges (1658). Madras was now erected into a presidency. Charles II. also enlarged the Company's political privileges, and increased its territorial dominion by assigning to it Bombay (1668), which he had acquired as part of the portion of his consort Catherine of Portugal. Bombay rapidly increased in importance, and in 1685 the government was transferred thither from Surat. The English power in the East now began to make more rapid strides. Before the end of the century, factories and forts had been established at Bencoolen in Sumatra and at Hooghly; and the district of Calcutta was purchased, and Fort William founded in 1699. During this period the French East India Company, established by Colbert, had planted a factory at Surat, in Malabar (1675), and founded Pondicherry on the coast of Coromandel (1679). Meanwhile, however, the Dutch continued to retain

[13] Above, p. 20.

their monopoly of the spice trade, the French and English commerce chiefly consisting in manufactured articles and raw stuffs.

The Dutch had not confined their enterprises to the East Indies. They had founded in North America, in the present State of New York, the colony of Nova Belgia, or the New Netherlands. The celebrated navigator Hudson had explored the vast regions to the north, and the shores of the great bay which takes its name from him; and as Hudson was an Englishman, though he sailed in the Dutch service, this circumstance subsequently gave rise to conflicting claims between the two nations. The Dutch had also established a West India Company, chiefly with the design of conquering Brazil; and in 1630 they succeeded in making themselves masters of the coast of Pernambuco. John Maurice, Count of Nassau, who was sent thither in 1636, subdued all Pernambuco, as well as some neighbouring provinces; and by the truce between the States-General and Portugal, in June 1641, after the latter country had thrown off the Spanish yoke, it was stipulated that the Dutch were to retain these conquests. In spite, however, of the peace between the mother countries, the war was renewed in Brazil in 1645; the Count of Nassau had been recalled, the Portuguese possessions were heroically defended by Don Juan de Vieira; and in January 1654, the Dutch were totally expelled from South America. This was the chief, and, indeed, only important reverse which the Dutch experienced up to this period, who were now at the height of their commercial prosperity. Besides their settlements in the East Indies, they had extended their trade in the Baltic, and were become the chief carriers of Europe. They had also established themselves at St. Eustatia, Curaçao, and one or two other small West India islands. The first check to this prosperity was experienced from the rivalry of England, and especially from the celebrated Navigation Act, to which we have adverted in a former chapter.

The English, indeed, under the sway of the pacific James, instead of opposing the Dutch in the East, had chiefly directed their attention to the Western Hemisphere, where their establishments had made a surprising progress during the first part of the seventeenth century. In this period they had occupied the Bermudas, Barbadoes, St. Kitt's, Nevis, the Bahamas, Montserrat, Antigua, and Surinam. In 1655 the important island of Jamaica fell into their power as it were by an accident. But more important than all these settlements was the vast progress made in the colonisation of the North American continent. A great impulse had been given to this enterprise by the voyage of Bartholomew

Gosnold, in the last year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. By steering due west instead of taking the usual southern route, Gosnold made the land at the promontory which he named Cape Cod, thus shortening the voyage by a third. The reports which he brought home of the inviting aspect of the country created a great sensation in England; and, as they were confirmed by other navigators who had been despatched purposely to ascertain their correctness, plans of colonisation began to be formed. Richard Hakluyt, a Prebendary of Westminster, the publisher of the well-known Collection of Voyages, was a distinguished promoter of this enterprise. In 1606, King James I. divided the whole western coast of America, lying between the 34th and 45th degrees of north latitude, into two nearly equal portions; which retained the name of Virginia, bestowed on this part of the American continent in honour of Queen Elizabeth, in whose reign, as already mentioned, Raleigh had made an unsuccessful attempt to colonise it. The two divisions made by James were respectively called the First, or South, and the Second, or North, Colony of Virginia; but the latter portion obtained, in 1614, the name of New England. The settlement of Southern Virginia was assigned to a London Company; that of the Northern portion to an association formed in the West of England, and called the Plymouth Company. The new colonies were endowed with many privileges, but they were subjected to the absolute authority of the Crown.

James Town, in Virginia, founded by Captain Newport, in 1607, was the first English settlement in the New World. It was, however, Captain Smith who, by his courage and perseverance in defending the infant colony from the attacks of the native savages, and in cheering the settlers when dejected by famine and disease, may be regarded as its true founder. After an existence of only two or three years, the colony was on the point of being abandoned, when the arrival of Lord Delaware with supplies, and the wise measures which he adopted as Governor, saved it from dissolution. Soon afterwards tobacco began to be cultivated, negro slaves were introduced, the colony gradually increased in numbers, and extended its settlements to the banks of the Rappahannock and the Potomac. Yet, in 1624, when the London Company was dissolved, scarce 2000 persons survived out of 9000 who had settled in Virginia. Charles I. granted the colony a more liberal Constitution in 1639, after which it went on rapidly improving. At the beginning of the Civil War it contained 20,000 inhabitants, and by 1688 their numbers exceeded 60,000.

If the colonisation of Virginia was a work of labour and difficulty, that of New England at first proceeded still more slowly. For many years the Plymouth Company effected little or nothing. The first permanent settlement within these boundaries was made in 1620 at New Plymouth, in the present State of Massachusets, not, however, under the auspices of the Company, but by some members of the sect of the Brownists, who had proceeded thither of their own accord. A charter was granted in 1627 to a company of adventurers, mostly Puritans, for planting Massachusets Bay, and by these Salem was founded. Emigrants now began to pour in, and in a few years arose the towns of Boston, Charles Town, Dorchester and others. That spirit of fanaticism and intolerance which had led the Puritans to cross the Atlantic accompanied them in their new abodes, and, by the disputes which it excited among themselves, was incidentally the means of extending colonisation. Thus many of the inhabitants of Salem followed, in 1634, their banished pastor, Williams, and founded Providence and Rhode Island; while the secession of one of two rival ministers at Massachusets Bay led to the settlement of Connecticut (1696). New Hampshire and Maine were next established, but did not obtain a regular Constitution till after the accession of William III. Towards the period of the Civil Wars the tide of emigration to the New England colonies set in so strongly that masters of ships were prohibited from carrying passengers without an express permission. It is computed that by 1640 upwards of 21,000 persons had settled in those districts. In 1643, the four settlements of Massachusets, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New-haven formed a Confederation, under the name of the United Colonies of New England. Maryland was settled in 1632, mostly by Roman Catholics of good family, who proceeded thither under the conduct of Lord Baltimore.

In the latter half of the seventeenth century the English began to spread themselves beyond the boundaries of New England and Virginia. In 1663, Charles II. bestowed the land between the 31st and 36th degrees of north latitude on eight lords, who founded Carolina; afterwards divided (in 1729) into North and South Carolina. The colonisation of this district had been previously attempted both by French and English settlers, but without success. Locke drew up a plan of government for Carolina, based on religious toleration, though its political principles were not so liberal. The rulers of the colony became tyrannical; and Granville, who, as the oldest proprietor, had become sole Governor in 1705, endeavoured to make the nonconforming settlers return to

the Church of England. All the Governors, except Carteret, who retained his eighth share, were stripped of their prerogatives in 1728, when the government of the province was vested in the Crown. The State of Pennsylvania was settled by Penn, the Quaker, in 1682, the land being assigned to him by Charles II. for a debt. Thus all the religious sects of England had their representatives in the New World. Georgia, the last province founded by the mother country, had its origin in 1732. It consisted of territory separated from South Carolina. It was first settled, under the superintendence of General Oglethorpe, by prisoners for debt, liberated by a bequest, and aided by subscriptions and a Parliamentary grant. In 1735 it was increased by the arrival of some Scotch Highlanders, and of German Protestants from Salzburg and other parts: but it was ill managed, and never attained the prosperity of the other settlements. The erection of this colony occasioned disputes with the Spaniards, who claimed it as part of Florida. The provinces of New York, New Jersey, and Delaware —which last was subsequently incorporated with Pennsylvania— arose out of the conquest of the Dutch Settlement of Nova Belgia, in 1664, confirmed to England by the Treaty of Breda in 1667.

The French also began to turn their attention to colonisation early in the seventeenth century, but their attempts were not in general so happy as those of other nations. Henry IV., indeed, laid claim to all the territory of America situated between the 40th and 52nd degrees of north latitude, under the title of New France, embracing Newfoundland, Acadia, Canada, &c., besides a great part of the subsequent English colonies. The French first settled in Acadia in 1604, and the more important colony of Canada was founded in 1608. Its progress, however, was very slow. In 1626 it had only three wretched settlements, surrounded with palisades, the largest of which counted only fifty inhabitants. One of these was Quebec, the future capital. The continual attacks to which Canada was exposed, both from the English and the Iroquois, prevented it from attaining any importance till about the middle of the century. Montreal was founded in 1641, and in 1658 Quebec became the seat of a bishop. The colony felt the impulse given by Colbert to French enterprise. Troops were sent thither, the Iroquois were gradually subdued, and in 1687 Canada numbered 11,000 inhabitants. It was also under the auspices of Colbert that Louisiana was explored and claimed by the French Crown. Cavelier de la Salle, a native of Rouen and celebrated navigator, having discovered the Mississippi, descended that river to its mouth in 1682, and claimed for France the tracts which it

waters, as well as the rich countries on each side, lying on the Gulf of Mexico. These vast regions obtained the name of Louisiana, in honour of the French King.

The French also made some acquisitions in the West Indian Archipelago. They settled at St. Kitt's in 1625 (though in conjunction with the English) and at Martinique and Guadaloupe, ten years later. These islands, first occupied by private enterprise, were purchased by Colbert for the French Government in 1664, together with several others, as St. Lucie, Grenada, Marie Galante, St. Croix, Tortosa, &c., some of which had belonged to the Maltese. A subsequently much more important settlement than these was the French portion of St. Domingo, originally formed by the Buccaneers; a band of desperate pirates and adventurers, English [14] as well as French, who, about the year 1630, had established themselves at Tortuga, a small rocky island on the north coast of Hispaniola, for the purpose of preying upon the Spanish trade. Hence they began gradually to make settlements in the western part of Hispaniola, or St. Domingo. After 1664, these freebooters were recognised and supported by the French Government; the right of possession was not contested by Spain, and after the accession of a Bourbon Prince to the throne of that country, half St. Domingo remained in the hands of France.

The Dukes of Courland must also be ranked among the American colonisers. Duke James II., who possessed a considerable fleet, which he employed in discoveries and commerce, besides erecting several forts in Africa, encouraged his subjects to settle in the Island of Tobago. The flourishing condition to which they brought it excited the avidity of the Dutch. Two Dutchmen, the brothers Lambsten, by offering to hold Tobago as a fief, under Louis XIV., obtained the encouragement of that monarch. The Duke of Courland claimed the protection of Charles II., to whose father he had been serviceable; and, by a treaty of November 28th 1664, he abandoned to England the fort of St. Andrew in Guinea, reserving only some commercial rights to his subjects, and agreed to hold Tobago as a fief under the English Crown.[15] The Dutch, however, would not surrender the island, which they called New Walcheren. It was taken in 1678 by Marshal d'Estrées, who, after reducing it to the condition of a desert, abandoned it. After this it was long regarded as neutral.

[14] One of the most celebrated of these adventurers was Henry Morgan, a Welshman. After several years of perilous and romantic enterprise, Morgan retired to Jamaica with an enormous fortune, and was knighted by Charles II. See *Hist. of the Buccaneers*, pt. ii. and iii. Cf. Bryan Edwards, *Hist. of St. Domingo*.

[15] See Connor, *Hist. of Poland*, vol. ii. letter x.

The colonies of the various European nations remained down to the Peace of Utrecht, in 1713, much in the same relative condition that we have described, though they increased, of course, in wealth and importance. The chief feature of the Spanish colonies was the progress made by the Jesuit missions in Paraguay. The Portuguese, more fortunate in Brazil than the East Indies, enlarged their possessions by founding San Sacramento on the Plata (1681); subsequently, however, the source of bitter disputes with Spain. They were also enriched by the discovery of gold mines near Villa Ricca in 1696. The Dutch had added to their possessions in America Surinam, Essequibo, and Berbice.

The Treaty of Utrecht gave a great impulse to the English colonies and trade. The *Assiento*, or right of supplying the Spanish colonies with slaves, and the privilege of visiting the fair of Vera Cruz, proved very profitable, though rather by the opportunities which they afforded for contraband trade than by the direct advantages which they offered. Almost all the trade of Spanish South America now fell into the hands of the English. The South Sea Company, founded in 1711, began to flourish apace. The questions, however, which arose out of this traffic respecting the right of search occasioned a war with Spain, as we shall have to relate in another chapter. Spain had beheld with bitter, but helpless jealousy, the colonial progress of England. By the donation of Pope Alexander VI., even as modified by the Treaty of Tordesillas,[16] she conceived herself entitled to all the continent of North America, as well as the West India Islands. It was not till 1670, in the reign of the Spanish King Charles II., during which England and Spain were on a more friendly footing than at any other period, that the English possessions in America had been recognised.[17] After the accession of his grandson to the Spanish throne, Louis XIV. conceived the hope of checking the maritime and colonial power of England, which, from an early period of his reign, had been the object of his alarm and envy.[18] The results of the war of the Spanish Succession were, however, as we have seen, favourable to English commerce and colonisation. Besides the advantages already mentioned conceded by Spain in the Peace of Utrecht, England obtained from France Hudson's Bay, Newfoundland (though with the reservation of the right of fishery), Acadia, now called Nova

[16] See Vol. I. p. 320 sq.

[17] By the Treaty of Madrid, July 18th, ap. Ranke, *Pr. Gesch.* B. ii. S. 178.

[18] Thus, in 1667, in an *Instruction* to Gremonville, he had expressed his fears, 'Que les Indes seraient au pillage aux Anglais et aux Hollandais et. feraient peut-être autant de roitelets qu'elles ont de vicerois et de gouverneurs." Mignet, *Négoc. relatives à la Succession d'Espagne*, t. ii. p. 359.

Scotia, and the undivided possession of St. Kitt's. Thus the sole possessions that remained to France in North America were Louisiana, Canada, and the island of Cape Breton. The places ceded to Great Britain were, however, at that time little better than deserts.

The alliance between France and England, after the death of Louis XIV., was favourable to the progress of the French colonies. Their West India islands flourished, on the whole, perhaps better than the English, from the greater commercial freedom which they enjoyed, as well as from the custom of the French planters of residing on their properties. In North America the attempt of the French to connect Canada with Louisiana, by means of a line of forts, occasioned a bloody warfare, as we shall have to relate in another chapter.

In the East Indies no material alteration took place either in the French or English settlements till after the fall of the Mogul Empire. The French had taken possession in 1690 of the Isle of France, and in 1720 of the Isle of Bourbon, both which places had been abandoned by the Dutch. After the death of Aurengzebe in 1707, the Mogul Empire began to decline, and the incursion of Nadir Shah in 1739 gave it a death-blow. The subordinate princes and governors, the Soubahs and Nabobs, now made themselves independent, and consequently became more exposed to the intrigues and attacks of the Europeans. The most important of these princes were the Soubah of Deccan (the Nizam), on whom was dependent the Nabob of Arcot, or the Carnatic; the Nabobs of Bengal and Oude, and the Rajah of Benares.

It seemed at this period as if the French, under the conduct of Labourdonnaye and Dupleix, would have appropriated India; but the bad understanding between those commanders prevented the success which they might otherwise have achieved. Labourdonnaye captured Madras in 1746, which, however, was restored to the English by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. The conquests of Dupleix and Bussi were still more extensive and important. They obtained the *circars* or circles of Condavir, Mustapha-Nagar, Ellora, Radja-Mundri, and Tehicacolé, with Masulipatam as a capital, together with large districts near Carical and Pondicherry, &c.; in a word, the French, about the middle of the eighteenth century, held at least a third of India. But the recall of Dupleix, who was succeeded by the unfortunate Lally, and the appearance of Lawrence and Clive, secured the preponderance of the English domination. Masulipatam was taken by the English in 1760, Pondicherry in 1761, when its fortifications were razed; and though Pondicherry

was restored by the peace of 1763, it never recovered its former strength and importance. In like manner, the success of the English in the war which broke out in America in 1754, and especially the taking of Quebec by General Wolfe in 1759, compelled the French to abandon all their possessions on the American continent, except Louisiana, at the same peace; as we shall have to relate in a subsequent chapter.

No great alteration was experienced during this period by the colonies of other European nations. Though the English had taken Porto Bello and Havannah, they were restored to Spain at the Peace of Paris. Brazil, after the Peace of Utrecht, had increased in prosperity and wealth. The Dutch experienced no sensible diminution of their East India commerce before the Peace of Versailles in 1783. The colonial transactions of other nations are unimportant. The Danes, who had occupied the West India island of St. Thomas since 1671, purchased St. Croix from the French in 1733. In the East Indies they had obtained possession of Tranquebar. The Swedes also established an East India Company in 1731, but merely for trading purposes.

We will now turn our view for a moment on the inward and domestic life of the European States after the close of the great struggle for religious freedom. It does not appear that the Reformation was immediately favourable to civil liberty, except in the case of the Dutch Republic. The reasons for this it might not perhaps be difficult to discover. The principles of the Reformation had been introduced into Holland against the will of the Sovereign, and while the Dutch people had become universally Protestant, their ruler was one of the most bigoted Papists in Europe. Hence persecution on the part of the government, resistance on that of the subject, brought the question of civil obedience, as well as of religious submission, to an immediate issue. Liberty of conscience could not be enjoyed unless supported by political freedom; and, after a glorious struggle of eighty years, both were confirmed to the Dutch by the Peace of Westphalia. But in other countries where the principles of the Reformation had been generally adopted, they had been introduced at least with the connivance, if not with the direct support of the government. Such was the case in England and in the Northern States of Europe. The immediate effect of this was to strengthen the power of the monarch, by throwing into his hands a vast amount of ecclesiastical property and patronage. He no longer shared with a foreign potentate the allegiance of his subjects, and diverted into his own exchequer tributes which had formerly flowed to Rome. Hence chiefly it was

that the Tudors became the most absolute monarchs that had ever swayed the English sceptre. It was also in a great measure from this cause that the Electorate of Brandenburg was developed into the powerful Kingdom of Prussia. In those countries also where the Reformation, though partially introduced, did not succeed in establishing itself, its effects were at first favourable to the power of the sovereign, on the same principle that the quelling of an ineffectual rebellion is so. We have already adverted to this effect, in the case of some of the German monarchies; and the reader has seen how the religious wars of France enabled the crown to reduce the power of the great nobles, and to concentrate the strength of the kingdom in its own hands; a work at length consummated by the policy of Richelieu. Hence, generally speaking, and with regard more especially to the European continent, never was monarchical power displayed in greater fullness than in the period comprised in the present volume, extending from the Peace of Westphalia to the first French Revolution. Most of the wars of that era, certainly all the larger and more devastating ones, were waged for dynastic interests and kingly glory.

It was impossible, however, that the impetus given to the human mind by the bursting of its religious bonds should be altogether arrested and destroyed. It could not be that the spirit of inquiry, when once awakened, and directed to all the branches of human knowledge, should not also embrace the dearest interests of man—the question of his well-being in society, of his right to civil liberty. This question, as we have said, was first practically solved in Holland. Yet it was not a solution calculated to establish a theoretical precedent. The revolt of the Dutch can hardly be called a domestic revolution. It was an insurrection against a foreign sovereign; nor was it in its essence an appeal to the people, as the only legitimate source of power.[19] To establish a commonwealth, so far from being the object of the Dutch, was not even at first contemplated by them. They became republicans only because they could find no eligible master, and because it was the only method by which they could maintain their ancient rights. The true solution was first given in England. The absurd theories respecting kingly power, ostentatiously ventilated by a sovereign with more pretensions, but less strength of character, than the Tudors, as well as his affectation of high church principles verging upon Romanism, incited the ultra, or Calvinistic, followers of the Reformation to a course of resistance that cost Charles I. his crown

[19] See Vol. II. p. 310 sq.

and his life, and ultimately, through a long chain of consequences, resulted in establishing constitutional monarchy. It was these precedents, and the debates and discussions with which they were attended, the free utterances of the only truly national assembly in Europe, and the writings of men like Milton, Sidney, Locke and others, that established not only for England, but all Europe, the true model of liberty combined with law and order. It was from this source that France chiefly derived the principles which led to the Revolution; but the inquiry how she derived, and how she perverted, them, must be postponed to the next volume. Our object here was merely to show that civil liberty in modern times was mainly the offspring of the religious freedom established by the Reformation; nor can it be doubted that the impulse of that great movement is still in operation, although its effects may not be so easily traceable.

It remains to view a few religious phases of the period under consideration. In conformity with its general spirit, fanaticism itself seemed to assume a milder and more chronic form than in the exciting period of the Reformation. Instead of the Anabaptists and their atrocious absurdities, we find the Pietists and the Moravian Brethren. Even the Roman Catholic Church has its sects of a somewhat analogous kind.

The *Pietists* were founded by Philip Jacob Spener.[20] Born at Rappoltsweiler in Upper Alsace, in 1635, Spener became a preacher at Strasburg, and subsequently principal minister at Frankfort. Instead of the dogmatical subtleties which had been the chief themes of the Lutheran preachers, he endeavoured to introduce a system of practical Christianity; and with this view he began in 1670 to hold private prayer meetings, which he called *Collegia Pietatis*—whence the name of his followers. In these meetings, texts from the Bible were discussed in a conversational manner. His system, which is explained in his work entitled *Pia Desideria*, was intended to put the finishing hand to Luther's Reformation, which he considered as only half completed. Such a system naturally led to separatism, or dissent, which, however, he himself disclaimed. His sect may be regarded as a sort of German Methodists, or, as we might say, Low Church party. In 1686 John George III., Elector of Saxony, invited Spener to Dresden. The old Lutheran orthodoxy, by laying too much stress upon the saving power of faith, had caused many of its followers to neglect alto-

[20] Mr. Carlyle, in his *Hist. of Friedrich II.*, vol. ii. p. 18, erroneously ascribes the foundation of the *Pietists* to August Hermann Franke, instead of Spener. Franke, a much younger man, was one of Spener's followers.

gether the practice as well as the doctrine of good works. If they attended church punctually, communicated regularly, and discharged all the other outward observances of religion, they considered that they had done enough for their justification, and were not over strict about the morality of their conduct. The Elector himself may be included in this category, and some remonstrances of Spener's, which were considered too free, caused his dismissal from Dresden in 1691. Spener now went to Berlin, and in 1705 he died at Halle.

One of Spener's most celebrated followers was Count Nicholas Louis von Zinzendorf, born at Dresden in 1700. The inclination which Zinzendorf displayed in early youth towards the sect of the Pietists, induced his friends to send him to Paris, with the view of diverting his mind from such thoughts. But his stay in that capital (1719–21) was precisely the period when the Jansenist controversy was at its height; the discussion of which subject, as well as his intercourse with Cardinal Noailles, only served to increase his religious enthusiasm. After his return to Dresden, Zindendorf began to hold *Collegia Pietatis* in imitation of Spener's. At these meetings he became acquainted with Christian David, a journeyman carpenter of Fulnek in Moravia. It was in the neighbourhood of Fulnek that the Bohemian Brethren, the last remnants of the Hussites, had contrived to maintain themselves, by ostensibly complying with the dominant church, whilst in private they retained the religion of their forefathers.[21] Some inquisitions made by the Imperial Government in 1720 having compelled the members of this sect to emigrate, Christian David proceeded to Dresden, where, as we have said, he became acquainted with Count Zinzendorf, and obtained permission to settle, with some of his brethren, on that nobleman's estate of Bertholdsdorf in the neighbourhood of Zittau in Lusatia. The first colony was planted on the Hutberg in 1722, and was called *Herrn-hut* (the Lord's care). The creed of the Moravian Brethren seems to have been an indiscriminate mixture of Lutheran and Calvinistic tenets with those of their own sect. Count Zinzendorf added to these some peculiar notions of his own; establishing as his main dogma the wounds and sacrifice of Christ; or, as he styled it, the Blood and Cross Theology. In 1737 he procured himself to be named bishop of this new sect. Frederick II. of Prussia, after his conquest of Silesia, protected the rising colony, and allowed it the open and independent exercise of its worship. The numbers of the *Herrnhüter*, or, as we call them,

[21] Menzel, B. iii. S. 481; B. iv. Kap. 39.

Moravian Brethren, soon wonderfully increased, and they spread themselves in most parts of the world. Count Zinzendorf died in 1760, at Herrnhut, which is still a flourishing little town.

Of the sects which sprang up in the Roman Catholic Church, the most celebrated was that of the Jansenists, so called from its founder, Cornelius Janssen, a Fleming. Educated at Louvain, which he quitted in 1617, Janssen ultimately became Bishop of Ypres. The distinguishing feature of his system was the adoption in their most rigid form of the tenets of St. Augustine respecting predestination and absolute decrees. In fact Jansenius and his followers, except that they retained some of the sacraments of the Romish Church, and especially that of the Eucharist, approached more nearly the doctrines of Calvin than those of Rome. Jansenius explained his views in his book entitled *Augustinus*.

Jansenism was introduced into France by Jean Duvergier de Hauranne, the friend and fellow-collegian of Janssen. Duvergier, by birth a Basque, became abbot of the little monastery of St. Cyran, in Provence; an office which he refused to exchange for the episcopal mitre. In 1635, St. Cyran became the spiritual director of Mother Angelica (Angelica Arnaud), the Superior of Port-Royal, the celebrated Parisian convent of Benedictine nuns.[22] Under the auspices of St. Cyran, Jansenism became the creed of the Society. Like other apostles, however, St. Cyran had to endure persecution. Neither the political nor the religious tenets of the Jansenists were agreeable to Cardinal Richelieu. The Bishop of Ypres had violently opposed and denounced Richelieu's designs upon Lorraine and the Spanish Netherlands in a pamphlet entitled *Mars Gallicus*. St. Cyran himself, suspected on account of his connection with an enemy of France, had opposed the cassation of the marriage of the king's brother, Gaston d'Orléans, with Margaret of Lorraine.[23] His own freely expressed opinions and those of his disciples of Port Royal respecting kings were but ill suited to royal ears in those days. He had also offended Richelieu by haughtily repulsing all his advances and repeatedly refusing the offer of a bishopric. In May 1638 a *lettre de cachet* transferred St. Cyran to the dungeon of Vincennes. Persecution, however, as usual, served only to attract attention and add a new interest to his life and opinions. Port Royal acquired more influence than ever. It was now that

[22] The original Port Royal was at Chévreuse, about eighteen miles west of Paris. In 1626, the community was transferred to the Rue de la Bourbe in the Faubourg St. Jacques of that capital; and subsequently it was divided into two establishments, Port Royal de Paris and Port Royal des Champs. For the history of this celebrated institution, see the works of Racine and Sainte Beuve.

[23] For these occurrences, see Vol. II. p. 586 sqq.

the distinguished recluses began to gather round it to whom it chiefly owes its fame. The first of these were relations of the abbess—her nephew Antony Lemaistre, her brother Antony Arnaud, the author of the celebrated treatise *De la fréquente communion*. These *hermits*, as they were called, and their pupils, inhabited a separate building called *La maison des hommes*. It was Arnaud and his colleague Nicole who published those works on grammar, logic, and other branches of education that still preserve their reputation. The Jesuits found themselves worsted in their own peculiar domain as instructors. A still greater champion appeared rather later in the Society—Blaise Pascal,[24] the author of the *Pensées*, the redoubtable adversary of the Jesuits. Pascal, who had become a convert to Jansenism in 1646, entered Port Royal in 1654. His *Lettres Provinciales* (Letters to a Provincial) were a terrible blow to the Jesuits. It was after this period that they began to direct their attention more to worldly affairs and commerce, to their ultimate ruin, as we shall have to relate in a subsequent chapter.

The dangerous tendency of Jansenism had not escaped the vigilance of Rome and the more orthodox clergy. Jansenius's work *Augustinus*, was condemned by a bull of Pope Urban VIII. in 1643. In 1644, at the instigation of the Jesuits, eighty-five French bishops presented to Urban's successor, Innocent X., five propositions, extracted, as they said, from the *Augustinus*, for condemnation as heretical. Only a small minority of prelates stood up in their defence, but it was not till 1653 that Innocent condemned them. The Papal bull was received by Anne of Austria and Mazarine, by the bishops and the Sorbonne; Port Royal and the Jansenists seemed on the verge of destruction, when they were saved by the *Provincial Letters*.

In spite of the hostility of Louis XIV. repeatedly manifested, the Jansenists were destined to survive his reign, though Port Royal, as already briefly indicated, fell before its close. The imprudence and disputatious humour of the Jansenists brought their doctrines again into question in 1702. The King's antipathy to them was increased by some papers seized at Brussels in the house of their chief, Father Quesnel; from which it appeared that they had formerly purchased the Isle of Nordstrand, on the coast of Holstein, to form an asylum for their sect; and also that they had endeavoured to get themselves comprised in the truce of Ratisbon in 1684, under the name of the "Disciples of St. Augustine," as

[24] Born at Clermont in Auvergne in 1623. St. Cyran was released from Vincennes after the death of Richelieu.

if they formed a political body like the Lutherans or Calvinists. Louis, in his own name, and in that of Philip V., now besought Pope Clement XI. to renew against the Jansenists the constitutions of his predecessors. Clement complied by a bull, which was accepted by the French clergy, in spite of the opposition of Cardinal de Noailles, Archbishop of Paris (1705). To revenge themselves on Noailles, the Jesuits obtained from Clement a condemnation of Quesnel's *Moral Reflections on the New Testament*; a book of much repute, which had been published under the superintendence of the Cardinal, and which Clement himself is said to have praised. A ruder stroke was the suppression of the Abbey of Port Royal. The nuns had refused to accept the Papal bull of 1705. Le Tellier, who had succeeded Père La Chaise as the King's confessor, resorted to violent measures, and the Cardinal de Noailles, to clear himself from the suspicion of being a Jansenist, gave his sanction to them. In November 1709, the nuns of Port Royal were dragged from their abode and dispersed in various convents; and the famous abbey itself, consecrated by the memory of so much virtue, piety, and talent, was razed to its foundations.

Although the Cardinal de Noailles had taken part in the persecution of the Port Royalists, he refused to retract the approbation which he had given to Quesnel's book. Louis's Jesuit confessor, Le Tellier, instigated several bishops to denounce him to the King as an introducer of new doctrines; the book was prohibited by the royal council November 1711; and Pope Clement XI. was requested to give it a new condemnation in a form that might be received in France. After waiting nearly two years, Clement replied by promulgating the famous Bull UNIGENITUS (September 8th 1713). Instead of the general terms of the bull of 1708, the present instrument expressly condemned 101 propositions extracted from the *Réflexions Morales*. Many of these breathe the spirit of true Christianity, and might be found in the writings of St. Augustine and even of St. Paul. Noailles and a few other prelates protested against the bull; but the King compelled the Parliament to register it, and the Sorbonne and other universities to receive it, the principal opponents of it being sent into exile. Nevertheless the recusant bishops, who did not exceed fifteen in number, were supported by most of the principal religious orders, by the majority of the clergy, and by the opinion of the public, always adverse to the Jesuits. Le Tellier now endeavoured to obtain the deposition of Noailles from the Archbishopric of Paris;

and he was only saved from that degradation by the death of Louis XIV.

The disputes proceeded during the Regency. The Jansenists seemed to gather fresh strength, and talked of appealing against the bull to a future council. To put an end to the contest, and to save the Parliament, threatened with dissolution by the court for refusing to register a royal decree for the acceptance of the bull, Noailles at length agreed to subscribe to it, with certain modifications (November 1720). The question, however, was by no means set at rest. It was again agitated in the pontificate of Benedict XIII. in 1725; and in 1750 it produced a great public scandal and disturbance, as we shall have to relate in a subsequent chapter.

The *Quietists*, another Roman Catholic sect, was much less important than the Jansenists. Their mystical tenets—a sort of inward, quiet, contemplation of the divine perfections, a worship of the heart—were too refined and transcendental to attract many followers. The founder of the sect in France was Madame Guyon, who gave her principles to the world in two works entitled *Le Moyen Court* and *Les Torrents*. The talent and enthusiasm of Madame Guyon obtained for her an illustrious disciple in Fénelon, Archbishop of Cambrai, the amiable and ingenious author of *Telemachus*. The sect had previously appeared in Italy, where the doctrines of quietism had been propagated by a Spanish priest named Molinos. It had there been found, however, that these mystical tenets had been productive of gross immorality among his disciples, who imagined that, so long as the soul was wrapped up in God, the acts of the body were of little consequence; and in 1687 Molinos had been condemned by the Inquisition at Rome to perpetual imprisonment. These circumstances at first threw a suspicion on the French Quietists, who, however, do not appear to have deserved the least reproach of immorality. But their doctrines were approved neither by the orthodox clergy nor by the Jansenists. Bossuet, the illustrious Bishop of Meaux, was their most virulent opponent. He caused Madame Guyon to be imprisoned at Vincennes, entered into a violent controversy with Fénelon, and procured from Pope Innocent XII. a condemnation of that prelate's work entitled *Explication des Maximes des Saints sur la Vie Intérieure*, in which he had explained and defended his principles (March 1699). This affair, as well as the publication of the *Telemachus*, entirely ruined Fénelon with Louis XIV. and Madame Maintenon, and deprived him of all his former influence.[25]

[25] See Bausset, *Vie de Fénelon*, t. ii. and iii. (ed. 1817).

It is not our intention to describe the various religious sects which sprang up in England during this period, as the Independents, Quakers, Methodists, &c. As the Reformation had a tendency to produce sectarianism in men of enthusiastic temperaments, so, on the other hand, among those of cooler and more reasoning minds it was apt to beget scepticism and infidelity. The English school of Freethinkers took its rise in the seventeenth century with Hobbes, Shaftesbury, Tindal, Bolingbroke and others; and hence was derived the French sceptical philosophy which heralded the Revolution.

TABLE OF CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS

FROM 1721 TO 1789.

(The Years show the end of their Reigns.)

GERMANY.		SPAIN.		FRANCE.		ENGLAND.		POPES.	
Charles VI.	1740	Philip V.	1746	Louis XV.	1774	George I.	1727	Clement XI.	1721
Charles VII.	1745	Ferdinand VI.	1759	Louis XVI.	—	George II.	1760	Innocent XIII.	1724
Francis I.	1765	Charles III.	1788			George III.	—	Benedict XIII.	1730
Joseph II.	—	Charles IV.	—					Clement XII.	1740
								Benedict XIV.	1758
								Clement XIII.	1769
								Clement XIV.	1774
								Pius VI.	—
RUSSIA.		PORTUGAL.		TURKEY.		DENMARK.		SWEDEN.	
Peter the Great	1725	John V.	1750	Achmet III.	1730	Frederick IV.	1730	Ulrica Eleanora	1741
Catherine I.	1727	Joseph I.	1777	Mahmoud I.	1754	Christian VI.	1746	Frederick	1751
Peter II.	1730	Maria Francisca	—	Osman III.	1757	Frederick V.	1766	Ad. Frederick	1771
Anne	1740			Mustapha III.	1774	Christian VII.	—	Gustavus III.	—
Ivan V.	1741			Abdul Hamed	1789				
Elizabeth	1762								
Peter III.	1762								
Catherine II.	—								

BOOK VI.

FROM THE PEACE OF UTRECHT TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION, 1789.

CHAPTER I.

THE Peace of Utrecht had reconciled all the contending Powers in the War of the Spanish Succession, except the two sovereigns principally concerned in the dispute. The questions at issue between Philip V. and Charles VI. still remained to be settled by future wars and negociations. In the military and diplomatic transactions which ensued Spain, directed by the will of a youthful and ambitious Queen, and the counsels of a subtle and enterprising Minister, seemed inspired with new vigour, and promised again to take a first rank in the affairs of Europe.

After the death of Philip V.'s first wife, Louisa of Savoy (February 1714), a woman of courage and understanding above her sex, the Princess des Ursins had assumed for a while the government of the King and Kingdom. But the uxorious temper of the melancholy and moral Philip demanded another consort; and the Princess, too old herself to fill that post, though rumour gave her credit for aspiring to it, resolved to procure for him a queen of a docile and pliant disposition, who would not contest with her the empire which she exercised over the King. With this view she consulted Alberoni, who now enjoyed a considerable share of the royal confidence and favour. This extraordinary man, the son of a working gardener, and a native of Piacenza, had been by turns a bell-ringer, an *abbé*, the steward of a bishop, the favourite and confidant of the Duke of Vendôme, and lastly, the agent of the Duke of Parma at Madrid. Alberoni, as if by accident, and after running over a great many names, recommended Elizabeth Farnese, the niece of his sovereign, the reign-

ing Duke of Parma, as the future Queen of Spain. She was, he said, a good Lombard girl, brought up on the butter and cheese of the country, and accustomed to hear of nothing in the little court in which she had been educated but embroidery and needlework. The consent of Louis XIV. was obtained to the union, and on September 16th 1714, not much more than half a year after the death of Philip's first wife, his nuptials with the Parmesan Princess were celebrated in its capital.

The Princess des Ursins learned when it was too late the real character of Elizabeth Farnese. She discovered that, instead of a simple, pliant girl, whom she might easily control, the new Queen possessed a penetrating mind and a resolute and lofty spirit. Alarmed by this intelligence, she had despatched a messenger to Parma to prevent the marriage from taking place; but he arrived on the very morning of the ceremony, and was not admitted to an audience till it had been concluded. The very first interview with the new Queen showed the Princess des Ursins how fatally she had been deceived. Having preceded Philip to a small village beyond Guadalaxara in order to meet her new mistress in her capacity of *camerara-mayor*, she approached Elizabeth with all the confidence of a favourite, when, to her utter dismay, the Queen ordered her to be arrested, and, though the weather was cold, to be conveyed, as she was, in her court dress, to Burgos! Alberoni had procured the order for her arrest from Philip V., at the instance of the Duke of Parma, and with the consent of Louis XIV.

"A wife and a bassock," Alberoni was accustomed to remark, "are all that the King of Spain needs." Melancholy, devout, uxorious, it was a necessity for Philip to be governed; and the function was now principally shared by his Queen and his Confessor, the Jesuit Daubenton. While one alarmed his mind with religious terrors, the other soothed it with connubial joys. Alberoni's influence was chiefly exercised by means of the Queen; but he shared it with her ancient nurse, Laura Pescatori. A young wife, an old nurse, a priest, and a political adventurer: such was the *camarilla* of the Escurial! Laura Pescatori had some unpleasant recollections about the bells of Piacenza; but Alberoni was not proud; he condescended to flatter her and study her tastes; he loaded her with presents, and spared no pains to make her his friend. But his own abilities also befriended him, and his bold and ambitious views, which suited the temper of the Queen. He aimed at restoring Spain to the rank to which she seemed entitled by her extent, her resources, and the character of her inhabitants. He pursued the labours commenced by his pre-

decessor, Orri, for the restoration of the finances; in which task he was assisted as well by the wholesome amputations of territory which Spain had experienced, and which curtailed much needless expenditure, as by the suppression of the privileges of Aragon and Catalonia. There were several plans that occupied the imagination of Alberoni and his sovereign, when the finances should have been re-established, and the naval and military forces of the kingdom restored to their ancient vigour. As the throne of Spain was to descend to Philip V.'s son by his first wife, Elizabeth wished to secure for her own children the Duchies of Parma and Tuscany, as well as the reversion to the throne of France, in case of the probable death of Louis XV., a sickly child of fifteen years. In order to effect this latter object it would be necessary to deprive the Duke of Orléans of the French Regency, and to change the order of succession in Great Britain in favour of the Pretender; in a word, to overthrow the Treaty of Utrecht. But in order to mature these plans, and prepare the means necessary for their execution, Alberoni demanded five years of peace; and, therefore, after the death of Louis XIV., in opposition to the counsels of Cardinal del Giudice, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, he made advances to Great Britain and Holland. On December 15th 1715 a Commercial Treaty was concluded with England on terms very favourable to this kingdom.

The exhausted state of France and the enormous debt contracted by the late wars also rendered peace necessary to that country, where the Regency had been seized by Louis XIV.'s nephew, Philip Duke of Orléans. Louis had by his will appointed a Council of Regency, of which, indeed, the Duke of Orléans was to be the nominal chief, but with a preponderating voice only in case opinions were divided; and as the Duke du Maine, Louis's natural but legitimated son, had, by the same instrument, been intrusted with the guardianship of the young King, a general expectation had prevailed that he would dispute the Regency with the Duke of Orléans. But Du Maine had not the qualities requisite for such an enterprise; while the Duke of Orléans, though a voluptuary, could rouse himself when occasion called, and especially in matters that concerned his own interest. He resolved to seize the Regency by means of the Parliament. Accompanied by the Princes of the Blood, the legitimated Princes, and the Dukes and Peers, he proceeded, on the morning after Louis XIV.'s death, to the Palais, where the Parliament was assembled. He was received by that body with respect. In his address to them he insisted on his right to the Regency, both by

his birth and by the wishes of the late King, verbally expressed to him. He protested that it was his intention to relieve the people of their burthens, to re-establish the finances, to preserve the peace, to restore unity and tranquillity in the Church; above all, he flattered the Parliament by demanding beforehand "the wise admonitions of that august assembly." When he had thus predisposed the mind of the Parliament in his favour, the will of Louis XIV. was read amid a silence of disapprobation. Philip then protested against an act which, he said, had been extorted from the late King; he silenced the attempted remonstrances of the Duke du Maine, and the Parliament proclaimed him Regent by acclamation. He was also invested with the guardianship of the young King, and with the command of the forces; in short, he was intrusted with an almost absolute power, and the testament of Louis, as, indeed, that monarch had anticipated, was entirely set aside.

The state of France, as we have said, rendered two objects of paramount necessity—to keep the peace, that is, to observe the Treaty of Utrecht, and to restore the finances. Into this last subject, which belongs to the domestic history of France, we cannot enter. It will suffice to remark that the chief feature of the Regent's financial administration was his adoption of the schemes of the adventurer Law; the establishment of a national bank for the issue of paper money, and the erection of the gigantic commercial monopoly of the Mississippi Company, the shares in which were to be purchased with the notes of the bank.[1] The sudden prosperity of this scheme, the gambling phrenzy which it created in the nation, the bursting of the bubble, and the utter ruin of the credulous shareholders, found an exact counterpart in the fury of the South Sea Scheme in England, which was excited by the Mississippi speculation and ended with a similar result.

The Foreign policy of the Regent, from whatever motive adopted, though often vehemently attacked by French patriots, was much better than his Domestic policy, and the only one suitable to France at that juncture. It would have been impossible to continue purchasing glory at the price paid for it by Louis XIV. The Regent's policy, guided by the Abbé Dubois, prevented the outbreak of a general war, put an end to that begun by Spain, and compelled the Courts of Vienna and Madrid to terminate their quarrels. All the engagements contracted by the Regent were conformable to the Treaty of Utrecht, and necessary to be

[1] The English reader will find a description of Law's proceedings in Paris in Lord Russell's *Europe from the Peace of Utrecht*, vol. ii. ch. 3.

maintained for the interests of France herself as well as of Europe. The connection between France and Spain, established at the expense of so much blood and treasure by Louis XIV., was at once severed by the death of that monarch. The relationship between the ruling families, instead of a bond of union, proved a source of discord, and served only to embitter the political disputes between the two countries. So futile is the expectation that the policy of nations may be influenced for any length of time by the ties of kindred!

At first, however, the policy of the Duke of Orléans seemed undecided. As Spain had approached George I.,[2] so the Regent appeared inclined to adopt the cause of the Pretender. He, at all events, permitted the latter, who had been residing in Lorraine since the Peace, to traverse France in order to embark at Dunkirk for his descent on Scotland in December 1615. The speedy result of that abortive enterprise is well known to the English reader. After its conclusion the Pretender retired to Avignon. Both Philip V. and the Regent, however, soon began to appreciate better their true interests and position. Part of their policy may, perhaps, be justly ascribed to personal dislike. Their characters were entirely opposite, except that idleness was the sultana queen of both. Philip V. had conceived a perfect hatred for his cousin the Duke of Orléans, and firmly believed all the crimes that rumour imputed to him. He had formed the design of claiming the Regency of France on the death of Louis XIV.; but when the moment arrived, he could not summon courage to cross the Pyrenees.

As Philip V. was governed by Alberoni, so the Regent was guided by the Abbé Dubois, who had been his preceptor. The rise of Dubois was almost as extraordinary as that of the Spanish minister. He was the son of an apothecary at Brives-la-Gaillarde, a small town in the Limousin, and was born Sept. 6th 1656. Sent to Paris by his parents at the early age of twelve, and almost abandoned to his own resources, he was only too happy to obtain the means of studying at the college St. Michel, or Pompadour, by becoming the servant of the principal.[3] After completing his

[2] When del Giudice remonstrated with Philip V. on the treaty he had made with England, and recommended, in preference, the interests of the Pretender, the King, who was now governed by Alberoni, replied: "I consider the King of England as my brother, and am determined to live in friendship with him. Let me hear no more on this subject." Mr. Dodington's *Despatch* to Secretary Stanhope, April 27th 1716, ap. Coxe, *Spanish Bourbons*, vol. ii. p. 218.

[3] For an account of Dubois, see Sevelinges, *Mém. Secrets du Cardinal Dubois*, (2 tom. 8vo., Paris, 1815).

studies and serving as tutor in several families, he at length obtained a preceptorship in that of the Marquis de Pluvant, master of the wardrobes to *Monsieur*, the Duke of Orléans, brother of Louis XIV: Here he formed the acquaintance of M. de St. Laurent, tutor to Monsieur's son, the Duke of Chartres, afterwards the Regent; and finding thus an introduction to the Orléans' family, with whom he contrived to ingratiate himself, he was, on the death of S. Laurent, appointed to succeed to his office. Under Dubois's care the natural abilities of the young Duke of Chartres were developed with a rapidity that delighted the court; but at the same time he is believed to have secretly pandered to the premature vices of his pupil. Whilst serving in this capacity Dubois gained the favour of Louis XIV. by bringing about a match between the Duke of Chartres and the king's natural, but legitimated, daughter, Mdlle. de Blois, in spite of the opposition of the Duchess of Orléans. In reward for this service Louis gave him the Abbey of St. Just in Picardy, and subsequently permitted him to join the embassy of Marshal Tallard at London. Here he threw aside his ecclesiastical costume, took the title of the Chevalier du Bois, and with the assistance of St. Evremont made some distinguished acquaintances. That of Lord Stanhope in particular afterwards became the source of his extraordinary political fortune.

On the death of *Monsieur* in 1701, Dubois, with the modest title of secretary, became in fact the intimate adviser of his former pupil, the new Duke of Orléans. He had accompanied the Duke in his first campaign under Marshal Luxembourg, and was present at the battle of Steinkerque (1692), where he displayed all the courage and coolness of a professional soldier. But when in 1707 the Duke proceeded to Spain to take the command of the army, the Princess Des Ursins, who dreaded Dubois's intriguing spirit, caused him to be excluded from the prince's suite. The elevation of the Duke of Orléans to the Regency inspired Dubois with the hope of realising all his most ambitious dreams. One thing, however, stood in his way. His character was so notorious for dissoluteness and utter want of principle that even the Regent himself, who knew his abilities and loved him for some congenial qualities, hesitated to incur the reproach of making him a minister. But an appeal to their long friendship touched the Regent's heart, and with the admonition, "Abbé, a little probity, I beg," he named him counsellor of state.

Such was the man who was to direct for some time the policy of France, and play a leading part in the affairs of Europe. He was now in his sixtieth year, ruined alike in health and reputation,

and still no more than an *abbé*; so that no time was to be lost in pushing his fortune. In person he was slender, light complexioned, with a sly and fox-like expression of countenance.

Dubois took a rapid and correct view of the state of Europe, in the interest of his master. This interest was two-fold: to assure the possession of the Regency, and to secure the French throne in the line of Orléans, instead of that of Philip V., in case of the death of Louis XV. In order to accomplish this, an alliance was to be made with England; the interest of that country in excluding the King of Spain from the French succession being identical with that of the Regent. George I. had need of such an alliance. France was the only Power that could lend any material aid to the Pretender, the so-called James III.; while, on the other hand, without the assistance of England, Philip V. stood no chance of prevailing against the Duke of Orléans.[4] The policy of the French and English alliance was therefore founded principally on views of family interest; but this interest fortunately coincided with that of the two nations, and indeed of all Europe, for which peace was a necessity.

The return of the Whigs to power on the accession of George I. had drawn closer the relations between England and the Dutch Republic, and thus promised to facilitate the accession of the States-General to the contemplated alliance. Holland had become almost a satellite of Great Britain, to which she looked for the maintenance of her barrier. The ancient alliance between the two countries was renewed by the Treaty of Westminster, Feb. 17th 1716, by which former treaties were confirmed. George I., with an eye to his newly acquired duchies of Bremen and Verden, had also concluded a defensive alliance with the Emperor, Charles VI. (May 25th 1716).[5]

On the other hand, the Whigs, as well as George I. himself, had always loudly expressed their dissatisfaction at the Treaty of Utrecht; they had denounced the Tories as the authors of it, and it was a delicate task to require them to turn round and support it. The clamours, too, against France had been increased by the aid recently afforded to the Pretender and by the continuation of the works at Mardyck. Thus many difficulties stood in the way of Dubois's project; but they were at length surmounted by his skill and perseverance. Finding that Lord Stanhope was to pass through Holland in July 1716 with George I., on his way to Hanover, Dubois repaired to the Hague on pretence of collecting books and

[4] Martin, t. xv. p. 80.

[5] Dumont, t. viii. pt. i. p. 477.

objects of *virtù*; where, as if by chance, he contrived to have an interview with his old acquaintance, the English minister. He availed himself of the opportunity to open and recommend his plans; matters were prepared for a treaty, and in the following August Dubois went to Hanover, where the alliance was finally arranged. The States-General, fearful of offending the Emperor, manifested at first great reluctance to accede to the treaty; but these scruples being at length overcome, the TRIPLE ALLIANCE was signed at the Hague, Jan. 4th 1717. By this treaty the provisions contained in the Treaty of Utrecht were renewed; Louis XV. promised never to aid the Pretender, and to induce him to cross the Alps; fresh stipulations were made respecting the destruction of the works at Dunkirk and Mardyck; and it was agreed that English commissaries should be appointed to see that this article was faithfully executed.[6]

Although this treaty was favourable to England, it experienced much opposition from the Whigs. The Regent conciliated Pitt, the leader of that party and father of the celebrated Lord Chatham, by the present of a magnificent diamond. The alliance was also most unwelcome to the Emperor, although there appears to have been an understanding among the parties to it that he should obtain Sicily in exchange for Sardinia. On receipt of the news he wrote to the States-General that the Barrier Treaty was at an end; but this was a mere menace. Nobody, however, was so vexed and surprised as the King of Spain. Relying on his treaty with England, Philip deemed himself secure of that Power, and when the Regent communicated to him the project of the Triple Alliance, he had replied with indifference. Alberoni, however, persuaded him at present to digest his anger. That minister was not yet prepared to act, and wished to postpone a war till he should have accumulated the necessary resources to conduct it with vigour. For this purpose, he had obtained the Pope's permission to levy a tax on the Spanish clergy under the pretence of assisting the Venetians in the war which they were then waging with the Turks; and indeed he actually despatched a force of 8000 men to assist in the defence of Corfû. But before his preparations were complete he was hurried into a war with the Emperor by a comparatively trivial incident. In May 1717, the Grand Inquisitor of Spain, in returning from Rome, ventured to traverse the Milanese without an imperial passport, and was arrested as a rebellious subject of Charles III. of Spain! Exasperated by this insult, Philip V.

[6] Dumont, t. viii. pt. i. p. 484; Lamberty, *Mém.* t. x. p. 1.

declared that he would immediately vindicate the honour of his crown. In vain did Alberoni remonstrate and represent to Philip that he had but the rudiments of a fleet and army; Philip was inflexible, and all that the minister could obtain was that hostilities should first be directed against the Island of Sardinia, instead of Naples and Sicily. Alberoni, finding himself thus prematurely driven into a war by the hastiness of his sovereign, resolved to surprise Europe by the boldness of his measures. But first of all, to secure himself a retreat in case of failure, he extorted from the Pope a cardinal's hat, partly by threats, and partly by representations of the services which he had rendered to the Venetians in their struggle with the Turks. Matters being thus arranged, an armament was despatched for the conquest of Sardinia. Nine thousand Spaniards were landed there towards the end of August 1717; and, with the aid of the discontented inhabitants, got possession of the whole island in less than three months.[7]

One of the first effects of this attack on the Emperor's western possessions was to hamper him in his wars and negociations with the Ottoman Porte. But to explain this matter, it will be necessary to take a short retrospective view of Turkish history.

We have already recorded the peace concluded between the Sultan and the Czar, and how Charles XII. of Sweden was subsequently compelled to quit the Turkish dominions.[8] One of the chief motives with the Porte for assuring tranquillity on this side was that it might turn its arms elsewhere. Great activity was observed in the Turkish arsenals, but the object of it was long uncertain. The Emperor, then engaged in the war of the Spanish Succession, assembled in 1714 an army of observation of 50,000 men in Hungary and Transylvania. It appeared at last that the mighty preparations of the Turks were directed against Venice, with the view of recovering the Morea, a loss which the Porte had never been able to digest. In Dec. 1714 the Venetian *Bailo* at Constantinople was informed in the grossest terms by the Grand Vizier Damad Ali Pasha that it was the intention of his master not to rest till he had recovered the Morea: he was directed to leave Constantinople in three days, and, together with all other Venetians, the Turkish territories in three weeks; but before that time had expired, he was imprisoned in the castle of the Dardanelles, and his suite of forty-two persons in the Seven Towers, as hostages for the security of Turkish subjects in the Venetian dominions. The

[7] Alberoni was very generally accused by his contemporaries of having been the author of this war; but it is now acknowledged that it was undertaken against his will. See Coxe, *Spanish Bourbons*, vol. ii. p. 275 sq.

[8] Above, p. 245.

Signoria, relying on a peace guaranteed by the Emperor, had made but small preparations for defence. Their rule in the Morea had been highly unpopular. The inhabitants preferred the Turkish government as both cheaper and less oppressive,[9] and were not, therefore, disposed to fight in the cause of their Venetian masters. Hence, when the Turks entered the Morea in the summer of 1715 with overwhelming numbers, the inhabitants in many places hastened to submit; and as the Venetians were neither strong enough to cope with the Turks in the open field, nor the fortresses of the peninsula in a state to resist a lengthened siege, the whole of the Morea was wrested from them in the course of a few months. For not defending some of these towns, rendered defenceless by their own neglect, the *Signoria* threw the commandants into prison for life.

The Emperor was alarmed at the sudden and decisive success of the Turks; and as Louis XIV. had died during the campaign, he was the more disposed to listen to the prayers of the Venetians for assistance. He was strongly exhorted to this step by Prince Eugene, who represented to him the danger that would accrue to his Italian, and even to his German, states, if the Turks should get possession of the Ionian Islands. An alliance was accordingly signed with the *Signoria*, April 13th 1716. It purported to be a renewal of the Holy League of 1684, and the *casus belli* against the Porte was, therefore, the violation of the Peace of Carlowitz; but instead of being merely directed against that Power, it was extended to a general defensive alliance with the Venetian Republic. Under the energetic superintendence of Eugene, the preparations for war were soon completed. In the course of April three Austrian divisions entered Hungary, Eugene himself being at the head of the largest, of 70,000 men. On the other hand, the Grand Vizier, with 100,000 men, marched towards Belgrade; while the agents of the Porte incited to insurrection the malcontent Hungarians, and their leader Ragoczy, who aimed at obtaining the principality of Transylvania, and even the title of King of Hungary. The Vizier having attacked Eugene in his fortified camp before Peterwardein on August 3rd, that commander offered him battle on the 5th, in which the Vizier himself was slain, and the Turks utterly defeated. This victory is principally ascribed to the use of heavy cavalry, with which the Turks were as yet unacquainted. The fruits of it were the surrender of Temesvar; and even Wallachia declared for the

[9] De La Motraye, *Voyages*, t. i. p. 462. On the Venetian government of the Morea (1685–1715), see Ranke, *Hist. u. Pol. Zeitschrift*, B. ii. S. 405 ff.; Finlay, *Greece under Othoman and Venetian Domination*.

Emperor; a manifestation, however, which led to no result. In the same year an attempt of the Turks upon Corfû was repulsed, chiefly through the military talents of Baron Schulenburg, whom we have already met with in the Polish war, and whose services the Venetians had procured.

The Porte, discouraged by these reverses, made proposals to the Emperor for a peace early in 1717; and Sir Wortley Montague and Count Colyer, the English and Dutch residents at Constantinople, endeavoured to forward this object by their mediation.[10] But their offers were not listened to. In the spring, Eugene took the command of 140,000 men, and many princes and nobles flocked to his standards as volunteers, desirous of sharing the renown of so distinguished a commander. He now directed his march on Belgrade, near which place he was attacked, on August 16th, by a much superior Turkish force, which, however, he entirely defeated. Belgrade capitulated on the 18th. The Porte now renewed its offers of peace. Eugene declined to treat except on the basis of *uti possidetis*; and the Cabinet of Vienna insisted that Venice should be included in the treaty. As the Porte had obtained some advantages over the Venetians in the course of the year, it was at first unwilling to concede this point. In the spring of 1718 Eugene increased his demands by requiring the cession of Bosnia, Servia, and Wallachia. But the hostile attitude assumed by Spain, induced the Emperor to lower his terms. He abandoned his pretensions to Wallachia and the other provinces, but insisted on the basis of *uti possidetis*, which the Turks at last agreed to accept, as well as to abandon the cause of Ragoczy. A congress was now assembled at Passarowitz, which was opened by a speech of Sir Robert Sutton, as English mediator, June 5th. Although the Emperor had pretended to enter into the war on account of the Venetians, they were made the scape-goats of the peace, as the *uti possidetis* of course deprived them of the Morea, while Charles VI. retained all his conquests. Thus the PEACE OF PASSAROWITZ (July 21st 1718) gave a mortal blow to the power of Venice in the East.[11] But to return to the affairs of Western Europe.

Although victor at Peterwardein and Belgrade, some time must elapse before the Emperor could freely wield all his forces against Spain, and he therefore appealed to the Triple Alliance against the violators of Italian neutrality. Alberoni, on the other hand, sought to propitiate England by some commercial advantages, and strained

[10] This is the period of the well-known *Letters* of Lady Montague, the wife of the English envoy.

[11] The treaty is in Katona, t. xxxviii. p. 371 sqq.

every nerve to raise men and money. Under these circumstances, France and England entered into a Convention in July 1718 to the following effect. The Emperor was to be compelled to renounce all pretensions to Spain and the Indies, and Philip V. to the ancient Spanish provinces of which the Emperor was now in possession, as well as to the reversion of Sicily in case of failure of heirs in the House of Savoy. Sicily was to be assigned to the Emperor, the Duke of Savoy taking Sardinia instead, with the title of King. The Emperor was to promise the eventual investiture of the duchies of Parma and Tuscany to Don Carlos, or another son of the Queen of Spain;[12] but with a provision that they should never be united with the crown of Spain; and Leghorn, Porto Ferrajo, Parma, and Piacenza were to be provisionally occupied by Swiss garrisons, in the pay of the mediating Powers. Three months were to be allowed to Philip V. and the Duke of Savoy to accede to the treaty after its ratification by the Emperor; and in case of refusal their accession was to be enforced.[13] The Emperor immediately agreed to these terms, and on August 2nd was signed at London the treaty known as the QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE,[14] so called because the Dutch were also invited to accede to it. But these republicans, offended at not having been previously consulted, and alarmed for their trade with Spain, refused at first to do so; and their accession was not obtained till February 1719. The King of Spain, and also at first the Duke of Savoy, refused to accede to the treaty; but the latter gave his consent to it in November.

All these negociations were the work of Stanhope and Dubois. Alberoni had attempted to oppose one coalition by another; and, as already related,[15] he tried to reconcile the Czar and the King of Sweden, and unite them in a descent on Scotland in favour of the Pretender. But this project failed, as well as his attempt to prevent the Turks from concluding the Peace of Passarowitz with the Emperor. He had already prepared to strike a blow by landing 30,000 Spaniards at Palermo, which was effected July 1st 1718. A great part of the Piedmontese troops had already been withdrawn, and the rest now retired into the citadel of Messina. Alberoni had attempted to persuade Philip V. to direct the Sicilian force against England, and thus to pierce the Quadruple Alliance in the heart;[16] but the King very prudently declined so hazardous an enterprise. In June, a British fleet was despatched to the Medi-

[12] Elizabeth Farnese's claims on Tuscany were derived from her grandmother, daughter of Cosmo II.

[13] Martin, t. xv. p. 90 sq.

[14] Dumont, t. viii. pt. i. p. 531; Lamberty, t. x. *Suite*, p. 40.

[15] Above, p. 251.

[16] Coxe, *Spanish Bourbons*, vol. ii. p. 316.

terranean, and Stanhope hastened to Madrid to make a last effort to obtain the submission of Philip. While he was at Madrid news arrived of the landing of the English at Palermo, and Stanhope offered to restore Gibraltar if Philip would immediately accede to the Quadruple Alliance; but without effect.[17] Admiral Byng had almost annihilated the Spanish fleet of twenty-two sail in an engagement off Syracuse, August 11th.[18] Yet the Allied Powers still hesitated to make a formal declaration of war. England was unwilling to do so except in conjunction with France, and the Regent was reluctant to take such a step against the grandson of Louis XIV. At last Dubois, who was now Minister for Foreign Affairs, found a pretext for it in the conspiracy of Cellamare.

Alberoni, in conjunction with the Duchess du Maine, and through the medium of Cellamare, the Spanish ambassador at Paris, had concocted an absurd plot for surprising and carrying off the Regent; upon which Philip V. was to claim the Regency, and to procure a confirmation of his authority from an assembly of the States-General of France. This precious scheme was betrayed to Dubois by a clerk employed to copy the despatches, and a Spanish *abbé*, the bearer of them, was arrested at Poitiers on his way to Spain. This discovery was followed by the arrest of the Duchess du Maine and her husband, as well as of Cellamare, as a violator of international law; and Dubois availed himself of the popular indignation excited by the plot to declare war against Spain, January 10th 1719.[19] An English declaration had preceded it by a fortnight (Dec. 27th). Dubois could afford to treat with contempt so foolish a conspiracy, in which, besides the immediate concoctors, the Cardinal de Polignac was the only considerable person concerned. The culprits were dismissed, and Cellamare returned to Spain.

Active operations were commenced in the spring. In April, a French division crossed the Bidassoa, pushed on to Passages and destroyed the dock-yard, where several men-of-war were building; then, being joined by the main body under Marshal Berwick, laid siege to Fuentarabia, which capitulated June 18th. Philip was unable to stem this invasion; yet in March he had despatched six ships of war, with 6000 men, and arms for 30,000 more, to make

[17] Coxe, *Spanish Bourbons*, vol. ii. p. 322 sqq.

[18] M. Martin says, "Aucune signification, aucune déclaration de guerre, n'avait eu lieu." (*Hist. de France*, t. xv. p. 94.) Only the latter part of this sentence is true. George I. had procured supplies from the Parliament for the equipment of a fleet, and its destination had been communicated in the spring of the year to Monteleon, the Spanish ambassador at London. Coxe, *Spanish Bourbons*, vol. ii. p. 310.

[19] The Declaration, an elaborate composition, was written by the celebrated Fontenelle.

a descent in Scotland under the conduct of the exiled Duke of Ormond. The Pretender was invited from Rome to take advantage of any events that might occur. But the Spanish squadron was dispersed by a storm; only two frigates succeeded in reaching Kintail, and the partial rising of the Highlanders that ensued was speedily quelled. St. Sebastian surrendered to the French, August 19th. Berwick then reentered France; skirted with his army the northern side of the Pyrenees, and entered Cerdagne; where, however, he effected little or nothing. In the autumn an English fleet appeared off the coast of Galicia, captured Vigo, Oct. 21st, and committed many ravages.

It was clearly impossible for Spain to resist, single-handed, the formidable combination that was organised against her. The Austrian troops, released by the Peace of Passarowitz, had now had time to proceed to the scene of action, and the English fleet had landed large bodies of them in Sicily. The French invasion of Spain would recommence in 1720, and the English were preparing to attack Spanish America. But the French and English Cabinets had resolved that the fall of Alberoni should be an indispensable condition of a peace. Philip V. was influenced to dismiss his enterprising minister through his confessor Daubenton, whom Dubois had gained; while the Spanish Queen was threatened with the withdrawal of the guarantee of the Italian duchies to her children. Alberoni, who had dissuaded the war, was made the sacrifice of the peace which concluded it. In Dec. 1719, he received orders to quit Madrid in eight days and Spain in three weeks. This was the end of his political career, though he lived till 1752. He retired through France to Genoa; whence, however, he was driven by Pope Clement XI., who threatened him with a prosecution as an enemy of the Catholic faith. Till the death of that pontiff, he found a refuge in Switzerland; and after that event he regained his place in the Consistory.

After the dismissal of Alberoni, the Spanish ambassador at the Hague acceded to the Quadruple Alliance (Feb. 1720). The Emperor was put in possession of Sicily; the ex-King of Sicily (Victor Amadeus II. of Savoy) became King of Sardinia, a possession which has since remained in his House; and the reversion of Parma and Tuscany was guaranteed to the children of the Spanish Queen.

The policy of Dubois was thus crowned with success, and it was not surprising that he should look for his reward. The method of it lay in ecclesiastical preferment. Might not the son of the apothecary at Brives as justly aspire to a cardinal's hat as the

gardener's son of Piacenza? But if this was a striking analogy, the invasion of the archbishopric of Cambray, so recently occupied by the virtuous Fénelon, was as glaring a contrast. The eloquent Masillon was one of the two prelates who became on this occasion the necessary sponsors for Dubois's morality! For the attainment of the hat the most incongruous machinery was set in motion. The affair was mooted by an application of the Protestant King of England to the atheistical Regent; and the Catholic Pretender, then resident at Rome, who interceded for Dubois, is supposed to have been bought with the guineas of George I.![20] But Clement XI. contrived all his lifetime to evade the application. Dubois, on Clement's death, inverted the parts of patron and client, and promised the tiara to any cardinal who would give him the hat. Cardinal Conti, a very old man, became Pope on these terms, with the title of Innocent XIII.; and Dubois, after a few more delays, obtained the object of his ambition (July 1721).

The accession of Philip V. to the Quadruple Alliance was followed by several treaties. As the Emperor had shown symptoms that he did not mean to execute his share of that alliance, by carrying out the stipulations regarding the Italian duchies, Philip concluded a secret treaty with France in March 1721, by which that country engaged to support the interests of Spain in the Congress about to be opened at Cambray.[21] The English Cabinet manifested their displeasure at this treaty, which had been made without their concurrence; and Dubois, to appease them, hastened to bring about another between Great Britain and Spain, to which France also acceded, containing terms very advantageous to English commerce. On the other hand, Great Britain engaged to replace the Spanish ships destroyed in Byng's engagement.[22]

The connection between France and Spain was at this time drawn closer by some marriage contracts between the reigning families. Louis XV. was to be affianced to the Infanta, then only three years of age, who was to be educated in France; while the Prince of Asturias, the heir apparent of the Spanish monarchy, and Don Carlos, the heir of Parma and Tuscany, were to be united to two daughters of the Regent Orléans. The young princesses were exchanged on the Bidassoa, January 9th 1722. These marriages had been effected through the influence of Daubenton, and at the expense of religious freedom in France. Under Philip V., the slave of the Jesuits, religious bigotry and intolerance flourished

[20] Dubois is said to have received a pension from George I.

[21] Martin, t. xv. p. 114.

[22] See the two treaties between Spain and Great Britain, and Spain, Great Britain, and France, June 13th 1721, in Dumont, t. viii. pt. ii. p. 33 sqq.

as vigorously as under the House of Austria; 2346 persons were burnt during his reign,[23] and the consort of the Prince of Asturias was regaled on her arrival in Spain with the spectacle of an *auto da fé*. Daubenton procured that the Jesuit Limières should succeed the venerable Abbé Fleuri as confessor of Louis XV.; the press and book trade in France were subjected to a rigorous surveillance, and Fleuri's posthumous work, the *Discours sur les Libertés Gallicanes*, was suppressed.

The term of the Orléans regency was now approaching. Louis XV. would attain his legal majority February 16th 1723, and the Regent had caused him to be crowned in October 1722. When the King became major, the Duke of Orléans resigned the title of Regent, but as president of the Council of State continued to conduct the Government under the guidance of Dubois, who was now Prime Minister. The Cardinal, however, did not long enjoy his newly-acquired honours. He expired on August 10th 1723 from the results of a painful operation, rendered necessary by his former habits of profligacy. The Duke of Orléans did not long survive him. He also became the victim of his debauches, and was carried off by an apoplexy, December 2nd 1723, at the premature age of forty-nine. The Duke of Bourbon now became Prime Minister. His administration was but a continuation of the former system, though with infinitely less talent.

Soon after these events, Europe was surprised by the abdication of Philip V. It is difficult to determine whether this act was the result of his hypochondriac malady or of a deep political design. If it was madness it was not without method. The health of Louis XV. was at that time supposed to be in a declining state, and in case of his death the European Powers would hardly allow the French crown to be assumed by the King of Spain. Couriers were stationed between Paris and Madrid to bring the speediest intelligence, and preparations were made for a journey to France at the charming retreat which Philip had prepared for himself at S. Ildefonso.[24] The crown of Spain was transferred to Don Louis, Prince of Asturias, then sixteen years of age, Philip's eldest son, by Louisa of Savoy (January 10th 1724). But—such are the contrarieties that attend the best laid schemes—Louis XV. survived, and Don Louis died of the small pox in the August following his accession! Philip was now in a difficult position. His renunciation of the crown had resembled a solemn religious act, and his resumption of it, under the circumstances, might occasion un-

[23] Lémontey, *Hist. de la Régence*, t. i. p. 481.
[24] Coxe, *Spanish Bourbons*, vol. iii. p. 50 sqq.

favourable comments. His religious scruples, however, were removed by the Papal Nuncio; after much apparent reluctance, Philip again ascended the throne, and Elizabeth Farnese reigned once more, to the detriment of the peace of Europe.

Meanwhile a congress had been opened at Cambray to decide the questions between Austria and Spain. The Duke of Bourbon was inclined to support the interests of Spain, and to form an intimate alliance with that country; but he was governed by his mistress, Madame de Prie, who had been bought by Walpole—Stanhope was now dead—and inherited Dubois's English policy, together with his pension. The effrontery of this woman brought about a crisis in the policy of Europe. Bourbon had not face enough to make Madame de Prie's complaisant husband a duke and peer of France; but he solicited for him a Spanish grandeeship—a request which was scornfully refused by the Court of Madrid Madame de Prie revenged herself by persuading the Duke of Bourbon to marry Louis XV. at once, instead of waiting till the Spanish infanta should become marriageable; and that princess was sent back to Spain without even a word of apology (April 1725). The French Court at first endeavoured to procure for the young king a granddaughter of George I.; but it was, of course, impossible that a sovereign who held his throne by virtue of his Protestant tenets should consent to such a match. Mary Lescinska, daughter of Stanislaus, the ex-King of Poland, was then selected to be Queen of France. The family of Stanislaus was at that time residing at Weissembourg, in Alsace, on a small pension allowed them by the French Government, and were not a little surprised and delighted at this unexpected turn in their fortunes. Mary, who was nearly seven years older than her husband, was married to the French King September 4th 1725.

The dismissal of the Infanta naturally gave the deepest offence to the Spanish Court. Philip immediately recalled his ambassador from Paris, and his ministers from the Congress of Cambray, which was consequently broken up; and he declared that he would never be reconciled with France till Bourbon should come to Madrid and beg pardon on his knees. Yet he had himself been secretly preparing to inflict the very same insult of which he so grievously complained. Philip, when he found it impossible to come to any terms with the French Court, and that nothing was likely to be done at the Congress of Cambray, had reconciled himself with the Emperor, Charles VI. The Baron Ripperda, a Dutchman, who had turned Catholic, and had contrived to replace Alberoni, of whom he was a sort of parody, in the confidence of Queen Eliza-

beth, had been despatched, in the autumn of 1724, to Vienna, with secret instructions from her to negociate a marriage between her son, Don Carlos—already affianced, as we have seen, to Madlle. Beaujolais—and the eldest Archduchess, Maria Theresa.[25] Almost the sole object of the Emperor's policy at that juncture, he being without male heirs, was to secure the succession of his daughters, according to the Pragmatic Sanction which he had promulgated in 1713. By this instrument the Austrian succession was regulated in the order of primogeniture, first in favour of his male descendants, and, in their default, of females. In case these also should be wanting, Charles next appointed the Archduchesses, daughters of the Emperor Joseph; then the Queen of Portugal and other daughters of the Emperor Leopold, and their descendants in perpetuity.[26] As he advanced in years, the Emperor, despairing of male issue, had caused the Pragmatic Sanction to be confirmed by the Austrian States, and by those of Silesia, Bohemia, and Hungary. The weak point of it was that Charles's daughters were named to the succession before those of his elder brother, the Emperor Joseph I.; and this in the face of a contrary Act of Succession made by his father, the Emperor Leopold, in 1703, by which it was provided that, in default of male heirs, the Austrian inheritance should first fall to the daughters of Joseph.[27] By cancelling this arrangement, Charles VI. indicated that a like fate might overtake his own, nay, made indeed a precedent for such an occurrence; and hence his anxiety to obtain a confirmation of the Pragmatic Sanction from foreign Powers as well as from his own subjects. To procure the guarantee of Spain, he was inclined to meet the advances of that Power; while Philip, after the dismissal of his daughter from France, urged Ripperda to conclude with the Cabinet of Vienna almost at any price. Two treaties, a public and a secret one, were accordingly signed at Vienna April 30th. By the former, the two sovereigns mutually renounced their claims to each other's dominions; Philip guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction and opened the Spanish ports to German commerce; while Charles promised to use his good offices to procure the restoration of Gibraltar and Minorca to the Spanish Crown, and recognised Don Carlos as heir to Parma and Tuscany. The assent of the Germanic body to this arrangement respecting the

[25] Coxe, *Spanish Bourbons*, vol. iii. p. 101. Ripperda had been the Dutch ambassador at Madrid in 1715; in which capacity he attracted the notice of Alberoni, and gained the confidence of Philip V. by his insinuating manners, who took him into his service. Garden, *Traités de Paix*, t. iii. p. 135, note.

[26] Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. v. S. 127.

[27] Pfeffel, *Abrégé chronol. de l'Histoire d'Allemagne*, t. ii. p. 453.

Italian duchies was expressed in a subsequent treaty between the Emperor, the Empire, and Spain, signed June 7th 1725.[28]

By these treaties Philip renounced all the advantages which he had hoped to attain through the mediating Powers at the Congress of Cambray, and acquiesced in the provisions of the Treaty of Utrecht and of the Quadruple Alliance. They contained nothing, therefore, calculated to offend either England or France; but such was not the case with the secret treaty. Nothing of course was certainly known of this except through the imprudent and foolish boasting of Ripperda; but it was believed that marriages had been arranged between the two archduchesses, Maria Theresa and Maria Anna, and Don Carlos and Don Philip, the sons of Philip V. by Elizabeth Farnese; that the contracting parties had agreed to effect the restoration of the Stuarts; and that the Emperor had engaged to assist Philip in the recovery of Gibraltar and Minorca *by force*. The marriage of Don Carlos might one day revive the empire of Charles V. through the union of Spain and Germany. The exultation displayed by the Court of Madrid, and the honours lavished upon Ripperda, who was made a minister and grandee of Spain, strengthened the alarm of the French and English Cabinets. Their suspicions were soon confirmed by the confessions of Ripperda himself, whose vanity and presumption brought upon him the hatred of the Spanish grandees, and deprived him of the confidence of the Queen. In a few months he was driven from his office, and took refuge in the hotel of Stanhope, the English ambassador, to whom he revealed the whole of the negociations between Spain and the Emperor. Philip dragged him by force from this asylum, and caused him to be confined at Segovia. After these revelations, war seemed inevitable. George I., during his sojourn at Hanover in 1725, engaged Frederick William I. of Prussia to conclude at Herrenhausen an alliance with France and England (Sept. 3rd).[29] The Dutch, in the interests of their commerce, threatened by the establishment of an East India Company by the Emperor at Ostend, acceded to this alliance, known as the *Alliance of Hanover*, by a treaty signed at the Hague, August 9th 1726.[30] Sweden and Denmark, which Powers were to be subsidised by England and France, also acceded in March and April 1727.[31] On the other

[28] Dumont, t. viii. pt. ii. pp. 106, 113, and 121; Lamberty, t. x. *Suite*, p. 128.

[29] Dumont, t. viii. pt. ii. p. 127; Lamberty, t. x. *Suite*, p. 159. This treaty affords the first instance of a prince of the Empire entering into a formal engagement with a foreign Power not to execute the obligations imposed on him by the Germanic Constitution, viz. to furnish a contingent of troops, in case the Empire should declare war against France. Garden, *Hist. des Traités*, t. iii. p. 140.

[30] Dumont, t. viii. pt. ii. p. 133.

[31] *Ibid.* p. 141 sqq.; Rousset, *Recueil*, t. iii. p. 114.

hand, the Empress of Russia, incensed by the conduct of George I. in protecting Denmark and Sweden against her designs, as will be explained in a subsequent chapter, joined the Alliance of Vienna August 6th 1726;[32] and in the following year Frederick William of Prussia, who had never heartily approved of the Hanoverian League, secretly did the same.

Thus all Europe became divided between the alliances of Vienna and Hanover; and though both sides pretended that these treaties were only defensive, yet each made extensive preparations for war. George I. entered into a treaty with the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel for the supply of 12,000 men; manifests were published, ambassadors withdrawn, armies put on foot; the sea was covered with English fleets; an English squadron under Admiral Hosier annoyed the trade of Spain; and in Feb. 1727 the Spaniards laid siege to Gibraltar, and seized at Vera Cruz a richly laden merchant vessel belonging to the English South Sea Company. But all these vast preparations led to no results of importance. Of all the European Powers, Spain alone had any real desire for war. The mediation of Pope Benedict XIII.,[33] the death of Catherine I. Empress of Russia (May 17th 1727), the Emperor's principal ally, and above all the pacific character of Cardinal Fleury, the French minister, prevented the outbreak of a war. In June 1726, Louis XV. had dismissed the Duke of Bourbon and called Fleury to his counsels, who was then seventy-three years of age.[34] He adopted the pacific policy of the two preceding Governments; and nothing can show in a stronger light the necessity of peace for France, which could be maintained only through the *entente cordiale* with Great Britain, than that three statesmen of such different characters as Orléans, Bourbon, and Fleury should have agreed in maintaining it. The preliminaries of a general pacification were signed at Paris, May 31st 1727, by the ministers of the Emperor, France, Great Britain, and Holland, and a congress was appointed to assemble at Aix-la-Chapelle to arrange a definitive peace. But Spain still held aloof and sought every opportunity to temporise. The hopes of Philip being again awakened by the death of George I. in July 1727, he renewed his intrigues with the Jacobites, and instigated the Pretender to proceed to a port in the Low Countries, and to seize an opportunity to pass over into England. But these unfounded expectations were

[32] Dumont, t. viii. pt. ii. p. 131.

[33] Cardinal Orsini, who had succeeded Innocent XIII. in 1724.

[34] Fleury, however, who must not be confounded with the Abbé of the same name, did not obtain a Cardinal's hat till September 1726.

soon dispelled by the quiet accession of George II. to the throne and policy of his father; and by the readiness manifested by his first Parliament to support him with liberal grants of men and money. The Spanish Queen, however, still held out; till, alarmed by the dangerous state of Philip's health, whose death might frustrate her favourite scheme of obtaining the Italian duchies, and leave her a mere cypher without any political influence, she induced her husband to accept the preliminaries by the Act of the Pardo, March 6th 1728.[35]

A congress was now opened at Soissons, to which place it had been transferred for the convenience of Fleury, who was bishop of that diocese. But though little remained to be arranged except the satisfaction of Spain in the matter of the Italian duchies, the negociations were tedious and protracted. Spain by her large military preparations seemed still to contemplate a war, and by the conclusion of a double marriage between the Prince of Asturias and the Infanta of Portugal, and the Prince of Brazil and Infanta of Spain (Jan. 1729), was evidently endeavouring to withdraw Portugal from the English alliance. The Spanish Queen still entertained an implacable resentment against France and England, and spared no exertion to bring the Emperor into her views. But the conduct of that sovereign at length undeceived her. In order to obtain the guarantee of all the Powers to the Pragmatic Sanction, the sum of all his policy, he raised every obstacle to the negociations. He thwarted the Spanish interests with regard to the Italian duchies, by objecting to the introduction of Spanish garrisons, and by reviving obsolete pretensions of the Empire to Parmesan and Tuscan fiefs, so as to diminish the value of those inheritances. Thus the negociations at Soissons became a mere farce, and the various plenipotentiaries gradually withdrew from the Congress. Meanwhile the birth of a Dauphin (Sept. 4th 1729) having dissipated the hopes of Philip V. and his Queen as to the French succession, Elizabeth devoted herself all the more warmly to the prosecution of her Italian schemes; and finding all her efforts to separate France and England unavailing, she at length determined to accept what they offered. She had previously tested the Emperor's sincerity by demanding that the Italian fortresses should be occupied by Spanish, instead of neutral troops, and by requiring a categorical answer with regard to the projected marriage between the Archduchess and Don Carlos. The Emperor having returned an evasive answer, she persuaded Philip to enter into a separate treaty with France and England, which was con-

[35] Dumont, t. viii. pt. ii. p. 146, 150; Coxe, *Spanish Bourbons*, vol. iii. p. 219.

cluded at Seville Nov. 9th 1729.[36] England and Spain arranged their commercial and other differences; the succession of Don Carlos to the Italian duchies was guaranteed; and it was agreed that Leghorn, Porto Ferrajo, Parma, and Piacenza should be garrisoned by 6000 Spaniards, who, however, were not to interfere with the civil government. Nothing more was said about Gibraltar. Philip, indeed, seemed now to have abandoned all hope of recovering that fortress; for he soon afterwards caused to be constructed across the isthmus the strong lines of San Roque, and thus completely isolated Gibraltar from his Spanish dominions. The Dutch acceded to the Treaty of Seville shortly after its execution,[37] on the understanding that they should receive entire satisfaction respecting the India Company established by the Emperor at Ostend.

Charles VI. was indignant at being thus treated by Spain, in violation of all the engagements which the Spanish sovereigns had so recently contracted with him; and above all was he disappointed at seeing his hopes frustrated of obtaining a guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction. He recalled his ambassador from Madrid, and despatched a considerable force into the Milanese to oppose the entry of the Spanish troops into Italy. On the death of Antonio Farnese, Duke of Parma, January 10th 1731, he took military possession of that state, and his agents persuaded the Duke's widow to declare herself pregnant, in order to prolong this occupation. The versatility of the cabinets of that age, however, enabled the Emperor to attain his favourite object at a moment when he least expected it. The Queen of Spain, wearied with the slowness of Cardinal Fleury in carrying out the provisions of the Treaty of Seville, suddenly declared, in a fit of passion, that Spain was no longer bound by that treaty (January 1731). Great Britain and the Dutch States, in concert with the Spanish Court, without the concurrence of France, now entered into negociations with the Emperor, which were skilfully conducted by Lord Waldegrave, to induce him to accede to the Treaty of Seville; and, on March 16th 1731, was concluded, what has been called the Second Treaty of Vienna.[38] Great Britain and the States guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction; and the Emperor, on his side, acceded to the provisions of Seville respecting the Italian duchies, and agreed to annihilate the commerce of the Austrian Netherlands with the Indies by abolishing the obnoxious Ostend Company. He also engaged not to bestow his daughter on a Bourbon prince, or in any other way that might endanger the balance of

[36] Dumont, t. viii. p. ii. 158.
[37] *Ibid.* p. 160.
[38] *Ibid.* p. 113.

power in Europe. The States of the Empire gave their sanction to the treaty in the following July, and Philip V. acceded to it before the end of that month.

John Gaston de' Medicis, Grand Duke of Tuscany, finding himself thus abandoned by the Emperor, concluded with the Court of Spain what was called the *Family Convention*, and named Don Carlos his heir. Charles VI. at first manifested some displeasure at the Duke's thus disposing of his dominions like a family possession; but he was at length induced to authorise a decree of the Aulic Council, by which the guardianship of Don Carlos was assigned to the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Duchess of Parma (October 17th 1731); and in the following November an English squadron disembarked at Leghorn 6000 Spaniards, who took possession of that place, as well as Porto Ferrajo, Parma, and Piacenza, in the name of Don Carlos, as Duke of Parma and presumptive heir of Tuscany.

CHAPTER II.

The incident that next disturbed the peace of Europe was what has been called the "War of the Polish Succession." The throne of Poland was rendered vacant by the death of Augustus II., February 1st 1733.[1] It had been foreseen that on this event Louis XV. would endeavour to restore his father-in-law, Stanislaus Lesczinska, to the throne of Poland, a project which Austria and Russia had determined to oppose. With this view they selected, as a candidate for the Polish crown, Emanuel, brother of John V., King of Portugal; and they engaged Frederick William I. of Prussia to support their designs by a treaty concluded December 31st 1731, called the Treaty of Löwenwolde, from the name of the Russian minister who had the principal hand in its negociation. The Duchy of Berg, the grand object of Frederick William's ambition, was to be assured to him, and Courland to a prince of the House of Brandenburg, upon the death of the last reigning Duke of the House of Kettler. This article, however, was unacceptable to the Court of St. Petersburg. The Empress, Anna Ivanowna,[2] wished to procure Courland for her favourite, Biron; she accordingly refused to ratify the treaty, and matters were in this state on the death of Augustus II.

When that event occurred, Frederick Augustus, the son and successor of Augustus II. in the Saxon Electorate, also became a candidate for the Polish crown; and, in order to obtain it, he sought the assistance of the Emperor Charles VI., which he hoped to gain by adhering to the Pragmatic Sanction. In the previous year the Emperor had brought that matter before the German Diet, when a great majority of the States had ratified and guaranteed the Act (January 11th 1732). The Electors of Bavaria and Saxony and the Palatine had, however, protested against it. The Elector of Bavaria, and the son of the Elector of Saxony, the

[1] It is said that Frederick William I. of Prussia and Augustus II. were suspicious of each other, and wished to penetrate each other's plans. General Grumbkow, a renowned toper, was despatched to meet Augustus on his way to Poland; a drinking bout ensued, from the effects of which Augustus expired. *Mém. de Brandebourg*, t. iii. p. 70 (ed. 1758).

[2] We shall return a little lower to the history of Russia since the Peace of Nystadt.

prince now in question, had married daughters of the Emperor Joseph I., whose eventual claims to the Austrian succession, as children of the elder brother, might be considered preferable to those of the daughters of Charles VI.; and, on July 4th, the two Electors had concluded, at Dresden, an alliance for the defence of their respective rights and prerogatives. But Charles VI. availed himself of the ambitious views of Frederick Augustus to extort from him a confirmation of a renunciation which he had previously made of his pretensions, through his wife, to the Austrian succession. The new Elector solemnly acceded to the decree of the Empire regarding the Pragmatic Sanction, and agreed personally to guarantee it; and the Emperor, in return, engaged to assist him to the Polish throne. In the treaty concluded between them, Charles VI. promised his unconditional aid in excluding Stanislaus, or any French candidate; while he undertook to afford Frederick Augustus every assistance for the attainment of his object that might be compatible with the constitution of the Polish Republic; but on condition that the Elector should consult the wishes of the Empress of Russia and King of Prussia. When he should have done this, Charles promised to furnish him with money to procure his election, and to support him with arms after he was elected;[3] that is, first to corrupt and then to constrain the Polish nobles.

In consequence of this arrangement, a treaty was made in July 1733 between the Elector of Saxony and the Empress of Russia by which the agreement to elect a Prussian prince to the Duchy of Courland was set aside; and it was agreed that when the anticipated vacancy should occur by the death of Duke Ferdinand, resort should be had to an *election*; doubtless of much the same sort as was now to be accorded to the unhappy Poles. The Empress promised to support the election of Frederick Augustus in Poland not only by negociation and money, but also by arms, "so far as could be done without violating the liberty of election;"[4] a clear impossibility. Thus the interests of the Portuguese prince were entirely disregarded, who was indeed personally unacceptable to the Poles. After the withdrawal of this candidate, the King of Prussia would have preferred Stanislaus to the Elector of Saxony for King of Poland, as less dangerous to Prussian interests;[5] but he coquetted alternately with the French and Imperial Courts, and ended with doing nothing.

This conjuncture is principally important from the position now definitively taken up by Russia as a European Power. It had

[3] The treaty only in Wenck, *Cod. Jur. Gent. rec.* t. i. p. 700.

[4] Rousset, *Recueil*, t. x. p. 1 sqq.

[5] *Mém. de Brandebourg*, t. iii. p. 71.

always been the policy of Peter the Great to nourish, under the mask of friendship, the elements of discord existing in the Polish constitution, to make the weakness arising hence incurable, and thus to render Poland's escape from foreign influence impossible. It was only through the Czar that Augustus II. had been able to maintain himself on the throne. Russian troops almost continually occupied Poland, in spite of the remonstrances of the people, and Peter disposed as arbitrarily of the lives and estates of Polish subjects as if they had been a conquered people. Thus, for instance, when he was celebrating the marriage of his niece Catherine with the Duke of Mecklenburg at Dantzig in 1716, his fleet threatened that town in the very midst of the solemnities, and he compelled it to make a contribution of 150,000 dollars towards his war with Sweden. This was done under the very eyes of King Augustus, who was present in the town.[6] The Poles owed their misfortunes, as we have said, to their constitution, but also to their own faults and vices. Frederick II., speaking of Poland about this time, says: "This kingdom is in a perpetual anarchy. All the great families are divided in their interests; they prefer their own advantage to the public good, and only unite for the cruel oppression of their subjects, whom they treat more like beasts of burthen than men. The Poles are vain, overbearing in prosperity, abject in adversity; capable of any act in order to obtain money, which they throw out of window immediately they have got it; frivolous, without judgment, equally ready to take up or abandon a cause without any reason. They have laws, but nobody observes them, because there is no executive justice. When many offices become vacant the power of the King increases in proportion, since he has the privilege to dispose of them; but the only return he meets with is ingratitude. The Diet assembles every three years, either at Grodno or Warsaw; when it is the policy of the court to procure the election of a person devoted to it as Marshal of the Diet. Yet, during the whole reign of Augustus II. there was but one Diet which lasted. This cannot be otherwise, since a single deputy can interrupt their deliberations. It is the *Veto* of the ancient tribunes of Rome. . . . The women conduct political intrigues and dispose of everything, while their husbands get drunk. . . . Poland maintains an army of 24,000 men, but they are bad troops. In case of need it can assemble its arrière-ban; but Augustus II. in vain invoked it against Charles XII. From this *exposé* it follows that it was easy for Russia, under a more perfect government, to profit

[6] Hermann, *Gesch. Russlands*, B. iv. S. 342.

by the weakness of its neighbour, and to gain an ascendant over it." [7]

France also employed money to secure the election of Stanislaus; but in fact, as a native Pole, he was the popular candidate, as well as by his personal qualities; and, had the nation been left to itself, and that liberty of election allowed to it which the eastern Powers pretended to secure, he would have been the undisputed King of Poland. But the Austrian troops were massed in Silesia, while a Russian army was entering Poland from the east. Under these circumstances it was necessary for Stanislaus to enter the kingdom by stealth, in order to present himself to the electors. Had Cardinal Fleuri, the French minister, been more active, this necessity might have been averted; but he kept Stanislaus several months in France, and to insure his safety it became necessary to resort to an artifice. A person simulating Stanislaus was sent to Dantzic with a small French squadron having 1500 troops on board; while the real Stanislaus proceeded to Warsaw by way of Berlin, in the disguise of a merchant. He was a second time elected King of Poland on the plain of Vola by a great majority of the electors, 60,000 it is said; and his election was duly proclaimed by the primate of the kingdom, Theodore Potocki, Sept. 12th 1733. Some 3000 of the Palatines, however, having been gained by the Elector of Saxony, and having the Bishop of Cracow at their head, quitted the field of election, crossed the Vistula to Praga, and elected Frederick Augustus, who, being supported by the Russian army, was proclaimed King of Poland, with the title of Augustus III. (Oct. 5th), and was immediately recognised by the Emperor Charles VI.

Louis XV. made some vain remonstrances to the Cabinet of Vienna. He told them that his personal dignity would not permit him to abandon Stanislaus, about which they probably did not much care; as neither he nor the Poles who had elected Stanislaus took any pains to maintain him in his kingdom. The junction of the Russian and Saxon troops compelled Stanislaus to fly from Warsaw, and take refuge at Dantzic, where he was besieged by the Russians. That place, after a brave and obstinate defence, was at length compelled to surrender, June 28th 1734. Stanislaus had previously escaped in the disguise of a peasant to Marienwerder, and thence to Königsberg, where the King of Prussia afforded him protection. Thus Frederick William seemed to play an equivocal part; for while he sheltered Stanislaus, he sent 10,000

[7] *Mém. de Brandebourg*, ap. Garden.

men to join the Imperial army that was fighting against his cause; who, however, did nothing but rob and oppress the people among whom they were quartered. The Crown Prince, afterwards Frederick the Great, accompanied these troops, and is said to have acquired some useful knowledge, by observing the bad discipline of the Austrians.[8] All that the French did in favour of Stanislaus was to send a paltry expedition, consisting of three battalions, to Dantzic, which landed on May 10th and reimbarked on the 14th. These troops, on their return, touched at Copenhagen. Count Plélo, who was then French ambassador in that city, was so indignant at their conduct that he led them back to Dantzic; but only to his own destruction and that of the greater part of his companions.[8] This was the first encounter between the Russians and French. After these events, the Russians and Austrians began to dictate in Poland, and the seat of government seemed to lie rather at St. Petersburg than Warsaw.[9] Some of the chief Polish nobles became Russian pensioners, and abused their paymasters while they pocketed their money.

The French Court seemed more intent on what advantage they might reap from the conjuncture than on supporting Stanislaus and the "dignity" of his son-in-law, Louis XV., or maintaining the balance of power. This last motive was indeed assigned in a secret treaty concluded between France and Sardinia, September 26th 1733, for the purpose of an attack upon the Emperor's Italian provinces. The balance of power seemed rather to depend on the fate of Poland. Russia, however, notwithstanding her recent gigantic advances, does not yet appear to have inspired much alarm in Europe; at all events, France could promise herself but little benefit from a war with that country. The Sardinian sceptre had now passed to Charles Emanuel III., through the abdication of his father, Victor Amadeus II., in 1730. It was the custom of the House of Savoy to make peace or war according to its political convenience; and in the secret treaty with the French Crown it was agreed that the Milanese should be attacked, and, when conquered, annexed to the Sardinian dominions. By a particular convention, when the King of Sardinia should also acquire Mantua, Savoy was to be ceded to France.[10] The Austrian Netherlands were not to be attacked, unless the conduct of the

[8] *Mém. de Brandebourg*, t. iii. p. 72 sqq.

[9] See the state-paper drawn up for the instruction of Augustus III. in his government, ap. Hermann, *Gesch. Russlands*, B. iv. S. 559 ff.

[10] Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. xv. p. 182. This, however, was a particular convention, and does not appear in the text of the treaty, which has only been recently published, as given by Garden, t. iii. p. 173 sqq.

Powers interested in their preservation rendered it necessary. So also the *Empire* was to be distinguished from the *Emperor*. Nothing was to be done to the prejudice of the former; and the King of Sardinia, when in possession of the Milanese, was to acknowledge that he held it as an imperial fief. These arrangements were intended to prevent Holland and England from interfering on the ground of the Barrier Treaty, and to bring some of the German princes into the alliance. Further, by separate articles, it was agreed that it would also be advisable to drive the Emperor from Naples and Sicily and the Tuscan ports; that is, to expel him entirely from Italy. As these possessions had formerly belonged to Spain, his Catholic Majesty was to be invited to accede to the Treaty. Naples, Sicily, and the Tuscan ports, when conquered, were to be made over to Don Carlos and his heirs male, or, in their default, to the next sons of the Queen of Spain, and their male descendants, in the order of primogeniture; and failing all male heirs, they were to be reunited to the Spanish Crown. The King of Spain was to be invited to accede to the Treaty.

In consequence of this treaty, Louis XV. declared war against the Emperor, October 10th 1733. The Queen of Spain seized the occasion to push the interest of her family. She longed to see Don Carlos on the throne of Naples; and her pride was hurt by the ancient forms of vassalage which bound him, as Duke of Parma and Tuscany, to the Emperor; as if these forms had been invented for the express purpose of humiliating an Infant of Spain! She had also another son to provide for. By the skilful administration of Patiño, called the Colbert of Spain, the army and navy had been brought into a flourishing condition; the former numbered 80,000 men, flushed with recent victories over the Moors in Africa. As soon as a rupture between France and Austria was certain, a treaty was concluded at the Escurial October 25th, for a defensive alliance between France, Spain, and Sardinia, according to the terms already mentioned.

The Emperor endeavoured to draw England and Holland on his side; but these Powers determined to remain neutral, provided France abstained from attacking the Austrian Netherlands. The English ministry, embarrassed by domestic affairs, and engrossed by the prospect of a general election, contented themselves with offering their mediation,[11] and on November 24th 1733, a convention was signed at the Hague by which Louis XV. engaged not to invade the Netherlands.[12]

[11] Coxe's *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole*, ch. xliii.

[12] Rousset, *Recueil*, t. ix. p. 461.

France began the war by seizing Lorraine, whose Duke, Francis Stephen, was destined to marry the Archduchess, Maria Theresa, and thus to become the stem of a new House of Austria. Marshal Berwick crossed the Rhine and captured Kehl, October 9th 1733; but as this fortress belonged to the Empire, Louis, in order not to embroil himself with that body, declared that he would restore it at the peace. The conquest of the Milanese was intrusted to Marshal Villars, and, with the aid of the Piedmontese, was virtually effected in three months. Mantua, however, the stronghold of Lombardy, remained in possession of the Austrians, who were assembling in large masses in the Tyrol. Villars besought Don Carlos and the Duke of Montemar, who had arrived in Italy with a Spanish army, to assist him in dispersing the Austrians; but they preferred marching to Naples, and in February 1734 quitted North Italy.

The German Diet, by a decree of February 26th 1734, declared that France had violated the Peace of Baden by invading the Empire and the duchy of Milan, as well as by levying contributions in the Circles; but the Electors of Bavaria, Cologne, and the Palatine remonstrated against this declaration, and determined to preserve a strict neutrality. In the campaign of this year, Berwick detached Count Belleisle against Trèves and Trarbach, which he took, while Berwick himself, with the main body, undertook the siege of Philippsburg, where he was unfortunately killed in the trenches, June 12th. The command now devolved on Marshal d'Asfeld, to whom the place surrendered, July 18th. The Imperial army, under the command of the aged Eugene, now only the shadow of his former self, looked idly on during the siege. In Italy, the principal theatre of the war, the allies were everywhere successful. The conquest of the Milanese was completed by the capture of Novara and Tortona. The Imperialists, worsted near Parma, June 29th, gained indeed some advantage over Marshal Broglie, near Quistello, but were completely defeated September 19th, between Guastalla and Luzzara. Yet the King of Sardinia, who had displayed great courage in the battle, refused to follow up the victory. The joy of these successes was damped by the death of Villars at Turin, June 17th, within a few days of that of Berwick. They were the last of those great commanders who had illustrated the reign of Louis XIV.

The affairs of the Emperor went still worse in Southern Italy. Don Carlos and Montemar entered Naples in May 1734, and marched without resistance to the capital, which immediately opened its gates; for the Austrian sway was highly unpopular.

Instead of meeting the enemy in the open field, the Emperor's forces had been weakened by being distributed into garrisons; the only considerable body of them that had been kept together consisted of 9000 or 10,000 men, entrenched at Bitonto, in Apulia, who were completely defeated by the Spaniards, May 25th. This victory decided the conquest of all Naples. Montemar then passed into Sicily and speedily reduced the whole of that island. Don Carlos was crowned King of the Two Sicilies at Palermo, July 3rd 1735, with the title of Charles III. He was an amiable prince, and, under the guidance of his enlightened minister Bernardo Tanucci, an ancient professor of jurisprudence at Pisa, the reign of the Spanish Bourbons in Italy began with a promise that was not subsequently realised.

In Northern Italy, the campaign of 1735 was as favourable to the allies as that of the preceding year. The Imperialists were driven out of Austrian Lombardy, with the exception of Mantua, and even this they preserved only through the dissensions of the allies. As Spain claimed Mantua for Don Carlos, and would give Charles Emanuel no guarantee for the possession of the Milanese, that prince was unwilling to forward the reduction of Mantua. France also, satisfied with the possession of Lorraine, did not wish Spain to reap any further advantages; and by refusing to supply battering artillery and by other means, endeavoured, in concert with the maritime Powers, to obstruct the progress of the Spanish arms.[13] Nothing memorable occurred on the Rhine. Marshal Coigny held Eugene in check and prevented him from crossing that river, though he was supported by a corps of 10,000 Russians under Count Lacy and General Keith.

The appearance of this corps, however, hastened the negociations between Austria and France, which had already been commenced. The reverses experienced by the Emperor had led him to desire peace, which England and Holland offered to mediate. Their proposals were visibly in the Emperor's favour, and he seemed at first disposed to accept them. The proffered mediation was rejected, not by him but by the allied crowns; though Charles was indeed displeased with England and Holland, thinking that they had not afforded him that assistance which they were bound to give by the second Treaty of Vienna. He listened, therefore, not unwillingly to the secret proposals of France, which were made to him at the instance of Chauvelin, the French minister for foreign affairs; and preliminaries were signed at Vienna, October 3rd

[13] *Correspondence of Lord Waldegrave*, ap. Coxe, *Spanish Bourbons*, vol. iii. p. 271.

1735. France not only abandoned the cause of Stanislaus, the pretended object of the war, but also deserted Spain, whose subsidies she had received. A cessation of hostilities took place in November, but the signature of a definitive treaty was delayed, more than three years through secret negociations between the Cabinets of Vienna and Versailles, the subject of which is not certainly known, but probably related to the Pragmatic Sanction, which was not popular in France. The delay seems to have been caused by Cardinal Fleuri listening to the representations of the Elector of Bavaria.

The Spanish sovereigns were naturally indignant at the conduct of France; but the arming of the maritime powers, and the appearance of an English squadron on the coasts of Spain, alarmed them into an acceptance of the peace (May 1736).[14] By the third Treaty of Vienna, which was at length signed, November 18th 1738, it was arranged that King Stanislaus should abdicate the crown of Poland, but retain the royal title. Augustus III. was to be recognised in his stead, while the Polish constitution and liberty of election were guaranteed. Tuscany, on the death of the Grand Duke, was to be assigned to the Duke of Lorraine, whose duchies of Bar and Lorraine were to be transferred to Stanislaus;[15] the former immediately, the latter, so soon as the duchy of Tuscany should become vacant. Stanislaus was to hold these duchies for life; and upon his decease they were to be united to the French Crown. The county of Falkenstein, however, a small district separated from Lorraine and situated at the foot of Mount Tonnerre, was reserved to the Duke Francis Stephen, in order that he might hold a possession under the Empire, and that it might not be objected to him, when he should hereafter aspire to the Imperial throne, as son-in-law of the Emperor Charles VI., that he was a foreign prince. The Diet subsequently agreed that the vote which the Dukes of Lorraine had hitherto enjoyed in their quality of Marquises of Noméný should be attached to the county of Falkenstein. Naples and Sicily, with the Tuscan *præsidia*, were to remain in the possession of Don Carlos. The King of Sardinia to have the Novarese and Vigevanese, or the Tortonese and Vigevanese, or the Novarese and Tortonese, according to his option. Parma and Piacenza were to be assigned to the Emperor. France guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction, and acquiesced in the marriage of the Duke of Lorraine with the Archduchess, Maria

[14] Coxe, *Spanish Bourbons*, vol. iii. p. 277.

[15] It is to Stanislaus that Nancy the capital of Lorraine, owes those architectural pretensions which give it the air of a little capital.

Theresa [16]—a union which had hitherto been opposed by France, because Lorraine would thus have been ultimately added to the Austrian dominions. The King of Sardinia acceded to this treaty, February 3rd 1739; and the Courts of Madrid and Naples in the following April. Thus terminated a war for which the question of the Polish Succession afforded only a pretence.

The Emperor was the chief loser by this treaty; yet, though Naples and Sicily were wrested from his dominion, he recovered, on the other hand, nearly all the possessions which had been conquered from him in Northern Italy, besides acquiring Parma and, indirectly, through his son-in-law, Tuscany. The recognition of the Pragmatic Sanction by France was also no slight advantage to him. The loss of Lorraine did not concern him directly, but merely in its quality of an Imperial fief; whilst, on the other hand, it was a direct and very important acquisition for France, and a very unlooked-for, though important, consequence of the ill-assorted marriage between Louis XV. and Mary Lesczinska. It was finally united to the French Crown on the death of Stanislaus in 1766. England and Holland looked quietly on. The Spanish sovereigns were highly discontented with the Treaty, though two kingdoms like Naples and Sicily were hardly a bad exchange for the two duchies of Parma and Tuscany. The Grand Duke of Tuscany, the last of the Medicis, died July 9th 1737, worn out by debauchery; and thus, on the signature of the Treaty, there was nothing to prevent the immediate execution of its provisions. Stanislaus abdicated the crown of Poland by an act signed at Königsberg, January 27th 1736. Russia signified her adherence to the provisions about Poland, May 15th 1736. The peace finally arranged at the Diet of Warsaw, July 10th 1736, between Augustus III. and the Polish States, provided for the maintenance of the Roman Catholic religion, and the right of the Poles to elect their sovereign. The Saxon troops were to leave the kingdom in forty days, except the body-guard of the King, consisting of 1200 men. The Russians were to evacuate the kingdom at the same time. Dissenters were to enjoy security of person and property; but they were not to be admissible into the public service, nor to the dignities of Palatines and Starosts; nor were they to be allowed to seek the protection of foreign Powers.[17]

One motive which had induced the Emperor to accede to the terms offered by France was the prospect of indemnifying himself

[16] Wenck, *Cod. jur. gent. rec.*, t. i. p. 86 and 88 sq.

[17] Schmaus' *Einleitung zu der Staatswissenschaft*, Lv. ii. S. 601 sq.

for his losses by a war with the Turks, which he had entered into, in conformity with treaties, in conjunction with Russia. But to explain this matter it will be necessary to revert to the history of these countries since the Peace of Passarowitz.

Peter the Great had never digested his humiliation at the Pruth, nor abandoned his favourite schemes for extending his empire; but, so long as he was engaged in the Northern War, nothing could be done. In contemplation of an expedition into Persia, which rendered peace with the Porte indispensable, he had renewed, in 1720, the Treaties of the Pruth and Adrianople; and, in spite of the opposition of the English resident, Stanyan, he obtained two important concessions, viz., the privilege of having a resident minister at Constantinople, and the abrogation of the yearly present or tribute made to the Tatar Chan of the Crimea. It is remarkable that on this occasion both the contracting parties guaranteed the Polish Constitution, and declared that none of its territories or towns should be severed from Poland.[18] Hence, when the Russian troops entered that country in 1733 to support Augustus III., the Porte remonstrated against it as a breach of treaty; but being occupied with domestic dissensions, as well as with a Persian war, took no steps to prevent it.

It was the Czar's expedition into Persia in 1722 which ultimately brought Russia into collison with the Turks. Persia was then in the throes of a revolution. The throne of the Sefi dynasty, which had reigned upwards of two centuries, was shaken by a revolt of the Afghans, and Hussein, the last of that dynasty, was deposed by Mir Mahmood in 1722.[19] Peter complained of wrongs done to Russian merchants, and not being able to obtain the redress he demanded, declared war. In the summer of 1722 Peter embarked at Astrachan, and traversed the Caspian Sea, which he had previously caused to be surveyed, with a fleet carrying 22,000 soldiers. His real object was to obtain possession of Daghestan, and he captured and garrisoned Derbent, the capital of that province. He renewed the war in the following year, in spite of the remonstrances of the Porte, and made himself master of Ghilan and Bachu, while, on the other side, the Pasha of Erzerum broke into Georgia and seized Tiflis, the capital. A treaty with Turkey for the partition of Persia, and the restoration of some part of it to Shah Thamasp, Hussein's son, was one of the Czar's last political acts. He died of a urinary disorder, the

[18] Bacmeister, *Beiträge zur Gesch. Peter des G.* B. iii. Beylage 21; Koch et Schöll, t. xiv. p. 298.

[19] The best account of the Persian Empire at this juncture, and of the character of Shah Hussein, will be found in Hanway's *Revolutions of Persia*, in his *Travels*, vol. ii.

consequence of his debauches, February 10th 1725, in the fifty-second year of his age. A being of the wildest and most savage impulse, yet capable of deep reflection and indomitable perseverance; addicted to debauchery, and possessing unlimited means for its indulgence, yet submitting himself voluntarily for the sake of his country to all the hardships and privations of a common mechanic; bred up in what are perhaps the most obstinate of all prejudices, those of a half-civilised people, yet one of the most remarkable reformers of any age, and in the space of his short reign, the real founder of the Russian Empire.

Peter's son, Alexis, by his first wife, Eudoxia, had died in 1718 in a mysterious manner. The conduct of Alexis had never been satisfactory to his father. He was averse to all military exercises, the slave of the priests, and the tool of the Old Russian party, which hated and opposed all Peter's innovations and reforms. Hence, at an early period, the Czar had seriously meditated depriving him of the succession and shutting him up in a convent. Peter, during his absence in the war of 1711, had left his son nominal regent; but was so little content with his conduct that, in a memorable letter addressed to the Senate, he directed them, in case of his own death, to elect "the worthiest" for his successor. His discontent with his heir went on increasing. During Peter's journey to Holland and France in 1717 Alexis had fled for protection to the Court of Vienna. After a short stay in that capital, and afterwards in the fortress of Ehrenberg in the Tyrol, he proceeded under a false name to Naples, and found a refuge in the castle of St. Elmo. His hiding-place was, however, discovered; the viceroy gave him up on the demand of the Czar's envoys, and on February 3rd 1718 he was brought back to Moscow. On the following morning he was arraigned before a great council of the clergy, nobles, and principal citizens of Moscow, in whose presence he was compelled to sign a solemn act of renunciation of the crown. The confessions which Alexis made on this occasion led to the discovery of a plot which had been hatching seven years, and in which some of the leading Russian nobles were implicated. The objects of it were to massacre, after the accession of Alexis, all the chief Russians and Germans who had been employed in carrying out the reforms of Peter; to make peace with Sweden, and restore to that Power St. Petersburg and the other conquests that had been gained from it; to disband the standing army, and restore the soldiers to their original condition of peasants. On May 26th 1718, a large assembly of the clergy, and of the highest civil and military officers, had found the Czarewitsch guilty on these charges, and pronounced sentence of

death. This verdict was read to Alexis on June 26th; and, according to the account of the matter most favourable to Peter, the fright occasioned by it produced an apoplexy of which the young prince died on the following day. According to another account, he was subjected to the knout, his father administering some of the first blows with his own hand; the punishment was twice renewed on the same day, and on the third application he expired.[20] What renders the whole transaction still more suspicious as against Peter is that just at this period Catherine gave birth to a son, who, however, died in infancy.

Alexis had left two children; a daughter, Natalia Alexejewna, born July 23rd 1714; and a son, Peter Alexejewitsch, born October 22nd 1715. These were his offspring by his consort, a princess of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, whom he hated because she was a Protestant, and is said to have treated so ill as to cause her death after her second lying-in. According to the laws of hereditary succession, the son of Alexis, now nine years old, was entitled to the crown on the death of the Czar. But by a ukase, published in February 1722, before proceeding on his expedition into Persia, Peter had asserted his privilege to settle the succession of the crown; and in May 1724 he had caused his wife Catherine to be solemnly crowned in the cathedral at Moscow—a ceremony which he intended as no vain and empty pageant, but as an indication and pledge that she was to succeed him in the Imperial dignity. He does not seem, however, to have made any formal nomination of her;[21] and after her coronation he appears to have discovered that she had been unfaithful to him with the chamberlain, Mons. Catherine's elevation to the throne was effected, partly through corruption, partly by force, by her partisans, the New Russian party, in opposition to the Old Russian faction. The only evidence produced in favour of her claim to the crown was Peter's verbal declaration that he would make her his successor. Nothing of much European importance occurred in Russian history during the two years of Catherine's reign. She died May 6th 1727. Soon after her accession she had married her eldest daughter, Anna Petrowna, then seventeen years of age, to the Duke of Holstein.

When Catherine I. lay on her death-bed, an assembly of the

[20] Le Fort's *Relation*, ap. Hermann, *Gesch. Russlands*, B. iv. S. 330.

[21] There is a document called *The Political Testament of Peter the Great*, the authenticity of which has been much contested. It is, at all events, a remarkable piece. One of the articles insists on the necessity of approaching Constantinople and India, on the ground that "he who commands them is the true ruler of the world." Zinkeisen, *Gesch. des osm. Reichs*, B. v. S. 607 Anm.

great civil and military officers of the Empire determined that the crown should be given to Peter, the son of Alexis. This grandson of Peter the Great was now in his twelfth year, and the assembly fixed his majority at sixteen. During his minority the government was to be conducted by the Supreme Council, under the presidency of the Duchess of Holstein and the Princess Elizabeth, second daughter of Peter and Catherine. This arrangement, however, was somewhat modified by a pretended will of Catherine's which appears to have been manufactured by Prince Menschikoff and Count. Bassewitz, and bore the signature of the Princess Elizabeth, who was accustomed to sign all documents for the Empress. It contained not, like the resolutions of the Assembly, any indemnity for the judges who had condemned Alexis. The decision of the Supreme Council was to be governed by the majority, and the Czar was to be present at their deliberations, but without a voice. The Government was to effect the marriage of the Czar with a daughter of Prince Menschikoff's. Should Peter II. die without heirs, he was to be succeeded, first, by the Duchess of Holstein and her descendants, and then by her sister, the Princess Elizabeth, and her descendants. Failing heirs of all these, the crown was to go to Natalia, daughter of Alexis and Peter's sister.[22]

In spite of these regulations, however, Menschikoff, who was so ignorant that he could hardly read or write, virtually seized the regency; and exercised a despotism even more terrible than that of Peter the Great. He was immediately made Generalissimo, and betrothed the Czar to his eldest daughter, Maria. The only other member of the council who enjoyed any share in the government was Baron Ostermann, the vice-chancellor. The Duke and Duchess of Holstein lost all influence, and to avoid Menschikoff's insolence, proceeded to Holstein, where the Duchess died in the following year, a few months after giving birth to a son, who in course of time became Peter III. But the overbearing conduct, the avarice and corruption of Menschikoff became in a few months so intolerable, that the youthful Czar summoned courage to banish him to Siberia (September 1727), where he died two years afterwards. Ostermann continued to retain his influence, and a struggle for power took place between the Golowkins, the Dolgoroukis, and the Golizyns. Peter the Great's first wife, Eudoxia, had returned to Moscow after the accession of her grandson, but she obtained no influence. There is nothing memorable to be recorded during the reign of Peter II., whose only passion was an extravagant

[22] Hermann, *Gesch. Russlands*, B. iv. S. 497 u. Anm.

fondness for the chase. He died of the small pox in January 1730, just as he was on the point of being married to the Princess Catherine Dolgorouki. His sister, Natalia, had preceded him to the tomb in December 1728.

The Russian nobles now selected Peter the Great's niece, Anna Ivanovna, the widowed Duchess of Courland, to succeed to the throne, but on condition that she should sign a capitulation by which she engaged not to marry, nor to name a successor, besides many other articles which could have rendered her only an instrument in the hands of the Dolgoroukis and their party. But soon after her accession, with the assistance of the nobles who were opposed to that party, she cancelled this capitulation and sent the Dolgoroukis into banishment. Baron Ostermann became the chief counsellor of the Empress Anna; but she was principally ruled by her favourite, Biron, the son of an equerry.

Under the reign of this Empress, the schemes of Peter the Great against the Ottoman Empire were revived. In consequence of the restoration of Asof and Taganrog to the Porte, and the destruction of the Russian forts, the Crim and Nogay Tatars had again become troublesome, and made incursions into the Russian territories; while disputes had also been going on respecting boundary lines on the Caspian and Black Seas and in the Ukraine. The Persian conquests of Peter the Great were, however, almost entirely abandoned. Besides the enormous sums required for their defence, these provinces were found to be but the grave of brave officers and soldiers. A treaty was, therefore, concluded in January 1732 between the Empress Anna and the celebrated Taehmas Kouli Khan, by which a great part of the Russian conquests in Persia was restored.[23] On the other hand it was resolved to recover Asof and to chastise the Tatars; but this object was retarded a while by the Russian interference in the affairs of Poland, already recorded.

Turkey was now exhausted by her long war with Persia, as well as by the revolution which had taken place at Constantinople, and the consequent efforts of the Government to extirpate the Janissaries. These troops, alienated by the heavy taxes and the dearness of provisions, and more especially by the reluctance displayed by Sultan Achmet III. to prosecute a projected expedition against Persia, had, in September 1730, organised a revolt, under the

[23] Rousset, *Recueil*, t. vii. p. 457. Taehmas obtained the Persian throne, with the title of Nadir Shah, in 1736. One of his first acts was a decree to unite the sects of the Shiites and Sonnites, and to make peace with the Turks. Hanway, vol. ii. p. 343.

conduct of an Albanian named Patrona Chalil, one of their body, and a dealer in old clothes; who, having spent his money in fitting himself out for the war, was vexed to be disappointed of his expected booty. Weak, luxurious, and good-tempered, Achmet negociated with the rebels, and delayed till it was too late to strike a decisive blow. The rebels seemed to receive his proposals favourably; they wished him all prosperity, but required satisfaction of their demands and the surrender of those persons to whom they imputed the public distress, including the Mufti, the Grand Vizier Ibrahim, the Kaimakan and Kiaja, and the Sultan's sons-in-law. Finding that nobody would fight in his cause, Achmet caused the persons demanded to be strangled and delivered to the Janissaries. But even this would not satisfy them. They had stipulated that their victims should be surrendered alive, and they pretended that the bodies of some slaves had been substituted for those of the persons demanded. Achmet was now compelled to abdicate in favour of his nephew Mahmood, son of Mustapha II. Nevertheless, Patrona Chalil continued several weeks to be the real sovereign of Turkey. At first he affected the greatest disinterestedness. He caused the treasures of the Grand Vizier and other victims to be fairly divided among his confederates, and he demanded the abolition of all the new taxes. But having incurred the suspicion of accepting bribes, he lost the confidence of his associates, and the Government was enabled to effect his destruction. Patrona was admitted to attend the sittings of the Divan; and on one of these occasions he and two other of the principal ringleaders were assassinated in the midst of the assembled ministers. After this, with the assistance of the citizens, the revolt was gradually extinguished.

The war with Persia, however, still went on. In 1733 and 1734 the Osmanlis made two most unsuccessful campaigns against that country, so that they confessed themselves "that they were never more embarrassed since the establishment of their monarchy."[24] The fate of the Turkish Empire had already become an object of solicitude to the statesmen of Europe. It was remarked that the Osmanli dominion was supported, not by its own intrinsic power, but through the jealousy of Christian princes, who did not wish to see the States of others aggrandised by the partition of its provinces. It was at this time that Cardinal Alberoni amused his leisure hours by drawing up a scheme for the annihilation of Turkey as an independent Power; which is worth mentioning here only as a proof of the interest excited by the fate of Turkey among

[24] Hanway, vol. ii. p. 333.

the politicians of that day.[25] It does not appear, however, that any jealousy then existed of Russia aggrandising herself at the expense of that empire.

The French, opposed to Russia in the affairs of Poland, were seeking to incite the Porte to a war with that country through their resident Villeneuve and the renegade Count Bonneval, who had turned Mahometan, and become Pasha of Bosnia.[26] England and Holland, on the contrary, endeavoured to maintain the peace. These Powers desired not the ruin of the Turks, who were their best customers for cloths and other articles; nor did they wish to see a Russian commerce established in the Mediterranean through the Black Sea, which could not but be injurious to their trade.[27]

The pretence seized by the Russians for declaring war against the Porte was the passing of the Tatars through their territories when marching to the war in Persia. Field-Marshal Münnich was appointed to command the army destined to operate against the Crimea and Asof. The first expedition took place in 1735, when the Russians penetrated into the steppes, but were compelled to return with great loss. In the following year Münnich captured Perekop, forced the lines which protected the Crimea, and overran that peninsula, but was compelled to evacuate it again in the autumn. In the same campaign Asoff surrendered to Field-Marshal Lacy (July 1st). The operations of 1737 were directed more against the proper dominions of Turkey. Otschakow was taken, and Münnich entered the Ukraine.

Meanwhile the Emperor Charles VI. had also begun to take part in the war, from causes which demand a few words of explanation.

The relations between Austria and the Porte had not been essentially disturbed since the Peace of Passarowitz; though Bonneval, who thought that he had been injured by Austria, and who had leagued himself with the Transylvanian prince, Joseph Ragotsky, son of Francis Ragotsky, used every endeavour to incite the Porte to an Austrian war. But, on the other hand, Russia claimed the assistance of Austria, under an alliance which had been concluded between them in 1726, the occasion of which was as follows. The Empress Catherine had in 1725 demanded from Denmark the freedom of the Sound and the restitution of Schleswig to the Duke of Holstein, and seemed preparing to enforce these

[25] Alberoni's plan was published at Frankfort and Leipsic in 1736.

[26] The *Mémoires du Comte de Bonneval* contain his extraordinary adventures, in which, however, there is a good deal of fiction.

[27] See Münnich, *Tagebuch über den ersten Feldzug des in den Jahren 1735 bis 1739 geführten russisch-türkischen Kriegs* (Hermann, *Beyträge zur Gesch. des Russ. Reiches*). This journal is the best authority for the ensuing war.

demands by a war. The King of Denmark hereupon appealed to George I. for assistance, according to the treaties existing between them; and early in 1726, a large English fleet, under the command of Admiral Wager, appeared in the Baltic. As it was suspected that the real design of the Russian Court was rather to support the partisans of the Duke of Holstein in Sweden than to invade Denmark, Admiral Wager informed King Frederick that he came to maintain peace in the North, and to protect Sweden against the enterprises of Russia. The Russian fleet did not venture to leave port. Catherine I., incensed by this conduct, joined the Alliance of Vienna by the Treaty of August 6th 1726, already mentioned.[28] It was under this treaty by which Austria and Russia, besides guaranteeing each other's possessions, had agreed in case of war to assist one another with 30,000 men, that Russia demanded the aid of Austria in her war with the Turks. The latter Power sent the stipulated quota into Hungary as a corps of observation, and in January 1737 the Treaty of 1726 was renewed. Austria undertook to furnish 50,000 men; with the assistance of the Empire an army of 120,000 men was ultimately raised, and placed under the command of Count von Seckendorf, with whom the young Duke Francis Stephen of Lorraine, son-in-law of the Emperor, was nominally associated as commander-in-chief.

War was publicly declared against the Turks July 14th, after a solemn service in St. Stephen's church at Vienna. It was ordered that the Turks' bell should be rung every morning at seven o'clock throughout the Empire, when all were to offer up their prayers for the success of the Christian cause. The Austrian arms were at first successful. Nissa capitulated July 23rd, and another division overran Posega and Kossova. But the fortune of the Imperialists now began to change. Seckendorf had divided his forces too much; an attempt on Widdin entirely failed, and in October the Turks recovered Nissa. Seckendorf, who was a Protestant, was now recalled, subjected to a court-martial, and imprisoned, and Field-Marshal Philippi was appointed to succeed him.

The campaign of 1738 was unfavourable both to the Russians and Austrians. The former again invaded the Crimea with the design of taking Kaffa, but without success, and Münnich's campaign on the Dniestr was equally fruitless. The Imperialists, under Counts Wallis and Neuperg, defeated the Turks at Kronia, near Mehadia, but with great loss on their part; while the Turks soon after took Semendria, Mehadia, Orsova, and Fort St. Elizabeth;

[28] See above, p. 312.

and the Imperial army withdrew behind the walls of Semlin and Belgrade. The unsatisfactory issue of this campaign, both for Russia and Austria, produced a coolness between those two Powers. The Cabinet of Vienna complained that Münnich had not carried out the plan agreed upon by attacking Bender and Choczim, and also that he had hindered a Russian corps of 30,000 men from joining the Imperial army in Hungary. Both Powers now began to meditate a separate peace, and Sweden and Persia offered their mediation.

The events of 1739, however, promised to give a new turn to affairs. Münnich crossed the Dniestr, stormed and took the Turkish camp at Stawutschane (August 28th), and captured Choczim. Then, passing the Pruth, he entered Jassy, while the Bojars of Moldavia signified their submission. His intention now was to march on Bender, and in the following year to penetrate into the heart of the Grand Seignior's dominions, when he was arrested by the unwelcome news that a peace had been concluded at Belgrade.

The fortune of the Austrians this year had been as ill as his own was good. On July 23rd they had been totally defeated at Krozka with a loss of more than 20,000 men, and had abandoned the field in panic flight. The Turks, who compared their victory to that of Mohacs, now laid siege to Belgrade. The Imperial Cabinet saw no hope of safety except in making a peace by submitting to some losses, and Neuperg was commissioned to treat. The Empress of Russia, against the advice of Ostermann, and at the instigation of her favourite, Biron,[29] now Duke of Courland, accepted, in conjunction with Austria, the mediation of France, through Villeneuve, the French ambassador at the Porte. This step is attributed to Biron's envy of Münnich, and to fear of the Old Russian party, which was again raising its head, and necessitated peace abroad. On September 1st 1739, Neuperg signed preliminaries in the Turkish camp, by which he engaged to surrender Belgrade and Sabacz, to evacuate Servia, Austrian Wallachia, and Orsova, and to raze Mehadia as well as the new works at Belgrade. These preliminaries were guaranteed by France. Villeneuve, it is said, had had the less difficulty to persuade Neuperg to surrender Belgrade because he knew that the Duke of Lorraine and Maria Theresa wished for peace at any price, lest, at the anticipated death of the Emperor, and the troubles that were likely to ensue thereon, they should be

[29] Ferdinand, Duke of Courland, the last of the house of Kettler, having died May 4, 1737, Biron was elected under Russian influence and bayonets, and was recognised by Augustus III. and the Polish Senate in 1739.

hampered by this war.[30] The Austrian Cabinet repented when it heard of Münnich's victory at Choczim, but did not withhold its ratification of the definitive treaty, which was signed September 18th. By the peace concluded between the Porte and Russia on the same day, Asof was assigned to the Russians; but the fortifications were to be razed and the country around it wasted, in order to serve as a boundary between the two nations. Russia was authorised to build fortresses on the Don, and the Porte to do the same on the borders of the Kuban. The fortifications of Taganrog were not to be restored. Russia was to maintain no fleet either on the Sea of Zabach (or Asof) or on the Black Sea, and her commerce was to be carried on only in Turkish vessels.[31]

Münnich was much irritated at this peace. In contravention of orders from the Russian Court, he carried on the war a little while on his own account, and cantoned his troops in Poland and Moldavia; and it was only on a repetition of the command to withdraw that he at length retired into the Ukraine.

[30] This, however, is denied by Mailath (*Gesch. v. Oestreich*, B. iv. S. 643), who alleges that Neuperg's son, in a biography published in justification of his father, ignores this story, which would have formed a plausible excuse. Both Neuperg and Wallis, the Austrian commander with whom he acted, were thrown into prison by the Emperor, but released soon after his death.

[31] Laugier, *Negociations for the Peace of Belgrade*, ch. xviii. sqq. (Engl. Trans.).

CHAPTER III.

The next epoch of which we shall treat, extending from the third Treaty of Vienna, in 1738, to the Peace of Aix la-Chapelle in 1748, is marked by two wars; a maritime war between England and Spain, and the war of the Austrian Succession. The complicated relations which arose out of the latter soon caused these two wars to run into one; or rather, perhaps, the interest inspired by that of the Austrian Succession caused the other to be forgotten.

Under the reign of Charles II. of Spain, the English merchants had been allowed considerable privileges in their trade with the Spanish colonies in America. The ministers of that monarch, having need of the friendship of Great Britain, had winked at the contraband trade carried on by the English, and had exercised the right of search indulgently. But all this was altered after the accession of Philip V. We have seen that at the Peace of Utrecht the privilege of supplying the Spanish possessions with slaves was assigned to the English by the *Asiento* for thirty years, besides the right of sending an annual ship to the fair of Vera Cruz. There can be no doubt that these privileges were abused by the English merchants; while, on the other hand, useless difficulties were thrown in the way even of the legitimate trade by the Spaniards, and illegal seizures were frequently made by the Spanish *guarda costas*, or cruisers. Hence demands for redress on the part of the English, and counter-claims on the part of Philip V., on account of his reserved share of the profits of the *Asiento*, and for duties evaded. Horrible stories were told on both sides of barbarities committed; the tale of "Jenkins' ears" will be familiar to all readers of English history.[1] Disputes had also arisen respecting the boundaries of Carolina and Florida, and the feeling against Spain ran so high in England that the peaceful Sir Robert Walpole was at length reluctantly compelled to make some hostile demonstrations.

The conjuncture was more important than, at first sight, it might appear to be. It was far from merely involving some ques-

[1] See Coxe, *Memoirs of Sir R. Walpole*, ch. li.

tions of commerce between England and Spain. It was nothing less than the commencement of a struggle between the Anglo-Saxon race and the nations of Roman descent to obtain a predominance in the colonies, and the principal share of the commerce of the world. The Bourbon Courts of France and Spain had again approached each other and formed a league against the maritime and colonial power of Great Britain. In November 1733, Philip V. and Louis XV. had concluded, at the Escurial, a family compact, in which Philip declared his intention of depriving the English of their commercial privileges; while Louis engaged to support him in that purpose by maintaining a fleet at Brest, and equipping as many privateers as possible. Articles in favour of French maritime commerce were agreed upon, and Louis engaged to procure the restoration of Gibraltar to Spain, even by resorting, if necessary, to force.[2] In pursuance of this treaty, the French, after the close of the war of the Polish Succession in 1735, had devoted great attention to their navy; and the Count de Maurepas, who was to pursue the same policy forty years later with more success, had made preparations for building in the ports of Toulon and Brest twenty-six ships of the line and thirty of an inferior class. Spain also had been actively employed at Ferrol and Cadiz.

The English nation, or more properly, perhaps, the commercial portion of it, had thus taken a juster view of its interests than the ministry. The warlike demonstrations made by Walpole extorted from the Spanish Cabinet the "Convention of the Pardo," January 14th 1739. The King of Spain engaged to pay 95,000*l.* in satisfaction of the damages claimed by English merchants; but, on the other hand, he demanded from the South Sea Company, which traded under the *Asiento*, 68,000*l.* for his share of the profits of the trade, and for duties on negroes imported. If this sum were not shortly paid, he reserved the right to suspend the *Asiento*, and he declared that the Convention entered into was not valid except subject to this declaration.

Walpole endeavoured to persuade the English Parliament to accept these terms, but the nation would not listen to them; and the popular discontent ran so high that he found himself compelled to make preparations for a war. A treaty of subsidies was concluded with Denmark, March 25th 1739, by which that Power engaged to keep on foot an army of 6000 men, for three years, at

[2] Treaty in Cantillo, Tratados de Paz, ap. Ranke, *Preuss. Gesch.* B. ii. S. 179. Ranke is of opinion that had Lord Mahon (*Hist. of England*, ch. xx.) and Mr. Bancroft (*Hist. of America*, ch. xxiv.) been acquainted with the contents of this treaty, they would have modified their judgment respecting the objects of the war.

the rate of thirty crowns for each foot-soldier, and forty-five crowns for each horse-soldier, besides an annual subsidy of 250,000 crowns. A British fleet was sent to Gibraltar—a proceeding which greatly irritated the Spaniards. Philip V. complained of it as an insult, and announced to Mr. Keene, the British minister at Madrid, his determination to revoke the *Asiento*, and to seize the effects of the South Sea Company in satisfaction of his demands. This declaration brought matters to a crisis. The English Government demanded the immediate execution of the Convention of the Pardo, the acknowledgment of the British claims in Georgia and Carolina, and the unequivocal renunciation of the rights of search. Spain replied by a manifesto and declaration of war, which was followed by another on the part of England, November 9th. Letters of reprisal had been previously issued, by which, at the outset, the English appear to have been the greatest sufferers. During the first three months of the war the Spanish privateers made forty-seven prizes, valued at 234,000*l*.[3] All English merchandise was prohibited in Spain on the penalty of death, so that many neutral vessels arriving at Cadiz could not discharge their cargoes. Meanwhile Admiral Vernon, setting sail with the English fleet from Jamaica, captured Porto Bello, on the Isthmus of Darien, December 1st,—an exploit for which he received the thanks of both Houses of Parliament. His attempt on Carthagena, in the spring of 1741, proved, however, a complete failure through his dissensions, it is said, with General Wentworth, the commander of the land forces. A squadron, under Commodore Anson, despatched to the South Sea for the purpose of annoying the Spanish colonies of Peru and Chili, destroyed the Peruvian town of Paita, and made several prizes; the most important of which was one of the great Spanish galleons trading between Acapulco and Manilla, having a large treasure on board. It was on this occasion that Anson circumnavigated the globe, having sailed from England in 1740, and returned to Spithead in 1744.[4] Meanwhile France, at the demand of Spain, had begun to arm and equip her fleets, though protesting her pacific intentions.

Scarcely had the war broken out between England and Spain when the Emperor Charles VI. died, October 20th 1740, soon after completing his fifty-fifth year. He was the last male of the House of Habsburg, which had filled the Imperial throne during three centuries without interruption. His eldest daughter, Maria Theresa, had been appointed heir to the Austrian dominions by the

[3] Coxe, *Spanish Bourbons*, vol. iii. p. 313.

[4] See Anson's *Voyage round the World* by Walter.

Pragmatic Sanction, which instrument, as we have seen, had been guaranteed by most of the European Powers, and she assumed the government with the title of Queen of Hungary and Bohemia. Maria Theresa was now in her twenty-fourth year, a handsome lady, of winning manners. She had married, in 1736, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Francis of Lorraine, the man of her choice, by whom she already had a son and heir, the Archduke Joseph. Charles VI., in the forlorn hope that he might still have male issue, had neglected to procure the Roman crown for his son-in-law, and the Imperial dignity consequently remained in abeyance till a new Emperor should be elected. After Charles's death, therefore, the Austrian dominions figured only as one among the numerous German States, and even with less consideration than might be due to their extent, from the circumstance that Maria Theresa's pretensions to inherit them might soon be called in question. Eugene had counselled Charles to have in readiness 200,000 men, as a better security for his daughter's succession than any parchment sanctions; but the Emperor had left the army in a bad state, while the finances were exhausted by the late wars, and by his love for magnificence and art. The abuse of the Imperial revenue had been enormous. One of the Queen's first cares was to put a stop to this extravagance. Many superfluous servants, male and female singers, painters, sculptors, architects, and other artists, who were in receipt of high salaries, were either dismissed or their emoluments were reduced, and a shameful system of peculation was abolished.[5]

The announcement of Maria Theresa's accession was answered by England, Russia, Prussia, and the Dutch States with assurances of friendship and good will. France returned an evasive answer; the Elector Charles Albert of Bavaria refused to acknowledge the Queen of Hungary before his pretensions to the Austrian Succession were examined and decided. These he founded not on his having married a daughter of Joseph I.—a claim which would have been barred not only by the renunciation of that Archduchess, but also by the superior title of her elder sister, the Queen of Poland. He appealed to two ancient instruments—the marriage contract between Albert V. Duke of Bavaria and Anne, daughter of the

[5] The following articles may serve by way of specimen of these abuses. In the butler's reckoning, six quarts of wine were set down daily for each court lady; for the widowed Empress Amelia, wife of Joseph I., twelve quarts of Hungarian wine every evening, as a *Schlaftrunk*, or sleeping potion; for the Emperor's parrots, every year, two pipes of Tokay, to soak their bread, and fifteen kilderkins of Austrian wine for their bath. In the kitchen 4000 florins were set down yearly for parsley! *Gesch. und Thaten Maria Theresias*, ap. Menzel, B. v. S. 289 Anm.

Emperor Ferdinand I., and to the testament of the same monarch; and he contended that by these two deeds the Austrian succession was assured to Anne and her descendants in default of *male* heirs, the issue of the Archdukes, her brothers. Maria Theresa, however, having called together the foreign ministers at her court, caused the testament to be laid before them; when it appeared that it spoke not of the extinction of the *male* issue of Ferdinand's sons, but of their *legitimate* issue.[6] In fact, it was intended only to secure the Archduchess Anne against the pretensions of the Spanish branch of the House of Habsburg, and after the extinction of that branch had no longer any meaning; for, if the female issue of the Habsburg family was to have claims to the Austrian monarchy, the daughter of the last male was the natural heir. The Bavarian ambassador, however, was not satisfied. He narrowly scrutinised the document, in the hope of finding an erasure; and having failed in that search, he boldly contended that, according to the context, the expression "legitimate heirs" could mean only male heirs. But the indignation against him at Vienna having grown to a high pitch, he found it prudent quietly to leave the city. The dispute, however, between the two courts was continued in voluminous, unreadable documents, now almost forgotten.[7]

The first blow struck against the Queen of Hungary came not, however, from any of the claimants of her inheritance, but from a monarch who had recognised her right. This was Frederick II., the young King of Prussia, who, in the middle of December 1740, entered the Austrian province of Silesia with 30,000 men.

Frederick's father, Frederick William I. of Prussia, had died on May 31st 1740, about five months before the Emperor Charles VI. This second king of the House of Hohenzollern disposed of the lives and property of his subjects as arbitrarily as any Oriental despot; yet, as the simplicity of his life offered a favourable contrast to the profligacy and luxury of many of the German princes of that age, as he had a strong and determined will, and was, on the whole, so far as his ignorance, prejudices, and irascible temper would permit, a well-meaning man, he is still admired by a few Germans, and perhaps by one or two Englishmen. His very faults,

[6] The documents are in Rousset, *Actes et Mém.* t. xiv. xv.

[7] Mailath, *Gesch. des östr. Kaiserstaates*, B. v. S. 2; cf. Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. v. S. 290. The story, however, is not quite clear. Anne's marriage contract in 1546 is said to have varied from the will. See Ohlenschlager, *Gesch. des Interregnums*, B. i. S. 45–224; Stumpf, *Baierns polit. Gesch.*, ap. Stenzel, B. iv. S. 70 f. It is hardly possible, however, that Ferdinand should have contemplated a wilful fraud. He left three legitimate sons, and it must have been a matter of indifference to him whether, at a remote period, the Austrian dominions should be enjoyed by their female posterity or by that of his daughter Anne.

however, served to prepare his son's greatness. His avarice and meanness had enabled him to leave a full treasury; his military tastes, yet unwarlike character, had prompted him to get together a large and well-appointed army, which, from his avoidance of war, descended undiminished to his son. It may even be suspected that his bigotry and narrow-mindedness were among the chief causes, by virtue of their repulsiveness, that produced the opposite qualities in Frederick. The natural temper, as well as defective education of Frederick-William, whose chief pleasure lay in muddling himself with tobacco-smoke and small German beer in his evening club, or "Tobacco College," led him to hate and despise all learning and accomplishments that aimed at something beyond the barely useful and necessary; and hence in the plan which he chalked out for his son's education he had expressly excluded the study of the Latin language, of Greek and Roman history, and many other subjects necessary to form, or recreate, a liberal mind. But the only effect of this prohibition on the active and inquiring mind of Frederick was to make him pursue the forbidden studies with tenfold ardour, and to give to the acquisition of them all the relish of a stolen enjoyment.[8] The conduct of Peter the Great and Frederick William I. towards their sons forms a striking parallel, though in an inverse sense. The harshness and brutality of both these sovereigns caused their heirs apparent to fly; Alexis ultimately met his death from his father's hands, and Frederick only narrowly escaped the same fate. But Peter's hatred of his son sprang from the latter's desire to return to the old Russian barbarism; while that of the Prussian King was excited by Frederick's love of modern civilisation and art. Frederick William's bigoted Calvinistic tenets, the long prayers which he inflicted on his household, the tedious catechisings which his son had to endure from Nolten and other divines, instead of inspiring Frederick with a love of religion, drove him to the opposite extreme; a natural turn for scepticism was heightened by disgust, and made him a disciple of Bayle and Voltaire. Even the arbitrary and absolute principles of his father in matters of government and police found no sympathy, so far at least as speculation is concerned, in the breast of Frederick II. If Louis XIV. had his maxim, *L'état c'est moi*, Frederick William asserted with equal force, if not elegance, "Ich stabilire die *Souveraineté* wie einen *rocher* von bronce."[9] His son, on the contrary,

[8] The family history of the Prussian Court, which cannot be entered into here, will be found amusingly narrated in Mr. Carlyle's *Frederick the Great*. See also the *Mémoires* of Frederick's sister Wilhelmina, Margravine of Baireuth; Förster's *Friedrich Wilhelm*, B. i., &c.

[9] "I establish the sovereignty like a rock of bronze." Förster, *Friedrich Wilhelm I.*, B. i., Urkundenbuch, S. 50.

at all events in theory, considered a king to be only the servant of his people; and one of his first announcements, on ascending the throne, was that he had no interests distinct from those of his subjects. He immediately abolished all distinctions and civil disabilities founded on religion, and mitigated the rigour of the criminal law, which, under his father's reign, had been administered with great cruelty, not to say injustice.[10] He also abolished many of the barbarities practised under the name of military discipline, and in the recruiting service.

The care, however, which Frederick William had bestowed on the army proved of the greatest benefit to his successor and to the Prussian nation. The great Northern War, which had threatened to sweep Frederick William into its vortex at the commencement of his reign, the augmentation of the power of his neighbours by the accession of the Elector of Hanover to the throne of Great Britain, and of the Elector of Saxony to that of Poland, and the growth of Russia into a large military Power, had compelled him to keep up a considerable army. Under the care of Prince Leopold of Dessau, who had distinguished himself in the war of the Spanish Succession, the Prussian infantry were trained to the height of discipline. The system, indeed, was somewhat overloaded with martinetism, pipe-clay, and a too free use of the cane; but its result was to make the Prussian army act with the precision of a machine. Vauban had already united the pike and the musket into one arm by affixing the bayonet, and about the same time the old inconvenient match-lock, or musket fired with a match, had been exchanged for a fusil, or musket with flint and steel. The weapon of the infantry soldier had thus been rendered what it continued to be down to a recent date. The Prince of Anhalt-Dessau improved the infantry drill, or tactics, by reducing the depth of the line from six men to three, thus increasing the extent and vivacity of the fire; and especially by introducing the cadenced step, the secret of the firmness and swiftness of the Roman legions. From morning to night the Prussian soldiers were engaged in this exercise, and in the uniform and simul-

[10] Frederick William was accustomed to confiscate the estates of his subjects, and even their lives, by scrawling his judgments on the margin of the reports and decrees of his ministers. On one occasion he condemned a tax-collector, who had been sentenced to four years' imprisonment for a deficiency of 4000 dollars in his accounts, to be hanged on the common gallows. After the poor man had been executed, it was discovered that some false sums had been posted to his debit. Some bags of money were also found, and it appeared evident that he had had no intention to commit a wilful fraud. Büsching's *Beiträge zur Lebensgesch. denkwürdiger Personen*, ap. Menzel, B. v. S. 282.

taneous use of their weapons.[11] All this was combined with smaller matters of bright coat-buttons and spotless gaiters, which were enforced as rigidly as the more important; and those deficient in them were subjected to the most unmerciful floggings. But the young king knew how to select what was useful in the system, and to reject what was superfluous; and the result, as shown in his first battle, was very surprising.

One of Frederick II.'s first measures was to increase the effective force of his army by several regiments; but at the same time he disbanded the three battalions of gigantic grenadiers, the collecting and exercising of which had been his father's chief pastime and delight. Thus, having a well-filled treasury and a large and well-disciplined army, all the means of acquiring what is commonly called glory were at the young king's disposal; and he candidly tells us that he resolved to use them for that purpose, which he considered essential to the prosperity of his reign.[12] It was, he thought, an enterprise reserved for him to put an end to the mongrel constitution of his State, and to determine whether it should be an electorate or a kingdom.[13] Frederick William, towards the end of his reign, had thought himself slighted and neglected by the Emperor; a coldness had sprung up between the two courts; but the late king does not seem to have conceived any project of revenge. He appears to have felt his own incapacity for entering into a war; but, pointing to the Crown Prince, he exclaimed, with a prophetic bitterness to General Grumkow:—"There stands one who will avenge me!"[14] He little imagined, perhaps, how soon his prophecy would be realised. Yet he had evidently discovered, under those qualities which had once excited his indignation and contempt, the superior genius of his son.

Frederick II. himself, soon after his accession, had found cause to complain of Charles VI.'s conduct towards him in a dispute which he had had with the Bishop of Liége. It was a long while before he would admit the Imperial envoy, sent to congratulate him on his accession, to an audience; and when he at length

[11] Varnhagen von Ense, *Preussische Biographische Denkmale*, B. ii. S. 274 f.

[12] See his letter to Jordan, March 3rd, 1741: "Mon âge, le feu des passions, le désir de la gloire, la curiosité même, pour ne se rien cacher, enfin un instinct secret m'ont arraché à la douceur du repos que je goutois, et la satisfaction de voir mon nom dans les gazettes et ensuite dans l'histoire, m'a séduit." Frederick seems to have made the same candid confession of his motives in the first draft of his *Hist. de mon Temps*, but the passage was struck out by Voltaire in his revision of the text. See that writer's *Mémoires* on his connection with Frederick, quoted by Menzel, B. v. S. 292.

[13] *Hist. de mon Temps*, ch. i.

[14] Seckendorf, *Journal Secret*, p. 139, ap. Stenzel, *Gesch. des Preussischen Staats*, B. iii. S. 671.

received him, intimated that he perceived in this small affair what he had to expect in more important matters from the friendship of the Court of Vienna.[15] He was thus confirmed in his father's opinion that it was a fixed maxim with the House of Austria rather to retard than advance the progress of the House of Brandenburg. The subject of the duchy of Berg formed another grievance. By a secret treaty concluded with Charles VI. at Berlin, December 23rd 1728, Frederick William had again promised to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction,[16] provided the Emperor procured for him the duchy of Berg and county of Ravenstein, in case of the extinction of male heirs of the House of Neuburg; but in contravention of this agreement, the Emperor had entered into a treaty with France January 13th 1739, by which it was arranged that the duchies of Berg and Juliers should be assigned to the Sulzbach branch of the Neuburg family, and guaranteed against the attempts of Prussia.[17] Had Charles VI. lived, however, Frederick's attempt upon Silesia would most likely have been indefinitely adjourned. He had made some preparations for obtaining possession of the duchy of Berg, and would probably have expended his military ardour in that direction had not the unexpected death of the Emperor opened out to him a more promising field of enterprise.

Frederick's invasion of Silesia astonished all Europe, and none more than Queen Maria Theresa, to whom he had given the strongest assurances of friendship. These, indeed, he reiterated after he had entered her territories with his army. He declared to her and to all foreign courts that his only object in invading Silesia, on which he had some ancient claims, was to preserve it from being seized by those who had pretensions to the Austrian succession. At the same time he proposed to the Hungarian Queen, in return for the cession of all Silesia, a close alliance with himself, in conjunction with the maritime Powers, and Russia, his assistance in upholding the Pragmatic Sanction, his vote for her husband as Emperor, and an advance of two million dollars.[18] The high-spirited Queen, who was naturally indignant at Frederick's conduct, and had conceived but a mean opinion of the Prussian monarchy, rejected these proposals with contempt. Frederick now began to

[15] Stenzel, *Gesch. des Preuss. Staats*, Th. iv. S. 60 f.

[16] The Treaty of Wusterhausen, October 12th 1727, which had also contained a provision to this effect, had never been executed.

[17] Neither the Treaty of 1728 nor 1739 is published, but the facts here stated are taken by Garden (*Hist. des Traités*, t. iii. p. 251) from Dohm, *Ueber den deutschen Fürstenbund*, p. 76, who had the treaties under his eyes.

[18] Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. v. S. 290.

bargain. He told Maria Theresa that he should be content with part of Silesia; and he now first brought forward in a distinct shape his asserted claims upon that province. They related to the Silesian duchies of Jägerndorf, Liegnitz, Brieg and Wohlau, and the lordships of Beuthen and Oderberg. The Margrave John George, a younger son of the House of Brandenburg, had held Jägerndorf, Beuthen, and Oderberg, which then belonged to that house, in *apanage* at the time of the Thirty Years' War; and having taken up arms against the Emperor Ferdinand II. in favour of the Palatine Frederick, the winter King of Bohemia, these possessions had been confiscated. But it was contended that, admitting John George to have been guilty, his fault could not annul the rights of his minor son, still less those of the Electoral House of Brandenburg, in which all alienation of its states was forbidden by family compacts. With regard to Liegnitz, Brieg, and Wohlau, these were claimed in virtue of a treaty of confraternity and succession[19] between the Elector Joachim II. and Duke Frederick II. of Liegnitz in 1537, but declared invalid by the Emperor Ferdinand I. On the death of the last Piast Duke of Liegnitz in 1675, these duchies had been claimed by Frederick William, the Great Elector of Brandenburg. The Emperor Leopold had, however, persuaded the Elector to abandon his pretensions to these duchies, as well as to Jägerndorf; and by a treaty concluded in 1686 Frederick William had ceded his claims in consideration of receiving the Silesian Circle of Schwiebus. By an understanding with the Electoral Prince, Frederick, the successor of the Great Elector, Leopold, had, however, recovered these possessions in 1694, on payment of 225,000 gulden, and on assigning to Frederick the reversion to the principality of East Friesland and the counties of Limburg and Speckfeld in Franconia together with some other privileges.[20]

Such was the nature of the claims advanced by Frederick II. He seems not to have laid much stress upon them himself. They were the pretence, not the cause, of his invasion, and had they not existed, some other pretext for making war would have been discovered. That he was not serious in asserting them appears from his own mouth; since he tells us in his History[21] that in the first months of 1741 he would have been content to accept the duchy of Glogau, or that district of Silesia which lies nearest to the

[19] Such treaties were common in that age among the German princes. Thus in the same year we find a renewal of a treaty of a similar nature between the Houses of Saxony, Brandenburg, and Hesse. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 150.

[20] See Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. iv. S. 484 Anm.

[21] *Hist. de mon Temps*, ch. i. (Liskenne et Sauvan, *Biblioth. Hist.* t. v. p. 53).

Prussian borders. But in strange contrast with the theories he had laid down as a speculator in his studies at Rheinsberg, and in his *Anti-Macchiavel*, Frederick had, as an actor, adopted, on principle, that system of lax political morality which most other princes were content to follow in practice.

Maria Theresa, who had determined not to begin her reign by dismembering her dominions, and who had then no conception of the part that France was preparing to play against her, again gave Frederick's offers a flat refusal. She accompanied it with the somewhat contemptuous proposal that if he would retire he should be forgiven and no damages insisted on—an intimation which nettled him exceedingly, though his huckstering negociations seem well to have deserved it. Frederick meanwhile had pushed on his conquests in Silesia. They were facilitated by the want of preparation on the part of the Austrians, and by the temper of the Protestant inhabitants, who in many places welcomed the Prussians as deliverers. By the end of January 1741 all Silesia, with the exception of Glogau, Brieg, and a few other places, had been overrun almost without opposition. As the winter season prevented further operations, Frederick returned for a while to Berlin. In March he again appeared at the head of his army. Glogau was taken on the ninth of that month; hence he proceeded to form a junction with Field-Marshal Schwerin, whom he had left in occupation of the southern parts of Silesia; and ignorant of the motions of the Austrians, who had at length assembled in force, he marched upon Jägerndorf, on the frontiers of Moravia, pushing on some of his divisions towards Troppau. Meanwhile Neuperg, the unfortunate commander of the Austrians at the Peace of Belgrade, yet no bad general, who had been released from prison on the accession of Maria Theresa, was advancing from Moravia by way of Freudenthal at the head of 15,000 men, threatening to cut Frederick's line of operation by crossing the mountains towards Ziegenhals and Neisse, and boasting that he would send the young king back to Berlin, to Apollo and the Muses. At the same time another body of Austrians was menacing the Prussians between Jägerndorf and Troppau, and a third, under General Lentulus, was pressing forwards from Glatz. The Prussians were now compelled to retreat, while the Austrians, 20,000 strong, pushed on towards Ohlau, the chief Prussian depôt, and encamped about five miles beyond Brieg, in Mollwitz and the neighbouring villages.

Neuperg's plan of operations was well conceived, but he was too slow in executing it. By advancing at once to Ohlau, he might have seized all the Prussian artillery and stores. His march,

however, had cut off the King's communications with Lower Silesia, and Frederick found it necessary to risk a battle. With this view he advanced by Michelau and Löwen to the village of Pogarell, about six miles from Mollwitz. Here he gave his wearied troops a day's rest, and on the 10th of April marched in four columns to attack the enemy. In infantry and artillery he was much superior to the Austrians, having 16,000 foot against their 11,000, and 60 guns against 18; but his cavalry consisted of little more than 3000 men, while the Austrians had 8000. This explains the fate of the battle. The Prussian cavalry were routed at the first charge; the battle seemed lost; Frederick, at the earnest entreaty of Marshal Schwerin, fled with all speed towards Löwen, escorted by a squadron of cavalry; thence he pushed on to Oppeln, which he reached at night. That place had been occupied by the Austrian hussars, and his demand for admittance was answered by a shower of musket-balls. Frederick now rode back in all haste to Löwen, where he arrived in an exhausted state, having accomplished between fifty and sixty miles in the day. On the following morning he was surprised by the intelligence that his troops had gained the BATTLE OF MOLLWITZ! This result was owing to the excellent drill of the Prussian infantry, the precision of their manœuvres, the rapidity of their fire.[22] Frederick now rejoined his army, not without some feelings of shame at his premature flight, and of anger against Schwerin, the adviser of it, whom he is said never to have forgiven. He neglected, however, to pursue his victory, and instead of attacking the Austrians, who were retreating in disorder within a few miles of him, remained upwards of six weeks inactive in his camp at Mollwitz.

It must be confessed that Frederick's first appearance against the young and beautiful Queen of Hungary does not show either his chivalrous, his diplomatic, or his military qualities in any very conspicuous light. His enterprise, however, chiefly from its sudden and unexpected nature, was attended with substantial success.

The victory of Mollwitz, though not apparently very decisive, was followed by more important results than perhaps any other battle of the eighteenth century. To Frederick himself it assured the possession of Lower Silesia and the capture of Brieg, while it established the hitherto equivocal reputation of the Prussian troops. But its effect on the policy of Europe was infinitely of more importance, by calling into action those Powers that had postponed their schemes till they should have learnt the issue of Frederick's attempt.

[22] They are said to have delivered five volleys to one of the Austrians.

We have seen that Spain and England were already at war, that France was preparing to aid the former Power, and that she had given but equivocal assurances to Maria Theresa, while England was hearty in her support. Among so many claimants, in whole or in part, to the Queen of Hungary's dominions—the Electors of Bavaria and Saxony, the Kings of Prussia, Spain, and Sardinia, besides other minor pretenders [23]—were provided all the elements of a great European conflagration; and France considered it her interest to apply the torch. It seemed a favourable opportunity to revive the schemes of Henry IV. and Richelieu against the House of Austria, to despoil it of a great part of its possessions, and to reduce it to the condition of a second-rate Power, so that, on the Continent, France might rule without control. Cardinal Fleury, indeed, now eighty-five years of age, wanted only to enjoy repose, and to respect the guarantee that France had given to the Pragmatic Sanction; but he was overborne by the war party. At the head of this stood Marshal Belle-Isle, a grandson of Fouquet. Belle-Isle saw in the affairs of Austria a favourable opportunity to oppose, and perhaps overturn, Fleury, and to display his own diplomatic and military talents. Through the influence of Madame de Vintimille, one of Louis XV.'s mistresses—for in French affairs these creatures always played a leading part—he obtained the appointment of French minister plenipotentiary at the Electoral Diet to be held at Frankfort, as well as to the courts of all the German princes. Thus armed with the power of mischief, he set off in the spring of 1741 on his mission into Germany.

France, the ancient ally of the House of Wittelsbach, had by several treaties between February 1714 and May 1738, promised her aid to the Elector of Bavaria in case of the extinction of heirs male in the House of Austria; [24] but these had been superseded by the Treaty of Vienna, guaranteeing the Pragmatic Sanction, signed November 18th 1738. France, indeed, remained free to support the election of Charles Albert as Emperor; but that would not have suited her views without also investing him with part of the spoils of Austria.[25] The French Cabinet had therefore projected a partition of the Austrian dominions in the following manner: Bavaria was to have Bohemia, Upper Austria, the Tyrol, and the

[23] Such as the Duke of Luxembourg, the House of Würtemberg, &c.

[24] Garden, *Hist. des Traités*, t. iii. p. 255.

[25] "Pouvait-on appuyer sa candidature à l'empire sans appuyer ses autres prétentions, au moins dans la limite nécessaire pour lui donner les moyens de soutenir la dignité impériale?"—Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. xv. p. 231. That is, having undertaken to make a beggar an emperor, somebody must be robbed to fit him out.

Breisgau; to the Elector of Saxony was to be assigned Moravia with Upper Silesia, with the royal title; to Prussia, Lower Silesia; to Spain, Austrian Lombardy; while to Maria Theresa were to be left the kingdom of Hungary, the Lower Netherlands, Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola.[26]

Belle-Isle's mission was a successful one. After visiting the Spiritual Electors and procuring their votes for Charles Albert, he proceeded to the King of Prussia's camp at Mollwitz, where he arrived towards the end of April. The camp was soon filled with the ambassadors of other Powers, anxious to gain the support of Frederick in the great contest that impended. In spite of the ardent popular feeling in England in favour of Maria Theresa, it was perceived that, after his victory at Mollwitz, it would be necessary to make some concessions to the King of Prussia; and Lord Hyndford, the English ambassador at the Court of Vienna, was instructed to conciliate him at the smallest sacrifice possible on the part of Austria. Frederick himself was not much inclined to the French policy. He did not wish to weaken Austria for the benefit of France, and still less to become himself dependent on the latter Power. Nor had he any inclination to work for Saxony and Bavaria. His sole wish was to secure the greatest possible portion of Silesia, in whatever way that object might be best accomplished. But the high tone assumed by the Queen of Hungary, who insisted that the English and Dutch ambassadors should require Frederick totally to evacuate Silesia, put an end to all negociation in that quarter. Neither Maria Theresa nor her minister Bartenstein could believe that France had any serious intention of making war upon her, and she refused to listen to the moderate sacrifices proposed by England. All that she could be prevailed upon to offer was, to place Schwiebus, Grünberg, and Glogau, for a certain time, as pledges in the hands of Frederick.

The King of Prussia was thus, almost of necessity, thrown into the hands of France. As the price of his alliance, however, he stipulated that France should bring two large armies into the field; that she should excite Sweden to attack and hamper Russia; and that she should induce Augustus, the Elector of Saxony and King of Poland, to join the league.[27] For this last purpose Belle-Isle proceeded to the Court of Dresden. The conduct of Augustus, who

[26] Garden, *Hist. des Traités*, t. iii. p. 257. In this partition nothing seems to be reserved for France; but according to Schlosser, *Gesch. des* 18. *Jahrhunderts*, Th. ii. S. 24, the Elector, as Emperor, was never to demand back the towns and provinces which she possessed on the Rhine, *nor what she might conquer in the Netherlands*. Cf. Menzel, B. v. S. 294.

[27] Stenzel, B. iv. S. 137 ff.

was entirely governed by his selfish and intriguing minister Count Brühl, had been wavering and equivocal. The Queen of Hungary had at first counted upon his friendship and the guarantee which he had given; but when, in spite of the Elector's warning to the contrary, as one of the vicars of the Empire during the interregnum, Frederick had invaded Silesia, Augustus, instead of remonstrating, had displayed a wish to profit by the occasion at the expense of Austria. Maria Theresa had therefore found it necessary to propitiate him with the prospect of obtaining the duchy of Crossen, which would connect Saxony with Poland; and he had then entered into an alliance with her for the maintenance of the Pragmatic Sanction. Nevertheless, he claimed for his son the exercise of the electoral vote of Bohemia, on the ground that it could not be given by a female; and he took it very ill when Maria Theresa, to evade this objection, made her husband Co-Regent, and transferred the vote to him.[28] This afterwards served the Elector as a pretext for joining the Queen's enemies, when he saw her placed in a critical situation through the interference of France; to whose policy he was won by the visit of Belle-Isle, and the prospect held out to him by that negociator of obtaining Moravia.[29]

The conclusion of the TREATY OF NYMPHENBURG was another motive with the Prussian King, besides Belle-Isle's success with the Elector of Saxony, for joining France.

From Dresden Belle-Isle had proceeded to Munich, where, towards the end of May 1741, he had assisted at the conclusion of a treaty between Spain and Bavaria, at the palace of Nymphenburg.[30] The King of Spain pretended to the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, by virtue of a convention between Philip III. of Spain and Ferdinand, Archduke of Grätz. By this instrument Philip had ceded to the Archduke, his cousin, his claims to Hungary and Bohemia through his mother Anne, daughter of Maximilian II., reserving, however, the rights of his descendants, in case of the extinction of Ferdinand's male heirs.[31] The Court of Spain was not, however, serious in advancing these antiquated pretensions, which, indeed, clashed with those of Bavaria, its new ally. Its only aim was to profit by the conjuncture by finding some pretext, no matter what, to procure for the Queen's second son, Don Philip, lately married to a daughter of Louis XV., an establishment in

[28] *Leben und Character des Grafen von Brühl in vertraulichen Briefen entworfen* (1760), S. 183 f.

[29] Menzel, B. v. S. 294.

[30] The Treaty of Nymphenburg has disappeared. It is probable that France was not a party to it, but merely guaranteed it. Garden, t. iii. p. 254. France had begun to subsidise Bavaria some months before.

[31] Rousset, t. xv. p. 6 sqq.

Italy, at the expense of Austria. Spain and Bavaria were to enjoy the Austrian spoils, according to the partition already indicated. France made no open declaration of war against Austria. She retained the appearance of supporting Bavaria with auxiliary troops and money, as her ancient ally, and by virtue of the faith of treaties. The King of Spain promised to pay the Elector 12,000 piastres a month for the maintenance of 5000 men.[32]

The alliance between France, Spain, and Bavaria was soon joined by other Powers. The King of Prussia acceded to it through a treaty concluded in the greatest secresy with France, June 5th. France guaranteed to Frederick Lower Silesia and Breslau, and he in return renounced his claims to Berg in favour of the Palatine House of Sulzbach, favoured by France, and promised his vote for the Elector of Bavaria at the Imperial Diet.[33] The King of Poland, as Elector of Saxony, the King of Sardinia, the Elector Palatine, and the Elector of Cologne, also acceded to the league. Charles Emanuel, King of Sardinia, renewed his pretensions to the Milanese, founded on the marriage-contract of his great-great-grandfather with the Infanta Catherine, daughter of Philip II. of Spain.[34]

To this formidable coalition Maria Theresa could oppose only a few allies. England she regarded as the surest of them. The English people espoused her cause with warmth; but, while Walpole's administration lasted, little was done in her favour except in the way of diplomacy. George II., being in Germany, had indeed concluded with her a treaty called the ALLIANCE OF HANOVER (June 24th 1741), by which he engaged to march 6000 Danes and 6000 Hessians to her succour, and to pay her within a year a subsidy of 300,000*l.*[35] The States-General, who at that period generally followed in the track of England, were also in alliance with her; but the aid of these two Powers was not for the first year or two of much service to her cause. The Pope (Clement XII.) had testified great joy at the birth of Maria Theresa's son, the Archduke Joseph; he was ready to lend his spiritual assistance to the Queen, and had in a measure made Frederick's invasion of Silesia an affair of the Church; yet he refused her the loan of a few hundred thousand crowns, and, by raising some pretensions to Parma and Piacenza, even appeared to rank himself among the number of her enemies. A better prospect seemed to open on the side of Russia. The Empress Anna had died a few days after

[32] *Nouveau Suppl. au Recueil*, t. i. p. 721; ap. Stenzel, B. iv. S. 138.

[33] Ranke, *Preuss. Gesch.*, B. ii. S. 274 ff. Flassan, Garden, and others, give the date of the Treaty wrongly as July 5th. Cf. Stenzel, B. iv. S. 143.

[34] Rousset, t. xvi. p. 350.

[35] Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. v. S. 295.

Charles VI. (October 27th 1740). Ivan, the heir presumptive to the throne, was an infant of two months, the son of Peter's great-niece, Anna,[36] Princess of Mecklenburg, who, in 1739, had married Anthony Ulric, Duke of Brunswick Beveren, the brother-in-law of Federick of Prussia. After the death of the Empress, her favourite, Biron, Duke of Courland, had seized the Regency, but after a few weeks was overthrown by Münnich and the Princess Anna (November 20th). Though Anna now became Regent, Münnich in reality enjoyed the supreme power, till towards the end of March 1741 she dismissed him as too favourable to Prussia. The Regency of Anna lasted till December 6th 1741, when Peter the Great's daughter, Elizabeth Petrowna, contrived to overthrow her with the aid of only 200 private grenadiers, and became Empress of Russia.

Frederick had secured the neutrality of Russia during his invasion of Silesia through Marshal Münnich, who detested the Austrians on account of the Peace of Belgrade; but the Regent Anna had been gained for Maria Theresa's cause by the handsome Pole, Count Lynar, and had promised the Austrian ambassador, Count Botta, to support his mistress's cause with 30,000 or 40,000 men. But the domestic troubles of the Muscovite Court, and subsequently the war with Sweden, prevented the realisation of this promise.

All being ready for action, the Elector of Bavaria entered the Austrian territories with his forces towards the end of June 1741, and being joined in August by a French army, he occupied Linz, the capital of Upper Austria, without striking a blow. Here he assumed the title of an Austrian archduke, and received the homage of the States. About the same time the King of Poland had set in motion an army of 20,000 men to march through Bohemia and take possession of Moravia, his allotted portion. As the ground of his invasion, he proclaimed that Maria Theresa had violated the Pragmatic Sanction by appointing her husband Co-Regent. He also published another manifesto, in which he asserted his wife's claims as well as his own to the Austrian inheritance. The former rested on the Act of Succession made by the Emperor Leopold in 1703, as already explained.[37] In his own name he claimed the duchies of Austria and Styria, as descended from the ancient Margraves of Meissen, who, on the extinction of

[36] Anna was the daughter of Peter's niece Catherine Ivanowna, married to the Duke of Mecklenburg in 1716. Her original Christian name was Elizabeth Catherine Christina, which she changed to Anna on her conversion to the Greek Church in 1733. Le Fort, ap. Hermann, *Gesch. Russlands*, B. iv. S. 633 Anm.

[37] See above, p. 310.

the House of Babenberg in 1250, should have reaped the Austrian succession, but had been excluded from it by the usurpation, first of Ottocar and then of Rudolph of Habsburg. Augustus also complained that the House of Habsburg had never fulfilled its promise to procure him the succession of Juliers and Clèves, nor compensated him for the damage done by the Swedes in Saxony in 1706, which would not have happened had the Emperor fulfilled the engagements he was under by treaty. He also demanded large sums of money owing to him by the Court of Vienna.[38]

The Queen of Hungary's chief security lay in the jealousy which her adversaries felt of one another, and the bad understanding which consequently prevailed among them. The Elector of Bavaria, suspicious of the intentions of the King of Poland, instead of marching on Vienna from Linz, turned to the left and entered Bohemia. With the assistance of the Saxons, who were advancing from the north, Prague was captured, November 26th; and a few days after, Charles Albert caused himself to be crowned King of Bohemia. Meanwhile another French army of more than 40,000 men, under Marshal Maillebois, had entered Westphalia to observe the Dutch, who were arming, and to threaten Hanover. George II. had got together a considerable force, and was preparing to enter Prussia; but the advance of the French, as well as the presence of a Prussian army on the Elbe, compelled him to abandon his purpose. On September 27th, he concluded a treaty of neutrality, and promised to give his vote for the Elector of Bavaria as Emperor. At the same time, Maria Theresa was deprived of the aid which she had expected from Russia, in consequence of Sweden, at the instigation of France, having declared war against that Power.[39]

When the part which France meant to play against her became at last but too plain, Maria Theresa wrote some touching letters to Louis XV. and Fleury. She is even said to have offered Louis part of Flanders as the price of his friendship, but without effect. To her complaints of the infraction of the guarantee given in the last Treaty of Vienna, Fleury replied by a miserable subterfuge, and pretended that it supposed the clause, "saving the rights of a third party." To this he added another subtlety. He reminded her that the Emperor had not accomplished the principal article of the treaty, by procuring the sanction of the States of the Empire to the definitive peace.[40] The French invasion had struck Maria

[38] Ohlenschlager, *Gesch. des Interregnums*, ap. Menzel, B. v. S. 295 Anm.

[39] *Ibid.* p. 295.

[40] Garden, t. iii. p. 257.

Theresa like a thunderbolt. To the last moment she had refused to believe that the French Cabinet would be guilty of so gross a breach of faith. Now everything seemed to announce impending ruin. She had no allies but the English, and they were far away; she had no money and scarcely any army. Silesia had been ravished from her, and Bohemia was threatened with the same fate. In this extremity of misfortune she turned her eyes towards Hungary. The House of Habsburg had but small claims to the gratitude of that country. The Hungarian constitution had been overthrown by her grandfather, Leopold, who had converted it from an elective into an hereditary monarchy,[41] and many a Hungarian noble preserved in the recesses of his château the portrait of some ancestor, veiled with black crape, whose head had fallen by the Austrian axe. Maria Theresa had indeed attempted some amends. At her coronation, in the preceding May, she had taken the famous oath of King Andrew II., the *Magna Charta* of the Hungarians; omitting only, with the consent of the Diet, the clause which allowed armed resistance against the sovereign. The Hungarians, as we have said, had recognised the Pragmatic Sanction, and, though their ancient customs excluded females from the throne, they had proclaimed Maria Theresa after her coronation as their *king* (June 25th). Among this gallant but restless people, she sought a refuge on the approach of her enemies. According to the well-known story, she appeared before the Diet at Pressburg clothed in mourning, with the crown of St. Stephen upon her head and the sword of the kings of Hungary at her girdle. In this costume she presented to the assembly her little son, whom she carried in her arms, telling them that she had no longer any hope for her own safety, and that of her family, but in their valour and fidelity; when the chief Magyars, moved by the sight of so much beauty and majesty in distress, at these touching words drew their sabres, crying enthusiastically, "*Moriamur pro rege nostro Maria Theresa.*"[42] Modern researches have shown that the more romantic details of this story, like so many others in history, have either been imagined, or compressed, for the sake of effect, from the proceedings of two or three days, into one striking dramatic scene. What is really noble and chivalrous in the story, however, consists,

[41] Above, p. 111.

[42] "Let us die for our *king*, Maria Theresa." The proceedings of the Hungarian Diets were conducted in Latin. Count Mailath has shown, in his *Gesch. des östr. Kaiserstaates* (B. v. S. 11 f.), that the tale is compounded from the events of September 11th and 21st. The little Archduke Joseph did not arrive at Pressburg till nine days after his mother had demanded the "Insurrection;" and at the second assembly he was carried not by his mother but by his nurse. Nor were any swords drawn.

not in these extrinsic and theatrical incidents, but in the fact that the gallant Magyars were excited to the highest pitch of loyal devotion by the misfortunes of their young and beautiful Queen. In reply to her appeal, the Diet unanimously voted the "Insurrection of the nobles,"[43] or *levée en masse* of 30,000 foot and 15,000 horse, besides 20,000 recruits for the regular army. Whole hordes of Croats, Pandours, Redmantles, and other tribes dependent on Hungary, flew to arms for the Queen, led by such famous partisan chiefs as Mentzel, Trenk, Bärenklau, and others. Including these tribes the kingdom of Hungary must have provided at least 100,000 men. The Tyroleans also rose almost in a mass. The ill-advised march of the Elector of Bavaria into Bohemia afforded time to prepare and arm these levies. During Maria Theresa's retreat at Pressburg, her fortune seemed to lie, in a great measure, in the hands of Frederick II., who, with a superior force, was separated only by the Neisse from the sole army which she had in the field, and threatened it with an immediate attack. In these circumstances she listened to the advice of the English Ambassador to conciliate the Prussian King by some concessions. That monarch had promised France and Bavaria to do nothing without their concurrence, and, therefore, he would not commit himself by any written engagements. But at the castle of Klein-Schnellendorf, and in the presence of Lord Hyndford, he came to a verbal agreement with the Austrian generals, Neuperg and Lentulus, that he would content himself with Lower Silesia, with the addition of the town of Neisse; from which, after a little sham fighting, the Austrians were to retire unmolested. Frederick required that the agreement should be kept a profound secret, and the draft of it bore only the signature of Lord Hyndford.[44] A definitive treaty was to be made, if possible, before the end of the year.

After this Convention, Frederick expressed the liveliest interest for the Queen of Hungary; yet he broke it in a month, and perhaps never intended to observe it.[45] Indeed, one might almost suspect that his object was merely to get possession of Neisse and Upper Silesia, without having to fight for them. The tenour of

[43] *Die adelige Insurrection.*

[44] The Convention is in Garden, t. iii. p. 262 sq.

[45] His own History lends some confirmation to this view, where he styles the Convention a "pourparler," and laughs at the Duke of Lorraine (Maria Theresa's husband) for being so simple as to confide in it. "Le duc de Lorraine, qui se trouvait à Présbourg, se flattant que le Roi regarderait des pourparlers comme des traités de paix, lui écrivit demandant sa voix pour l'élection à l'Empire. La réponse fut obligeante, mais conçue dans un style obscur et si embrouillé que l'auteur même n'y comprenait rien."—*Hist. de mon Temps*, ch. ii. sub fin.

the twelfth article, which empowered part of the Prussian army to take up its winter quarters in Silesia, seems to favour this supposition. A few weeks after the conclusion of this Convention, on the pretext that the secret had not been kept, Frederick renewed his connection with the anti-Austrian party by a secret alliance with Saxony and Bavaria at Frankfort (November 1st), and by another treaty of guarantee with the latter Power at Breslau (November 4th); by which the Elector, as King of Bohemia, ceded to the King of Prussia for 400,000 dollars the county of Glatz, although it was not yet conquered. Meanwhile the Austrians, after a few mock engagements, had surrendered Neisse to the Prussians and evacuated Silesia; and before the end of the year the Prussians occupied Troppau, and even entered Moravia. During these events the Franco-Bavarian and Saxon armies had marched upon Prague, as already related.

The Imperial election was now approaching. The Electoral Diet assembled at Frankfort in January 1742, and on the 24th of that month the Elector of Bavaria was unanimously chosen Emperor. The Electors who belonged to the alliance, Saxony, Brandenburg, Cologne, were of course in his favour; the Palatine was his cousin; the Elector of Hanover, George II., as we have said, had bound himself by treaty to vote for Charles Albert; those of Mentz and Trèves had been compelled to do so by the threats of Belle-Isle. In order to render the election unanimous, and also apparently to avoid recognising Maria Theresa as the lawful possessor of Bohemia,[46] the Electoral College had excluded the vote of that kingdom. The new Emperor was crowned February 12th, and assumed the title of Charles VII. But at the moment when he had attained the object of his ambition his fortune began to turn. Maria Theresa's Hungarian forces were now in motion; 20,000 men, with the addition of drafts from the Lombard garrisons, under General Khevenhiller, recovered Upper Austria in January. A Franco-Bavarian corps, under Count Ségur and General Minucci, surrendered Linz by capitulation on the 24th of that month. Another Austrian army, under the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and swelled by the troops withdrawn from Silesia after the Convention of Klein-Schnellendorf, which thus proved of temporary advantage to Maria Theresa, had entered Bohemia. Khevenhiller, reinforced by 6000 Croats who had penetrated through the Tyrol, invaded Bavaria in February, and took possession of Munich on the 13th, only a few days after

[46] Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. v. S. 302.

Charles VII.'s election to the Imperial crown had been celebrated in that capital.

On the other hand the King of Prussia had been advancing in Moravia. Olmütz had been taken December 26th. A Prussian division which had been despatched into Bohemia subdued the town and county of Glatz, with the exception of the castle, in January 1742. When the Austrians were penetrating into Bavaria Frederick saw the necessity of making a diversion by marching upon Vienna, in conjunction with a French and a Saxon corps. But dissension was already springing up among the allies. Augustus III., or rather his minister, Brühl,[47] was lukewarm in prosecuting a war from which Saxony was to derive but little benefit in comparison with Prussia. He excused himself from furnishing heavy artillery for the siege of Brünn on the ground of want of money, although only a little before Augustus had given 400,000 dollars for a large green diamond! At Znaym the Saxons refused to march further southwards. A body of 5000 Prussians pushed on, and a party of their hussars showed themselves at Stockerau, only about twenty miles from Vienna. This advance caused 10,000 Austrians to be recalled from Bavaria, and arrested Khevenhiller's further progress towards the west. But the ill support which Frederick met with from his allies and the approach of the Austrian and Hungarian forces, compelled him to evacuate Moravia with all his army, and to retreat into Bohemia. During this march negociations went on under the mediation of Lord Hyndford for a peace between Frederick and Maria Theresa. The latter, however, would concede nothing; a bitter spirit was engendered, and Frederick resolved to settle their differences by the arbitrament of a battle with his pursuers; which took place on May 17th in the neighbourhood of Czaslau. The Austrians, commanded by Prince Charles of Lorraine, had slightly the advantage in point of numbers, but Frederick was much superior in artillery. After a long and hard-fought battle, the Austrians retired in good order behind Czaslau, where Frederick forbore to pursue them.

This victory was hailed by the Emperor as a fortunate event; but Frederick had resolved once more to change sides, and the negociations with the Court of Vienna were renewed. He had now exhausted the greater part of his father's hoards, he was discontented with and suspicious of his allies,[48] and Maria Theresa

[47] Frederick, who went to Dresden to settle the plan of the campaign, relates that at one of the consultations Brühl got rid of the King by telling him that the opera was about to begin!—*Hist. de mon Temps*, ch. iv.

[48] He had discovered that Cardinal Fleury was in secret correspondence with

on her side had been induced by the English minister to make larger concessions. Under these circumstances the preliminaries of a peace were concluded at Breslau, June 11th 1742, and were followed by the definitive Treaty of Berlin, July 28th.[49] By the preliminaries Prussia was to obtain both Lower and Upper Silesia, except the principality of Teschen, the town of Troppau, and the district beyond the Oppa and in the mountains; also, the county of Glatz. But these concessions were somewhat curtailed in the definitive peace. Frederick refused to give any active aid to the Austrian cause, and stipulated only for his neutrality.

George II., both as King of Great Britain and Elector of Hanover, the Empress of Russia, the King of Denmark, the States-General, the House of Brunswick, and the King of Poland as Elector of Saxony, were included in the peace; the last, however, only on condition that he should, within sixteen days after formal notice, separate his troops from the French army and withdraw them from Bohemia. Augustus III. hesitated not to avail himself of this article, and reconciled himself with Austria by reciprocal declarations, without any regular treaty. George II. guaranteed the preliminaries of Breslau by an act signed at Kensington June 24th 1742; and in the following November Great Britain, Prussia, and the States-General entered into a defensive alliance by the Treaty of Westminster.[50]

In consequence of these arrangements the French, under Belle-Isle, deprived of the cooperation of the Saxons, were forced by the manœuvres of Charles of Lorraine to shut themselves up in Prague, where they were blockaded by the Austrians under Count Königseck. Prague was bombarded by the Austrians on August 19th; but the approach of Maillebois with the French army of Westphalia compelled them to raise the siege and attack Maillebois, whom they drove with considerable loss into Bavaria. Here, however, he obtained some compensation for his failure in Bohemia. Having joined Field-Marshal Seckendorf, who had quitted the Austrian service for that of Charles VII., their united forces succeeded in expelling the Austrians and Hungarians from Bavaria before the close of the year 1642. After Maillebois' retreat the Austrians had again blockaded Prague. But Belle-Isle succeeded in escaping with 16,000 men on the night of December 15th, and after unspeakable sufferings, during a ten days' march in a

the Court of Vienna, and that the French Court was willing that Sweden, in a peace with Russia, should be compensated at the expense of his Pomeranian dominions. Menzel, B. v. S. 305.

[49] Rousset, t. xviii. pp. 27, 33; Wenck, t. i. pp. 734, 739.

[50] *Ibid.* t. xviii. p. 45; Wenck. t. i. p. 640.

rigorous season, he arrived, though with great loss, at Eger, on the frontiers of the Upper Palatinate. Hence he reached France early in 1743 with only 12,000 men, the remnants of 60,000, with whom he had begun the campaign. The small garrison which he had left in Prague obtained an honourable capitulation, Dec. 26th.

The fortunes of Maria Theresa in other quarters had been as favourable as she might reasonably have anticipated. In Italy, the King of Sardinia had been detached from the confederacy of her enemies. Alarmed by the arrival of large Spanish armies in Italy, Charles Emanuel had signed a convention, February 1st 1742, by which he agreed to aid the Queen of Hungary in defending the duchies of Milan, Parma, and Piacenza; reserving, however, to some future time his own pretensions to the Milanese.[51] Towards the end of 1741, 15,000 Spaniards had entered the Tuscan ports, and in January 1742 further reinforcements had landed in the Gulf of Spezzia. The Spanish fleet which conveyed them was accompanied by a French one; an English fleet, under Admiral Haddock, was also in those waters; but the French admiral, having given Haddock notice that if the Spaniards were attacked he should assist them, the English admiral, who did not feel himself a match for both, retired into Port Mahon.[52] It is said, however, that his object in not attacking the Spaniards was to make the King of Sardinia feel his danger and alter his politics. The Spaniards under Montemar were joined by some Neapolitan troops under the Duke of Castropignano. The Spaniards had for their allies Naples and Modena; all the other Italian potentates had declared their neutrality, and among them even Maria Theresa's husband, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, with the view of preserving his dominions. The Italian campaign of 1742 proved, however, altogether unimportant. The English fleet, appearing before Naples, compelled Don Carlos, by a threat of bombardment, to declare his neutrality (August 20th). The Infant Don Philip and the Count de Glime, having entered Provence with 15,000 Spaniards, endeavoured to penetrate into Piedmont by way of Nice; but being repulsed, they entered Savoy by St. Jean Maurienne, and occupied Chambéry early in September. At the beginning of the following month, however, on the approach of the King of Sardinia and General Schulenburg, they hastily evacuated Savoy The Spaniards and Neapolitans in Lombardy were repulsed by the Austrians, who entered the Modenese, and drove the Spaniards into the Pontifical States. In the north of Europe, the attack of Sweden upon Russia,

[51] Rousset, *Recueil*, t. xviii. p. 85; Wenck, t. i. p. 672.

[52] Coxe, *Spanish Bourbons*, vol. iii. p. 321.

undertaken in an evil hour, at the instigation of the French, had resulted only in disaster to the Swedes. But in order to explain this, we must for a moment interrupt the narrative, and briefly advert to the history of the Swedish nation.

The treaties by which the great Northern War had been concluded seemed to have placed the Scandinavian kingdoms in a position to enjoy a long period of tranquillity. This was really the case with Denmark, where the wise and paternal government of Frederick IV., who expired in 1730, and of his successor Christian VI. was during many years almost solely occupied with the care of preserving the peace and increasing and consolidating the national prosperity. Sweden, however, adopted a different line of policy. She could not digest the losses inflicted upon her by the Treaty of Nystadt, and the war in which the question of the Austrian succession had enveloped Europe seemed to present a favourable opportunity to avenge her injuries.

Unfortunately, however, the form of government which had been adopted in Sweden since the revolution of 1720[53] rendered her peculiarly unfit for such an enterprise. The new constitution had been principally the work of Count Arved Horn, one of the chiefs of the old nobility. Horn wished to put an end to the arbitrary absoluteness with which Charles XI. and Charles XII. had reigned; but he introduced in its stead only the abuse of popular freedom, clothed in legal forms. King Frederick I., the husband of Ulrica Eleanora, who was also reigning Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, had neither talent nor resolution to oppose these innovations, but tamely submitted to all the dictates of the oligarchy. It was not he that governed, but the council, or rather that member of it who, as President of the Chancery, stood at the head of the ministry. The council itself, however, whose members were elected by a deputation from which the fourth estate, or that of the peasants, was excluded, was under the control of the Secret Committee of the Diet. To this committee, from which it received its instructions, and which had the power of retaining it or dismissing it from office, the council was obliged to give an account of its proceedings from one Diet to another. The real power of the State, therefore, was vested in the Secret Committee, which consisted of 100 members; of whom fifty belonged to the order of the nobles, twenty-five to the clergy, and twenty-five to the burgher class. The order of the peasants was here also excluded. Such a constitution, of course, threw the chief power into the hands of the nobility. This class, the majority

[53] See above, p. 253.

of which consisted, as in Poland, of impoverished families with lofty pretensions, whilst it thus tyrannised at once over king and people, was itself the slave of its passions and the sport of faction. The heads of the different parties sold themselves to foreign Powers, which sought either to retain Sweden in a state of weakness or to make her the tool of their own interests. The two chief factions were led by Counts Horn and Gyllenborg. Till the year 1734 Gyllenborg's faction had inclined to Russia, that of Horn to France; but at the Diet of that year they changed sides, and in June 1735 Gyllenborg persuaded the Secret Committee to conclude a Treaty of Subsidies with the Court of Versailles.[54] Count Horn, however, having shortly after brought about, through his intrigues, an alliance with Russia, France refused to ratify. The poorer nobility, a numerous body, whose chance of bettering themselves lay only in war, and many of whom served in the French army, were loud in their complaints of the King's love of peace, and now added their weight to the Gyllenborg party. It was the policy of the Court of Versailles to foment the hatred of the Swedes against Russia, with the view of producing a war, which seemed to be the surest means of re-establishing the royal authority. Since the revolution of 1720 Sweden had become almost a nullity, because the least warlike movement required the convocation of the States of the kingdom; and hence, under this system of government, the alliance of Sweden was almost useless to France. Great Britain, on the contrary, together with Denmark and Russia, favoured a state of things which seemed to insure the maintenance of peace—an assumption, however, which the sequel proved to be erroneous.

After a few years Count Horn was driven from office by the Secret Committee, composed almost wholly of members of the Gyllenborg faction; but the war and peace factions, or the partisans of France and Russia, continued to exist; and in their disputes at the Diet of 1738 they reciprocally bestowed upon each other the nicknames of *Hats* and *Nightcaps*. The conquest of Livonia was the object of the *Hats*, or war party, who, in November 1738, effected a treaty with France for an alliance of ten years, during three consecutive years of which France was to furnish an annual subsidy of 300,000 crowns.[55] A brutal act on the part of the Russian Government envenomed the hostility of the *Hats* against that Power. The more extended political relations which had sprung up in the eighteenth century, chiefly through Peter the Great and the appearance of Russia as a first-rate Power, now

[54] Rousset, *Recueil*, t. xviii. Suppl. p. 302. [55] Wenck, *Cod. jur. g. rec.* t. ii. p. 1.

embraced Europe through its whole extent. Nations which had formerly been almost ignorant of one another's existence, or, at all events, profoundly indifferent to one another's policy, now found themselves brought into contact by common interests and sympathies. The vast extent of the Russian Empire, touching Sweden on the north and Turkey on the south, had united the Scandinavian and the Osmanli against a common aggressor; and the Swedish Government had perceived that the aid and friendship of the Sublime Porte would be of essential service to it in any contest with Russia. In January 1737 a Treaty of Commerce had been concluded with the Porte;[56] and in the following year Major Malcolm Sinclair was despatched to Constantinople to negociate a Treaty of Alliance and Subsidies. These negociations had excited the jealousy and suspicion of the Russian Government, which was then at war with the Porte. In order to learn the object of them it was determined to waylay and murder Sinclair, and to seize his despatches, and the consent of the King of Poland's ministry, as well as of the Cabinet of Vienna, was obtained to any act of violence that might be perpetrated on Sinclair during his journey. On his return from Constantinople, in June 1738, he was tracked and pursued through Poland by some Russian officers; but it was not till he had reached Silesia that they found a convenient opportunity to attack him. The Austrian magistrates at Breslau gave them a warrant to pursue him; he was overtaken near Grüneberg, dragged from his carriage into a neighbouring wood, where he was shot and his despatches seized. These, after they had been duly read by the Russian officials, were transmitted to Gyllenborg, who then filled the post of Swedish Vice-Chancellor, by the Hamburg post in a well-sealed and apparently original packet. One Couturier, however, who had accompanied Sinclair on his journey, and who, on his arrival at Dresden, had, at the instance of the Russian Ambassador in that capital, been confined for a short period at Sonnenstein, on his arrival at Stockholm in August related all that had happened.[57]

The Russian Empress Anna, in a circular to the foreign ministers, disclaimed all knowledge of this barbarous violation of international law; the murderers of Sinclair were banished into Siberia, probably in order that they might not betray the real secret; and they were not released till the accession of Elizabeth. But the fate of Sinclair roused in Sweden a cry for vengeance which re-echoed from one side of the kingdom to the other. The *Hats* seized the

[56] Wenck, *Cod. jur. g. rec.* t. i. p. 471.
[57] Hermann, *Gesch. Russlands*, B. iv. S. 600 f.

occasion to lash the old national hatred of the Swedes against the Russians into fury. Towards the end of 1739 a defensive alliance was concluded with the Porte; preparations were made for an attack upon Russia, and troops were despatched into Finnland; but the Peace of Belgrade, which enabled Russia to march 80,000 men to Finnland, and the earnest dissuasions of France from a war from which she could derive no advantage to herself, induced the Swedish Government to postpone the hour of vengeance.

The breaking out of the war of the Austrian Succession seemed to offer a favourable opportunity for attacking Russia. France, as we have said, in order to divert the Russian forces, now exhorted the Swedish Government to avail themselves of it; and, by encouraging the plans of the Princess Elizabeth against the government of the infant Czar Ivan, and his mother, the Regent Anna, endeavoured to embarrass the Russian Government. An extraordinary Diet convoked at Stockholm declared war against Russia, August 4th 1741. The Swedish manifest charged the Court of St. Petersburg with violating the Peace of Nystadt, interfering with the Swedish constitution, especially as regarded the succession to the throne, prohibiting the exportation of grain from Livonia, excluding the Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp from the Russian throne, and finally, with causing the assassination of Major Sinclair.[58] The object of Sweden was to reconquer the boundaries which she had possessed in 1700. But the dominant party took not the proper steps to insure success. Finnland, the destined theatre of war, was unprovided with troops and magazines; and General Löwenhaupt, to whom the chief command was intrusted, had neither military knowledge nor experience. The hopes of a diversion by the Ottoman Porte were frustrated, and even the expectations founded on the French Alliance proved exaggerated.

We shall not pursue the details of the war which ensued, which was shamefully conducted through the selfishness of the Swedish oligarchy. It was interrupted for two or three months by an armistice consequent on the revolution, which, in December 1741, placed the Empress Elizabeth, second daughter of Peter the Great, on the throne of Russia. The Empress Anna might have ruled without control, and probably have transmitted the throne to her son Ivan, had Elizabeth been left to the quiet enjoyment of her sensual propensities. Elizabeth indulged without concealment or restraint in amours with subalterns, and even privates of the guard whose barracks lay near her residence; she was addicted, like them,

[58] Büsching, *Magazin*, ap. Koch et Schöll, *Hist. des Traités*, t. xiii. p. 340.

to strong drink, and had entirely gained their favour by her good humour and joviality. Her indolence made her utterly averse to business, and she would never have thought of encumbering herself with the cares of government had she not been restricted in her amusements, reproved for her behaviour, and, what was worst of all, threatened with a compulsory marriage with the ugly and disagreeable Anthony Ulrich, of Brunswick Bevern, brother of the Regent's husband. At the instigation, and with the money, of the French ambassador, La Chétardie, a revolution was effected, in which Lestocq, a surgeon, son of a French Protestant settled in Hanover, and one of Elizabeth's friends, was the chief agent. In the night of December 5th 1741, Elizabeth was escorted by about a hundred soldiers of the guard, who had previously secured the officer of the watch, to the winter palace, where they were joined by the rest of the soldiery. The Empress, her son Ivan and his sister, and all the members of the Government were arrested by their own sentinels, and by eight o'clock in the morning the revolution was accomplished. The Empress and her husband were conducted under custody from one place to another; while the unfortunate Ivan was thrown into a wretched dungeon, and treated as an idiot. Marshal Münnich, Ostermann, and others were banished to Siberia.

Elizabeth, in the manifest which she published on the day of her accession, declared that the throne belonged to her by *right of birth*, in face of the celebrated ukase issued by her father in 1722, which empowered the reigning sovereign to name his successor;[59] and her whole reign promised to be a Muscovite reaction against the principles of reform and progress adopted by Peter the Great. On communicating her accession to the Swedish Government, she expressed her desire for peace, and her wish to restore matters to the footing on which they had been placed by the Treaty of Nystadt. The Swedes, who took credit for having assisted the revolution which raised her to the throne, demanded from the gratitude of the Empress the restitution of all Finnland, with the town of Wiborg and part of Carelia; but Elizabeth, with whom it was a point of honour to cede none of the conquests of her father, would consent to nothing further than the re-establishment of the Peace of Nystadt. On the renewal of the war the Swedes were again unsuccessful in every rencounter, as they had been before. General Bousquet, who had succeeded Löwenhaupt, cashiered for incapacity, and afterwards beheaded, concluded a disgraceful capitulation with

[59] See above, p. 328.

the Russians Sept. 4th 1742, by which ten Finnish regiments were disarmed, and the Swedish regiments permitted to return home only on condition of abandoning all Finnland.

These events spread consternation throughout Sweden. Peace was now earnestly desired, and the Diet was summoned to deliberate on the situation of the kingdom. The Swedish Queen, Ulrica Eleanora, who, in spite of her close affinity with the House of Holstein, was always decidedly opposed to it, had died Nov. 23rd 1741; and the Diet, in order to conciliate the Empress Elizabeth, resolved to name her nephew, Charles Peter Ulric, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, to the succession of the Swedish throne. But Elizabeth had higher views for that young prince. On Nov. 18th 1742, before the arrival of the Swedish deputies at St. Petersburg, she had declared him Grand Duke and heir presumptive of the Russian throne, and he publicly embraced the Greek confession of faith.

At this period Russia renewed her alliance with Great Britain, with a view to the preservation of the general peace of Europe, and especially that of the North. By the Treaty of Moscow, Dec. 11th 1742, the two Powers were reciprocally to assist and advise each other in their wars, except those which Russia might wage with the Ottoman Porte and the East, or those which England might be carrying on in the Spanish peninsula and in Italy. The Kings of Poland and Prussia and the States-General were to be invited to accede to the treaty.[60] This alliance increased the difficulties of the Swedish Government, and caused them to throw their eyes upon Denmark, as the only Power that could aid them in their distress. A project was formed to renew the ancient union of the three Scandinavian kingdoms, and Christian VI. of Denmark, on condition that his son Frederick should be appointed to the succession of the Swedish crown, offered the aid of twelve ships of the line, and of an army of 12,000 men. The report of this alliance assisted the Swedes in their negociations with Russia in the Congress already opened at Abo in Finnland. The Russians wished to preserve the greater part of their conquests; but the menace of the Swedish plenipotentiaries that if a peace were not concluded by June 26th 1743 the Prince Royal of Denmark should be elected to succeed to the Swedish throne, induced the Court of St. Petersburg somewhat to moderate its pretensions. Elizabeth wished to procure the crown of Sweden for Adolphus Frederick of Holstein-Gottorp, Bishop of Lübeck, who was the guardian of her nephew, Charles Peter Ulric. Preliminaries were signed and an armistice agreed

[60] Wenck, t. i. p. 645.

on June 27th; when, after the election of Adolphus Frederick by the Swedes, the restitution of the Swedish provinces by Russia was to be arranged in a definitive treaty.[61]

The peasants of Dalecarlia, incited, it is said, by a promise of assistance from Denmark, and supported with Danish money, opposed the election of the Russian protégé. They even entered Stockholm in arms, and it became necessary to employ the regular troops against them. After this insurrection had been quelled, the Bishop of Lübeck was elected July 4th, 1743; and the treaty of peace was then proceeded with and signed August 17th. By the Treaty of Abo[62] Sweden ceded to Russia in perpetuity all the provinces and places assigned to the latter Power by the Peace of Nystadt. Russia, on the other hand, restored her recent conquests, except the province of Kymmenegord, the towns and fortresses of Friedrichshamn and Willmanstrand, and some other places. Henceforth the river Kimmené was to form the boundary of the two States. The inhabitants of the places ceded by Sweden were to enjoy their former civil and religious privileges. The Russians insisted upon a clause for the extradition not only of fugitive criminals, but even subjects. Their object was to be able to reclaim the serfs who might cross the borders; but it is singular that the Swedes should have made the condition reciprocal, the Swedish peasants being not only free, but even forming one of the orders of the national States.

By this peace Sweden for ever renounced the hope of recovering the provinces situated on the Gulf of Finnland. The conclusion of it, and the election of Adolphus Frederick of Holstein as successor to the Swedish throne, had nearly involved Sweden in a war with Denmark. Christian VI. prepared to assert by force the rights of his son; George II., as Elector of Hanover, was disposed to assist him; while the Empress of Russia sent to the aid of Sweden a formidable fleet and army, and promised a subsidy of 400,000 roubles. After much negociation, however, an arrangement was concluded in February 1744, by which the Prince Royal of Denmark renounced his pretensions to the Swedish succession.

But we must now return, in another chapter, to the war of the Spanish Succession, in which Great Britain was preparing to take a more decisive part.

[61] Wenck, t. ii. p. 31. [62] *Ibid.* p. 36.

CHAPTER IV.

THE year 1743 opened with the death of Cardinal Fleury (Jan. 29th), who had attained his ninetieth year, and was almost sunk in the dotage of a second childhood. A few months before his death, when Belle-Isle and his army were in jeopardy in Bohemia, Fleury had instructed him to make peace at any price; and at the same time, in a letter to Field-Marshal Königseck, the Austrian commander, with whom Belle-Isle had to treat, denounced him as the author of the war, declared that it had been undertaken against his own feelings and principles, and made something very like an appeal to the mercy of the Court of Vienna. Maria Theresa immediately caused this effusion to be published, and exposed the Cabinet of Versailles to the laughter of all Europe.[1] After Fleury's death, Louis XV. declared that in future he should govern for himself, but in fact left the conduct of affairs to the heads of the four ministerial departments. The natural consequence was an almost complete anarchy in the government.

England also had previously lost her pacific minister by the retirement of Sir Robert Walpole.[2] The cause of Maria Theresa had begun to excite a remarkable enthusiasm in England. Even the women had raised by private subscription a large fund for her use, to which the Duchess of Marlborough is said to have contributed 40,000*l.*; but the high-spirited young Queen declined to receive an aid which bore the appearance of an alms. The desire of the English for more decisive measures was further stimulated by the ill success which had hitherto attended their naval expeditions to America, and which was attributed to Walpole. The convention of neutrality entered into by George II. in September

[1] Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. xv. p. 250 sq.

[2] It is surely beneath the dignity of History that M. Martin (*Ibid.* p. 248), after Flassan, should quote as genuine from Coxe's *Memoirs of Sir R. Walpole*, vol. i. p. 686 note, a pretended letter of Walpole's to Cardinal Fleury, requesting three million livres to buy members of Parliament, without intimating that Coxe cites it *as a fabrication*.

1741, and the extortion of his vote for the Elector of Bavaria, properly concerned that prince only as Elector of Hanover; yet, as he was also King of England, they were felt as a disgrace by the English people. The elections that year went against Walpole, and in February 1742 he found himself compelled to resign. He was succeeded in the administration by Pulteney, Earl of Bath, though Lord Carteret was virtually prime minister. Carteret was an ardent supporter of the cause of Maria Theresa. His accession to office was immediately followed by a large increase of the army and navy; five millions were voted for carrying on the war, and a subsidy of 500,000*l.* for the Queen of Hungary. The Earl of Stair, with an army of 16,000 men, afterwards reinforced by a large body of Hanoverians and Hessians in British pay, was despatched into the Netherlands to co-operate with the Dutch. But, though the States-General, at the instance of the British Cabinet, voted Maria Theresa a subsidy, they were not yet prepared to take an active part in a war which might ultimately involve them in hostilities with France. The exertions of the English ministry in favour of the Queen of Hungary had therefore been confined during the year 1742 to diplomacy, and they had helped to bring about, as we have already seen, the Peace of Breslau. In 1743 they were able to do more; but we must first cast our eyes on the affairs of the Emperor and the Queen of Hungary.

By the expulsion of the Austrians from Bavaria, recorded in the preceding chapter, Charles VII. was enabled to return to Munich in April 1743. Seckendorf now advised him to follow the example of Prussia and Saxony, and make his peace with Maria Theresa. Charles, however, could not resolve to humble himself before the proud young Queen whose crown he had so recently claimed as his property. While he was debating the point with the French generals, a Bavarian division of 7000 men under Minucci was attacked by the Austrians under Prince Charles of Lorraine and Khevenhiller at Simpach, near Braunau, and almost annihilated (May 9th). After this blow Broglie, who had assumed the command of the French army in Bavaria, and who was always at variance with Seckendorf, suddenly set off for the Rhine with his troops, thus leaving Bavaria again at the mercy of the Austrians, as Seckendorf, with his remaining 10,000 men, was unable to defend it. On June 12th, the Austrian general, Nadasti, took Munich after a short bombardment. Charles VII. was now again obliged to fly, and took refuge at Augsburg. At his command, Seckendorf made a Convention with the Austrians at the

village of Niederschönfeld, by which he agreed to abandon to them Bavaria, on condition that Charles's troops should be allowed to occupy unmolested quarters between Franconia and Suabia. Maria Theresa seemed at first indisposed to ratify even terms so humiliating to the Emperor. She had become perhaps a little too much exalted by the rapid turn of fortune. She had caused herself to be crowned in Prague. She had received the homage of the Austrians, and entered Vienna in a sort of triumph. She now dreamt of nothing less than conquering Lorraine for herself, Alsace for the Empire; of hurling Charles VII. from the Imperial throne, and placing on it her own consort. She would not recognise Charles as Emperor, but accorded to him the title only of "Elector of Bavaria," and threatened to treat his troops as enemies wherever she should find them. But she was at length mollified, and consented that the Bavarian army, so long as it betrayed no design to renew hostilities, should remain in some neutral State of the Empire. Maria Theresa now caused the Bavarians to take an oath of fidelity and obedience to herself; whereupon the Emperor published an indignant protest against this proceeding of the "Grand Duchess of Tuscany." [3]

Meanwhile the allied army of English and Germans, under the Earl of Stair, nearly 40,000 strong, which, from its destined object, had assumed the name of the "Pragmatic Army," had crossed the Meuse and Rhine in March and April, with a view to cut off the army of Bavaria from France. George II. had not concealed his intention of breaking the Treaty of Hanover of 1741, alleging as a ground that the duration of the neutrality stipulated in it had not been determined; and on June 19th he had joined the army in person. He found it in a most critical position. Lord Stair, who had never distinguished himself as a general, and was now falling into dotage, had led it into a narrow valley near Aschaffenburg, between Mount Spessart and the river Main; while Marshal Noailles, who had crossed the Rhine towards the end of April, by seizing the principal fords of the Main, both above and below the British position, had cut him off both from his magazines at Hanau, and from the supplies which he had expected to procure in Franconia. Nothing remained but for him to fight his way back to Hanau; but to accomplish this, it was necessary to pass the village of Dettingen, at the other extremity of the valley, which the French had occupied in force; while the line of

[3] Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. v. S. 308 f.

march lay along the river Main, the opposite bank of which had been occupied by the French, whose artillery began to make dreadful havoc with the British columns. Noailles had fortunately intrusted the command of the French division posted at Dettingen to his nephew, the Duke of Grammont, an inexperienced young man, who, thinking that he had to deal only with an advanced guard, quitted the strong position he had taken up to give battle—a movement by which he placed himself between the British and the French batteries, and compelled the latter to suspend their fire. The British and Hanoverian infantry, with the King and the Duke of Cumberland at their head, now charged and routed the French, and thus opened the road to Hanau. In the Battle of Dettingen, fought on June 27th, the French are said to have lost about 6000 men, and the British half that number. It is the last action in which a King of England has fought in person. But George II., or rather Lord Stair, did not know how to profit by his victory. Although the Pragmatic army was joined after the battle of Dettingen by 15,000 Dutch troops, under Prince Maurice of Nassau, nothing of importance was done during the remainder of the campaign. The French did not retire into Alsace till the approach of Prince Charles of Lorraine with the Austrians in August. The Croats, Pandours, and other Austrian partisans made forays as far as Lorraine; but towards the end of autumn the allies cantoned their forces in winter quarters that extended from Bavaria to Flanders.

The Emperor Charles VII., abandoned by all the world, had endeavoured to obtain the neutrality of his hereditary dominions, which Maria Theresa refused to grant without the concurrence of her allies; though, as we have said, she gave a verbal declaration that she would not attack the Bavarian army so long as it remained on neutral ground. Braunau and Straubing were surrendered to the Austrians; Ingoldstadt was taken early in October; and Charles VII., without dominions or money, went to hold his melancholy court at Frankfort. Much negociation went on in the course of 1743 between him and Lord Carteret for a settlement of his affairs with the Queen of Hungary. In answer to his last proposals in August, the English minister finally told him that Maria Theresa would make no peace unless she received entire satisfaction; that she demanded Lorraine, and would meanwhile hold Bavaria in pledge for it; that if Charles Albert desired a sincere reconciliation he should cause the German States to declare war against France, in order to reunite Alsace to the Empire, and cause Lorraine to be ceded to the Queen; and that on this

condition—which was of course an impossible one—Great Britain and the States-General would furnish him with subsidies.

Much negociation had also been going on in other quarters. As it was suspected that the King of Sardinia would not observe the Convention of February 1742, so unsatisfactory to his ambition, and that he would again listen to the overtures of France and Spain, the English ministry persuaded Maria Theresa to make a sacrifice in order to retain him. By a treaty between Great Britain, the Queen of Hungary, and the King of Sardinia, signed at Worms September 23rd 1743,[4] Charles Emanuel renounced his pretensions to Milan; the Queen of Hungary ceding to him the Vigevanesco, that part of the duchy of Pavia between the Po and the Tessino, the town and part of the duchy of Piacenza, and a portion of the district of Anghiera. Also *whatever rights she might have* to the marquisate of Finale;[5] hoping that the Republic of Genoa would facilitate this agreement, in order that the King of Sardinia might have a communication with the sea. The Queen of Hungary promised to increase her army in Italy to 30,000 men as soon as the affairs of Germany would permit; while the King of Great Britain engaged to keep a strong fleet in the Mediterranean, and to pay Charles Emanuel annually 200,000*l.* so long as the war lasted, he keeping in the field an army of 45,000 men.

While Maria Theresa was thus procuring a slippery ally, her enemies were drawing closer their league against her. France and Spain signed a secret treaty of perpetual alliance at Fontainebleau, October 25th 1743. The treaty is remarkable as the precursor of the celebrated *Family Compact* between the French and Spanish Bourbons. The Spaniards, indeed, call it the *Second Family Compact*, the first being the Treaty of November 7th 1733,[6] of which, with regard to colonial affairs, it was a renewal. But this treaty had a more special reference to Italy. Louis XV. engaged to declare war against Sardinia, and to aid Spain in conquering the Milanese. Philip V. transferred his claims to that duchy to his son, the Infant Don Philip, who was also to be put in possession of Parma and Piacenza. All the possessions ceded by France to the King of Sardinia, by the Treaty of Utrecht, were to be again wrested from him. A public alliance was to be formed, to which the Emperor Charles VII. was to accede; whose states, and even something more, were to be recovered for him. Under certain

[4] Rousset, *Recueil*, t. xviii. p. 83; Wenck, *Cod. jur. g. rec.* t. i. p. 677.

[5] The marquisate of Finale had been sold to the Genoese by Maria Theresa's father, Charles VI., in 1713, and she had, consequently, no legal claim to it. Pfeffel, t. ii. p. 500.

[6] See above, p. 337.

circumstances war was to be declared against England; in which case France was to assist in the recovery of Gibraltar, and also, if possible, of Minorca. The new colony of Georgia was to be destroyed, the *Asiento* withdrawn from England,[7] &c.

Hence the year 1744 brings with it a new phase of the war, of which the most remarkable events are, the declaration of war by France against Maria Theresa and George II.; the union formed in favour of the Emperor, and the fresh rupture between Austria and Prussia.

Early in that year, many indications betrayed the tone of France towards Great Britain. Louis XV., at the instigation of Cardinal Tencin, who owed his hat to the Pretender, called at Rome James III., invited the Chevalier de St. George, son of that phantom monarch, into France, with the view of assisting him in a descent upon England. An armament was prepared at Brest; the English fleet was to be overpowered, although there had yet been no declaration of war, and 15,000 men were to be thrown on the coasts of Great Britain. The news of these preparations excited some alarm in England. Precautions were taken against an invasion, and the Dutch, under the treaties of 1678 and 1716, sent 6000 men into England. In February, a descent was actually attempted, but without success, as Admiral Norris, aided by a tremendous storm, proved too strong for the French fleet. About the same time (Feb. 24th) a drawn action took place between the French, Spanish, and English fleets in the Mediterranean, near Toulon. The disputes between the English admirals, Matthews and Lestock, prevented them from acting in concert, and compelled Matthews to withdraw. The Spaniards and French, however, also complained of each other, and the quarrels of their admirals left the English masters of the Mediterranean;[8] though the immediate result of the battle was that the Spaniards were enabled to send large supplies into Italy.

The campaign in that country in 1743 had not proved much more important than that of the preceding year. In December 1742 and in the following February, the Spaniards and French had renewed their attempts[9] to penetrate into Piedmont, but without

[7] The treaty does not seem to have been published in the usual collections, but it is in Cantillo, *Tratados de Paz*, 307, ap. Ranke, *Preuss. Gesch.* B. iii. S. 142.

[8] M. Martin, speaking of this action, says, "Les alliés sortirent de la rade le 19 Février, et livrèrent aux Anglais, le 22, un combat qui resta indécis. C'était un résultat *très-honorable* pour ceux qui étaient les plus faibles en navires et en canons."—*Hist. de France*, t. xv. p. 267. Here M. Martin suppresses the dissension between the English admirals, and the fact that the *honour* of the result was claimed *by the Spaniards alone*, and that the French admiral, De Court, was disgraced. See Coxe, *Spanish Bourbons*, vol. iii. p. 345 sq.

[9] See preceding chapter.

success. On February 8th, Montemar, in attempting to form a junction with them, fought a drawn action with the Austrians under Count Traun, at Campo Santo on the Tanaro. The Prince de Conti and Don Philip passed the Var and succeeded in occupying Nice in April; but were compelled to relinquish the enterprise, as the Genoese Senate, alarmed by the threats of Admiral Matthews, who told them that if they permitted the French and Spaniards to pass through their territories, he should regard it as a breach of their neutrality and commence hostilities against them accordingly, refused the invaders a passage. They were, therefore, compelled to retire, leaving garrisons in Nice and Villa Franca. They then made an attempt by the valley of Barcelonette (July), penetrated into the valley of the Stura, and laid siege to Coni, September 12th. The King of Sardinia gave them battle on the 30th of that month at Madonna dell' Olmo; and, although they gained the advantage, the autumn floods and want of supplies compelled them to raise the siege (October 22nd), and retire with great loss over the mountains. Meanwhile in Southern Italy the Austrians had advanced into the Campagna. Don Carlos, believing himself menaced, marched against them; many bloody skirmishes took place in the neighbourhood of Veletri, but nothing decisive was accomplished, and in November the Austrians retired.

Louis XV. had made a formal declaration of war against George II. (March 15th 1743), and against Maria Theresa (April 26th), and in May he had put himself at the head of the grand army of the Netherlands. He is said to have been stimulated to this unwonted energy by a new mistress, Madame de la Tournelle, whom he created Duchess de Châteauroux; the fourth sister of the family of Nesle that had successively passed into his incestuous embraces.[10] The army numbered 80,000 men under the command of Marshal Noailles and Count Maurice of Saxony. The latter, who, under the name of Marshal Saxe, became so celebrated as a general, was one of the numerous natural sons of Augustus II., the late King of Poland, by the beautiful Aurora von Königsmark, the foiled tempter of Charles XII. of Sweden. He had procured himself to be elected Duke of Courland by the States of that duchy in 1726, and after disputing his title with an heroic temerity against Russia and Poland, had finally placed himself in the service of France. Noailles had seen and appreciated his

[10] It is related that the King's confessor, the Jesuit Lémeri, not being able to give him absolution, advised him, in order to save appearances, to communicate *in blank*, or with unconsecrated wafers. Louis was so shocked with the proposal that he banished the confessor. *Chronique du règne de Louis XV*, ap. Martin, t. xv. p. 265. The story reflects still less credit on the Jesuit than on the King.

military genius in Bohemia, and as France was in want of generals, procured for him a marshal's bâton, though the King was prejudiced against him as a Protestant. During the month of June Courtrai, Menin, Ypres, the fort of Knoque, Dixmude, successively yielded to the arms of Louis. Meanwhile, however, the advance of the Austrians threatened the safety of Alsace, and the King, after taking Furnes, July 10th, hastened with the *élite* of his troops to the protection of that province, leaving Marshal Saxe in Flanders to conduct a defensive campaign which covered him with glory.

Prince Charles of Lorraine and Field-Marshal Traun, crossing the Rhine a few leagues from Philippsburg, had seized Lauterburg, Weissemburg, and the lines of the Lauter. The French marshal, Coigny, reinforced by the Emperor's Bavarians—the neutrality agreed upon at Niederschönfeld having been broken and repudiated—after retaking Weissemburg, which he could not hold, had retreated behind the Moter, and afterwards on Strassburg. Parties of Croats, Hungarians, and other Austrian partisans now inundated Alsace, and even pressed on into Lorraine. The King had fallen sick at Metz, where his life was despaired of;[11] but Noailles succeeded in effecting a junction with Coigny by the defile of Ste. Marie aux Mines. Prince Charles now received orders to recross the Rhine; an operation which he effected with little loss in the face of a superior enemy. The French, however, seem to have had their reasons for letting the Austrians depart. The Queen of Hungary, abandoning for the present the project of reconquering Alsace and Lorraine, had recalled her troops in order to repel an invasion of Bohemia by Frederick II. of Prussia. But we must take up the thread of this affair a little higher.

The Treaty of Worms of September 1743, before mentioned, had given great offence to Frederick. By the second article of it the contracting parties guaranteed to one another all the kingdoms, states, &c., which they then possessed, or which *they were entitled to possess*, in virtue of the Treaties of Turin (1703), Utrecht, and Baden; the Quadruple Alliance, the Treaty of Vienna (March 1731), the consequent guarantee of the Empire (January 1732), the Act of Accession, signed at Vienna, November 18th 1738, and that signed at Versailles, February 3rd, 1739.[12] This was, in fact, to guarantee to the Queen of Hungary the reconquest of Silesia.

[11] The Parisians, in their joy for his recovery, brought about by a quack, and in admiration of his warlike exploits, gave him the name of *Louis le bien aimé*; a *sobriquet* which is said to have roused in him no feeling except a well-founded astonishment. Voltaire, *Guerre de* 1741, ap. Martin, t. xv. p. 271.

[12] Garden, *Hist. des Traités*, t. iii. p. 294; Wenck, B. i. p. 682; cf. *Hist. de mon Temps*, ch. viii.

Frederick's anger and alarm were increased by a clause of the thirteenth article: that as soon as Italy should be delivered from its enemies, the King of Sardinia should furnish troops for the safeguard of Lombardy, in order that the Queen might be enabled to withdraw part of her army in that country and employ them in Germany.

In Germany? Against whom? Maria Theresa was allied with Saxony. She had humiliated Bavaria. Against whom, then, could she meditate war but Prussia? There was an end, Frederick concluded, to the Peace of Breslau, especially as the Queen took no pains to conceal her regret for the loss of Silesia. At the sight of a Silesian, as the English Ambassador, Robinson, wrote to his Court, she would forget the Queen, and burst into tears like a woman.[13] Frederick's jealousy was further increased by a treaty concluded December 20th 1743, at Vienna, between Austria and Saxony, containing a renewed guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction, without any exception with regard to Silesia; as well as by another entered into at St. Petersburg, February 4th 1744, between the King of Poland and the Empress of Russia, by which the alliance of 1733 was renewed with some modifications.[14] Besides these grounds for apprehension, Frederick was also of opinion that the Queen of Hungary was pushing matters too far against Charles VII. by aiming to deprive him of the Imperial crown. Against the League of Austria, Great Britain, Russia, Saxony, Sardinia, and the States-General, he therefore resolved to oppose a double league, one with France and one with the States of the Empire.

The Secret Treaty with France was signed June 5th 1744, but had probably been arranged some time before. The Cabinet of Versailles seems to have entered into it with a view to divert the Austrians from their attack by engaging the King of Prussia in a war with them, and encouraging him to invade Bohemia; of which kingdom, after its conquest, Frederick was to retain certain districts.[15] The alliance with the Emperor Charles VII. seems to have been entered into by Frederick more with a view to give a colourable pretence to his attack upon Bohemia than with any other purpose. This alliance, known by the name of the UNION OF FRANKFORT, was signed by the Emperor, the King of Prussia, the Elector Palatine, and the King of Sweden, as Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, May 22nd 1744. Its professed objects were, to maintain the German constitution, to compel the Court of Vienna to recognise Charles VII. as Emperor, and restore to him his Bavarian dominions.

[13] Raumer, *Friedrich II.*, S. 160.
[14] Martens, *Supplément au Recueil*, t. iii. p. 15.
[15] Garden, t. iii. p. 311.

By separate articles and by a further secret treaty between the Emperor and the King of Prussia alone, signed July 24th, Bohemia, after its conquest, was to be made over to the Emperor and his heirs; in return for which Charles was to cede Silesia to Prussia, together with the three circles of Bohemia nearest to that province, namely, Königsgrätz, Buntzlau, and Leitmeritz, with some other places. Frederick also guaranteed to the Emperor Upper Austria, so soon as he should have conquered it. France acceded to both these treaties.[16]

Early in August, Frederick himself communicated the Union of Frankfort to the Court of Vienna, and declared that, as a member of the Empire, he could not evade his duty of providing a contingent of auxiliary troops for the service of the Emperor, but that in other respects he should observe all his engagements with the Queen of Hungary. In the course of that month he commenced what has been called the SECOND SILESIAN WAR by marching 80,000 men into Bohemia. The army advanced in three columns. One, led by the King in person, passed through Saxony, regardless of the protests of the Court of Dresden; another, under Leopold of Dessau, took the route of Lusatia; while the third, under Field-Marshal Schmettau, debouching from Silesia and Glatz, entered Bohemia by Braunau. The united columns marched upon Prague, which surrendered, after a siege of six days, September 16th. Frederick, ignorant of the strong alliance between the King of Poland and the Court of Vienna, had hoped to gain Augustus, and made some tempting offers to him and his minister, Brühl. Augustus, however, ordered his army, 24,000 men strong, to enter Bohemia; nor could Frederick prevent their junction at Eger with Charles of Lorraine and the Austrian army retiring from Alsace. Neither the French under Noailles, nor the Imperialists under Seckendorf, who was suspected of having sold himself to the Court of Vienna, had attempted to arrest the march of the Austrians through Suabia, Franconia, and Bavaria. After their junction at Eger, the Austrian and Saxon force was carried to 90,000 men. The King of Prussia had but small prospect of successfully opposing them; especially as the Bohemian population, mostly Catholics, were inimical to the Prussians, instead of assisting them like the Silesians. Frederick, therefore, determined to retreat. Leaving a garrison of 10,000 men at Prague, he crossed the Elbe at Kolin, November 9th, and gained the county of Glatz with rapid

[16] Rousset, t. xviii. p. 446; Wenck, t. ii. p. 163. The Treaty of Union and separate article, in the original Latin, will also be found in the appendix to Garden's third volume.

marches. The Prussian garrison was also compelled to evacuate Prague, November 26th, and arrived at Friedland with great loss.

Frederick seems rather to have outwitted himself on this occasion. France obtained her ends by procuring the withdrawal of the Austrian army from Alsace; but the French did nothing to assist him, though they made some fine promises, of which he now knew the value, *for next spring*. This was, however, a game of which *he* was little entitled to complain. The French, in turn, had their suspicions of him, and were apprehensive that he might desert them, and again negociate with Maria Theresa, as he had done in 1742.[17] Such mutual mistrust is the necessary penalty of *finesse*. To avenge Frederick's unlucky attempt upon Bohemia, the Austrians under Nadasti, and the Hungarians under Counts Palfy, Esterhazy, and Caroli—for another Hungarian "insurrection" had taken place in favour of Maria Theresa—broke into Upper Silesia and the county of Glatz, from which, with the exception of the towns of Neisse, Kosel, and Glatz, they totally expelled the Prussians before the end of 1744. In a proclamation issued December 4th, it was notified that the whole Silesian territory had returned under the dominion of the Queen of Hungary. But the assumption was premature. Old Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Dessau, to whom Frederick committed the task, succeeded in nearly clearing Silesia of the Austrians before the spring of 1745. Meanwhile the French, instead of succouring Frederick, had employed themselves in taking Freiburg in the Breisgau, which surrendered November 5th. The Prussian attack upon Bohemia had also proved of service to the Emperor by withdrawing a great part of the Austrian troops from that electorate in order to repel it. Seckendorf, assisted by some French troops, took advantage of this circumstance to drive out the remainder. Munich was recovered October 16th, and Charles VII. was enabled once more to return to his capital.

The Italian campaign of 1744 was unfavourable to the Austrians. In the preceding year they had, as we have seen, driven the Spaniards almost to the Neapolitan frontiers, and, in spite of the neutrality imposed upon it, seemed to threaten an invasion of that kingdom. To avert such a catastrophe, Don Carlos, after taking all possible precautions against an attack upon his capital from the sea, joined the Spaniards with his forces, and enabled them to drive the Austrians and Piedmontese out of the Papal territories towards the Po.

The invasion of Bohemia by the Prussians produced what has

[17] Adelung, *Staatsgeschichte*, B. iv. S. 181.

been called the QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE, established by the Treaty of Warsaw, January 8th 1745, between the King of Poland, as Elector of Saxony, Great Britain, the Queen of Hungary, and the States-General. The King of Poland renewed his guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction, and promised to operate immediately in Bohemia with 30,000 auxiliary troops. So long as this army should be required, Great Britain was to pay an annual subsidy of 100,000*l.*, and the United Provinces 50,000*l.* Poland and Russia were to be invited to accede to the alliance. By some separate and secret articles, Augustus III. engaged, not indeed directly, but in effect, to procure the Imperial crown for the Grand Duke of Tuscany; while, on the other hand, the King of England and the Queen of Hungary promised to assist Augustus in his salutary views with regard to Poland, so far as they could without violating its constitution; that is, in other words, to assure the succession to his son.[18]

Soon after the execution of this treaty, an unexpected event changed the face of affairs. The Emperor Charles VII. died January, 20th 1745; an event which virtually annulled the Union of Frankfort. He was succeeded in the Bavarian Electorate by his son, Maximilian Joseph, then only seventeen years of age, and consequently too young to make any pretensions to the Imperial crown. Maximilian seemed at first inclined to remain faithful to the league with France and Prussia; but the war went so unsuccessfully, and the clamours of his people became so loud in demanding a termination of their miseries, that he listened to the advice of Seckendorf to make peace with the Queen of Hungary at any price. The advance of the Austrians under Bathyani had compelled him to quit Munich soon after his accession, and fly to Augsburg. The French, under Ségur, had also been defeated. Under these circumstances he despatched Prince Fürstenberg to Füssen, where he concluded a peace with the Austrian Count Colloredo, April 22nd 1745. By this treaty, the Queen of Hungary engaged to re-establish the Elector in all his dominions, and recognised the Imperial dignity of his father. The Elector, on his side, renounced for himself and his heirs all claims to the Austrian inheritance, acceded to the guarantee of the Pragmatic Sanction given by the Empire, engaged to observe a strict neutrality, adhered to the activity of the vote of Bohemia in the Imperial election, and promised his own for the Grand Duke of Tuscany.[19]

[18] Wenck, t. ii. p. 171.; Rousset, *Recueil*, t. xviii. p. 516.

[19] Wenck, t. ii. p. 180.; Menzel, B. v. S. 317. Frederick sums up the results as follows: "The Emperor dies; his son makes peace with the Queen of Hungary;

The objects of the Quadruple Alliance of Warsaw were more clearly announced in a secret treaty between Austria and Saxony, concluded at Leipsic, May 18th 1745. Not only was Silesia to be recovered, but Prussia was to be confined in narrower bounds than before the conquest of that province, and reduced to a state in which she should no longer be dangerous to the two allied Powers. In case of the entire success of their arms, the duchy of Magdeburg, with the circle of the Saal, the principality of Crossen, with the district of Züllichau, the Bohemian fiefs in Lusatia belonging to the House of Brandenburg, and the circle of Schwiebus, were to be assigned to the Elector of Saxony; from which apportionment deductions were to be made in proportion as the war with Prussia might prove less successful.[20]

While nearly all the Powers of Christendom were thus leagued in hostile treaties and engaged in mutual slaughter, there was one Power, standing without the pale, which took no part in their contests, and even endeavoured to reconcile them. Engrossed by their own interests, and confident in their power to repel all attacks from without, the Turks concerned not themselves about the maintenance of the political balance in Europe; an indifference also encouraged by their religion, which forbids them to take too direct a part in the affairs of Christians, or to go to war with any friendly Power except in case of a formal violation of treaties.[21] It seems to have been a whim of the Reis-Effendi Mustapha, secretary of legation at Vienna, that prompted him to procure, early in 1745, an offer of mediation to the Christian Powers from the Sublime Porte. Venice was proposed as the place of a Congress; and, as preliminaries, an armistice on the footing of *uti possidetis*, on condition that the election of Emperor should take place only by a unanimity of votes. Such a condition, which would make the election depend on the King of Prussia, could not of course be accepted by the Court of Vienna. The intervention of the Sultan affected to be religious as well as political. He proposed that, if the pontiff of the Christians would send one of his *apostles* to deliver his pacific exhortations to the Congress, he, on his side, would despatch a *dervise* selected by the Mufti. Perhaps, however, the real motive of the Porte for this unheard-of proceeding was the damage suffered by the Turkish commerce through the

the Grand Duke is to be Emperor; the Treaty of Warsaw leagues half Europe against Prussia; Prussian money keeps Russia inactive; England begins to incline towards Prussia." *Hist. de mon Temps*, ch. x. *sub fin.*

[20] Stenzel, *Gesch. Preussens*, Th. iv. p. 239.

[21] Vergennes, *Mémoire sur la Porte Ottomane*, published in *Politique de tous les Cabinets de l'Europe*, t. iii. p. 142 (2nd ed., Paris, 1801).

quarrels of the Christians.[22] The proffered mediation was respectfully declined by the larger States, though some of the smaller ones, as Naples and Venice, were in favour of it.

The King of Prussia, having no other ally but France, on whose loyal support he could not reckon, remained on the defensive in the campaign of 1745. He entrenched himself in the neighbourhood of Frankenstein and Neisse, at Jauernik, not far from Schweidnitz, and there awaited the approach of the Austrians and Saxons. Prince Charles, who commanded them, advanced by Landshut into the plains of Hohenfriedberg, where he was unexpectedly attacked and defeated by Frederick, near Striegau (June 4th). After the battle of Striegau, or Hohenfriedberg, Charles retreated into Bohemia, followed by the Prussians; but the advantageous position occupied by the Austrians near Königsgrätz, as well as the necessity which Frederick was under of maintaining his communications with Silesia, prevented his deriving any solid advantage from his decisive victory, and penetrating further into Bohemia. Towards the end of September he took up a very strong position near Sorr with 25,000 men. Here he was attacked by the Austrians with much larger forces, September 30th; but the inequality of the ground deprived them of the advantage of their numerical superiority, and Frederick gained a complete victory.

Meanwhile negociations had been entered into at London to re-establish a peace between the Queen of Hungary and the King of Prussia. Carteret (now Lord Granville) had retired from the English Ministry, and had been succeeded by the Earl of Harrington, a man of more moderate views. The events of the year 1745 had made the English Cabinet very desirous to bring about a peace between Frederick and Maria Theresa. The success of the French arms in Flanders, consequent on their victory at Fontenoy, and the descent of the young Pretender in Scotland in July—an event in our domestic history, the well-known circumstances of which we need not detail—by compelling the withdrawal of some of the British forces from the Netherlands, rendered it desirable that the Queen of Hungary should be at liberty to act with greater vigour in that direction and towards the Rhine. A secret treaty with the King of Prussia had been signed at Hanover, August 26th. Peace was to be concluded within six weeks between Prussia and Austria on the basis of that of Breslau; Augustus was to make a separate act of cession of Silesia to Frederick, who was to give his vote in the approaching election at

[22] See Flassan, *Dipl. Française*, t. v. p. 252; Hammer, *Osm. Gesch.* B. viii. S. 59.

Frankfort for the Grand Duke Francis as Emperor. The English Cabinet had had great difficulty to bring Frederick to these terms, yet the Queen of Hungary would not listen to them. She was already sure of her husband's election, and she was unwilling to abandon the hope of recovering Silesia, on which she had set her heart. The expectation, however, that something might eventually be concluded, had prevented Frederick from actively pursuing his victory at Sorr. But a piece of intelligence which he obtained through the indiscretion of the King of Poland's minister, Count Brühl, and which was transmitted to him through the Swedish minister at the Court of Dresden, induced him to take more vigorous steps.[23] The Queen of Hungary had formed the project of detaching 10,000 men from the army of the Rhine who, in conjunction with the Saxons, were to march upon Berlin; while Prince Charles of Lorraine was to enter Silesia with another army and attack the King of Prussia in his winter quarters. Frederick resolved to anticipate and divert this project by invading Saxony. Towards the end of November he entered Lusatia with his army, and after subduing that province marched upon Dresden. The King of Poland, who had refused Frederick's offers to treat separately, fled to Prague; while Prince Leopold of Dessau, entering Saxony by way of Halle, took Leipsic and Meissen, and opened communications with the King.

Prince Charles now marched to the defence of Dresden; but before he could join the Saxon army commanded by Rutowski, it had been defeated by Prince Leopold at Kesselsdorf, December 15th. The remnants of it escaped to Prince Charles, who, in the face of Frederick's now much superior forces, found it prudent to retreat into Bohemia. Dresden surrendered unconditionally to the King of Prussia, December 18th, and all Saxony was laid under contribution.

Maria Theresa was now compelled to listen to the appeals of the King of Poland, as well as to the British Cabinet, which threatened to withdraw its subsidies unless she made peace with Prussia. Frederick himself was desirous of peace, but only on the basis of that of Breslau. His money was almost exhausted, he could not rely upon the proffered assistance of France, he felt himself unequal to another campaign, and was indeed content with what he had achieved. Two treaties were signed at Dresden on the same day (December 25th 1745) with Saxony and Austria. By the first Augustus recovered what he had lost during the war, but

[23] *Hist. de mon Temps*, ch. xiii.

Saxony had to pay a million dollars, besides the contributions levied. The Queen of Poland, daughter of Joseph I., renounced all her claims to the territories ceded to Prussia by the Peace of Breslau. In the treaty with Austria, Maria Theresa again renounced Silesia and the county of Glatz, the cession of which was guaranteed by England. Frederick, as Elector of Brandenburg, allowed the electoral vote of Bohemia, and adhered to the election of Maria Theresa's consort as Emperor, against which he and the Elector Palatine had at first protested.[24] The Grand Duke had been elected at Frankfort, September 13th, and crowned October 4th, with the title of Francis I. Austria had regained the ecclesiastical Electors, and could of course reckon on Bavaria, Hanover, and Saxony. France had endeavoured to incite Augustus to become a candidate for the Imperial crown, but without effect. Thus the Empire returned to the NEW HOUSE OF AUSTRIA, that of Habsburg-Lorraine, and France had missed the principal object for which she had gone to war. The Prussians evacuated Saxony within twelve days after the signing of the treaties. A little before, East Friedland, the reversion to which, it will be remembered, had been assigned by the Emperor Leopold to the Elector Frederick III., in compensation of the cession of Schwiebus, fell into the King of Prussia by the death of the last prince, Charles Edward, May 25th 1744.[25]

Meanwhile in Flanders the French had achieved some brilliant success, especially at the BATTLE OF FONTENOY, gained by Marshal Saxe over the Duke of Cumberland and Field-Marshal Königseck (May 11th 1745), who were endeavouring to relieve Tournai. Louis XV. and the Dauphin were present at this affair. It was followed by the capture of Tournai, Ghent, Bruges, Oudenarde, Nieuport, Ath. Little was done on the side of the Rhine. The Prince of Conti passed that river and the Main, to threaten Frankfort and prevent the election of the Grand Duke of Tuscany as Emperor, and the Pragmatic army was compelled to retire beyond the Lahn; but after it had formed a junction with the Austrians under the Grand Duke, the French in turn were forced to retreat and recross the Rhine. The campaign in Italy this year had also been productive of events of more than ordinary importance. In the spring the Spaniards, under Gages, dislodged Lobkowitz and the Austrians from the Legation of Bologna, and pursued them into the Modenese. At the same time was negociated the Treaty of Aranjuez, between France, Spain, Naples, and the Republic of

[24] Wenck, t. ii. p. 194 sqq.
[25] Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. v. S. 321.

Genoa (May 7th 1745). The object of it was to gain over the Genoese, in order that Spain, besides what assistance the Republic could afford, might obtain the advantage of sending her armies into Italy by way of Genoa. The Genoese, who had been disgusted by the Treaty of Worms, agreed to assist the contracting parties with troops, &c.; in return for which some places were to be added to their dominions; their privileges and possessions, including Corsica, were to be guaranteed; and after the peace the Republic was to enjoy the same "royal distinction" as Venice, with regard to the ceremonial of ambassadors, &c.[26] The Infant Don Philip and Marshal Maillebois arrived at Savona with their forces towards the end of June, when the Genoese declared war against the King of Sardinia. Gages now crossed the Apennines, amidst the greatest difficulties and hardships, to Sarzana, and established his camp at Langasto, near Genoa; when, being reinforced by 10,000 Genoese, he passed the Bochetta, and joined Don Philip and Maillebois at Acqui. The combined army amounted to near 70,000 men. The King of Sardinia and Schulenburg, who had succeeded Lobkowitz in the command of the Austrians, now retired to Bassignano, and the combined army successively took Tortona, Piacenza, Parma, and Pavia (August and September). Schulenburg having separated from the King in order to cover Milan, Gages attacked and defeated Charles Emanuel in his camp at Bassignano, September 28th. Alexandria, Asti, Casale, successively surrendered to the Spaniards, who spread themselves through Lombardy. The Infant entered Milan December 19th.

These disasters caused Charles Emanuel to desire peace; and the Court of Versailles, alarmed at the negociations between Austria and Prussia, was disposed to grant liberal terms in order to withdraw him from the Austrian alliance. The minister, D'Argenson, had formed one of those magnificent schemes of which the heads of French statesmen are so prolific. Italy was to be organised into a Confederation, with a permanent Diet like Germany; the Austrians were to be expelled, and all the Italian States liberated from any bonds of vassalage towards the Holy Roman Empire; France was disinterestedly to renounce any pretensions she might have to hold anything on the other side of the Alps; the foreign princes established in Italy were to be *Italianised* by being disabled from possessing any dominions out of the Peninsula: such were the main outlines of this grand scheme.[27] The King of Sardinia, unfortunately, was not up to the level of these "ideas;" he seems to have

[26] Garden, t. iii. p. 325.
[27] D'Argenson, *Mémoires*, ap. Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. xv. p. 292.

regarded with distrust the French propositions, although they did not even claim Savoy, a French province by language; but he had some uneasy recollections of the war of 1733. However, as the share allotted to himself was very considerable, including a large part of the Milanese, he signed the preliminaries of a treaty, December 26th 1745.[28] The Court of Madrid, to which the negociations had not been communicated till the preliminaries were laid before it for acceptance, naturally felt very indignant at what it regarded as a treachery on the part of France;[29] especially as it knew that Louis XV. had also entered into secret negociations with the Dutch. The reluctance of the Queen of Spain to accede to the treaty, produced a delay of which Maria Theresa availed herself to send 30,000 men into Italy, who had been released through the peace with Prussia. The Austrians, now under Prince Lichtenstein, thus obtained so great a numerical superiority in that country, that Charles Emanuel resolved to break off his secret intelligence with France.

In the campaign in Flanders in 1746, the French followed up the successes which they had achieved in the previous year. Brussels, Antwerp, Mons, Charleroi, Namur, and other places, successively surrendered to Marshal Saxe and the Prince of Conti. After the capture of Namur in September, Marshal Saxe, reuniting all the French forces, attacked Prince Charles of Lorraine at Raucoux, between Liége and Viset, and completely defeated him, October 11th; after which both sides went into winter quarters. All the country between the Meuse and the sea was now in the power of France, Austria retaining only Luxemburg and Limburg. It was, however, some drawback to French vanity that these successes had been chiefly obtained for them by two foreigners, Marshal Saxe and his principal lieutenant, Count Löwendahl, a Dane, who had learnt the art of war under Münnich. The Court of Versailles, afraid that the Elector of Saxony would sell his troops to Great Britain, bought his neutrality for three years for two million francs per annum (April 1746). The marriage of the Dauphin, father of Louis XVI., to a daughter of Augustus III., was a result of this connection (December 1746).

In Italy, Charles Emanuel, as we have said, renouncing the French alliance, seized Asti, March 8th. Don Philip quitted Milan and retired to Pavia. The Austrian commander, Lichtenstein, and the King of Sardinia gained a signal victory over Maillebois and Gages near Piacenza, June 16th, which ultimately

[28] The conditions will be found in Garden, t. iii. p. 349 sq.

[29] *Mémoires de Noailles*, t. vi. p. 176.

compelled the French and Spaniards to relinquish all their conquests and recross the Alps. But another event of greater importance contributed to produce this result, the sudden death of Philip V. of Spain, July 9th. Philip, in spite of his wars of ambition, had left Spain in a better condition than he found it. He had particularly encouraged literature and art. In his reign had been founded the royal library, open to public use (1712), the academy for the Spanish language (1714), the academy of S. Fernando for painting and sculpture, and the academy of history (1738).[30] His successor, Ferdinand VI., then in his thirty-fourth year, being Philip's second son by his first wife, Maria Louisa of Savoy, was not interested in the ambitious projects of his father's widow, Elizabeth Farnese, and one of his first steps was to recall his forces from Italy. Yet he treated his step-mother, who had never discovered for him any feeling but aversion, with great liberality, allowed her to retain the palace of St. Ildefonso, and, contrary to the practice of his predecessors, even permitted her to reside at Madrid. He showed an equal affection for his step-brothers, and promised to promote their interests.[31] The withdrawal of the Spanish forces from Italy was, however, too precipitate, as it abandoned the Genoese to the Austrians. Gages was superseded in the command of the Spaniards by Las Minas, who had orders immediately to retreat to Nice; Maillebois and the French were compelled to accompany him; the combined army retired with precipitation along the coast of Liguria, pursued and harassed by the Austrians and Piedmontese; it did not even halt at Nice, but crossed the Var, September 17th 1746. Genoa, bombarded also by an English fleet, opened her gates to the Austrians, and submitted to hard conditions. The Doge and six senators proceeded to Vienna to implore Maria Theresa's mercy. After the capture of Genoa, the King of Sardinia and Lichtenstein, with 40,000 Austrians and Piedmontese, passed the Var and invested Antibes, which was also bombarded by an English squadron; and Belle-Isle, who had succeeded Maillebois in the command of the French, retreated before them to within a few miles of Toulon. But Provence was delivered from its invaders by a sudden revolution. General Botta and the Austrians in possession of Genoa treated the inhabitants in the most tyrannical and revolting manner, not only exacting the most oppressive imposts, but also insulting and maltreating the citizens. These brutalities at length excited a spirit of resistance. Some Austrian soldiers having

[30] Coxe, *Spanish Bourbons*, vol. iii. ch. xlvii.

[31] *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 2.

endeavoured to harness the passengers in the streets to a mortar they were carrying off, the people rose against them, and after five days of street fighting, the Austrian general was compelled to retire with a loss of 5000 men (December 10th).[32] The Imperialists being thus deprived of the supplies which they drew from Genoa, and menaced by the approach of Belle-Isle, who had been reinforced, abandoned the siege of Antibes and retired into Italy, January 1747. After the formal declarations between France and England in 1743, hostilities had extended to the colonial possessions of those nations. In 1745 the people of New England volunteered to reduce Louisbourg, the capital of Cape Breton; and having, with the assistance of a squadron under Commodore Warren, effected that object, the whole island submitted. In the following year, the French fitted out a very formidable fleet, with a great quantity of transports, to recover that colony, which arrived on the American coast in Sept. 1746. But the enterprise proved entirely abortive, without a single action having been fought. The land forces, decimated by sickness, were conveyed back to France, the fleet was dispersed and disabled by violent storms, and the remnant of it compelled to take refuge at Quebec. In the same year the English ministry had organised at Portsmouth an expedition against Canada; but having been delayed till the season of action was past, it was employed in making a descent on the French coast, at Port L'Orient; which, however, proved a complete failure. The French were more fortunate in the East, where, as already mentioned, they captured Madras.

Ever since the year 1745 some negociations had been going on between France and the Dutch for the re-establishment of peace. The States-General had proposed the assembling of a Congress to the Cabinet of Vienna, which, however, had been rejected. In September 1746, conferences had been opened at Breda, between France, Great Britain, and the States-General; but as Great Britain had gained some advantages at sea, the negociations were protracted, and the Cabinets of London and Vienna had endeavoured to induce the Dutch to take a more direct and active part in the war. In this state of things the Court of Versailles took a sudden resolution to coerce the States-General. A manifest was published by Louis XV. April 17th 1747, filled with those pretexts which it is easy to find on such occasions: not, indeed, exactly declaring war against the Dutch Republic, but that he should enter her territories "without breaking with her;" that he should hold in deposit the

[32] For the affairs of Genoa, see Häderlin, *Nachricht von der Republik Genua.*

places he might conquer, and restore them as soon as the States ceased to succour his enemies.[33] At the same time Count Löwendahl entered Dutch Flanders by Bruges, and seized in less than a month Sluys, Ysendick, Sas de Gand, Hulst, Axel, and other places.

Holland had now very much declined from the position she had held a century before. There were indeed many large capitalists in the United Provinces, whose wealth had been amassed during the period of the Republic's commercial prosperity, but the State as a whole was impoverished and steeped in debt. The national debt, including that of the separate provinces, amounted to upwards of eighty millions sterling; yet, so abundant was money, that the interest paid on it was only at the rate of 2½ per cent.; and the Dutch citizens are computed to have had an almost equal amount, or near seventy millions, invested in the English, French, Austrian, Saxon, Danish, and even Russian funds.[34] But in thus becoming the capitalists and money-lenders of Europe, they had ceased to be her brokers and carriers. The excessive taxes, by raising the prices of necessaries, and consequently of labour, had disabled her manufacturers and ship-owners from competing with foreigners. Holland was no longer the *entrepôt* of nations. The English, the Swedes, the Danes, and the Hamburghers had appropriated the greater part of her trade. Such was the result of the long wars in which she had been engaged; a great part of which had indeed been incurred for self-preservation, or in the interests of her commerce, though some of them must be attributed to the ambition of playing a leading part in the affairs of Europe. Her political consideration had dwindled equally with her commerce. Instead of pretending as formerly to be the arbiter of nations, she had become little more than the satellite of Great Britain;[35] a position forced upon her by fear of France, and her anxiety to maintain her barriers against that encroaching Power. Since the death of William III., the republican or aristocratic party had again seized the ascendency. William III.'s collateral heir, John William Friso, had not been recognised as Stadtholder, and the Republic was again governed, as in the time of De Witt, by a Grand Pensionary and *greffier*. The dominant party had, however, become highly unpopular. It had sacrificed the army to maintain the fleet, and the Republic seemed

[33] Martin, t. xv. p. 316.

[34] See Raynal, *Hist. Philosophique des deux Indes*, liv. xii. (vol. iv. p. 75 sqq., Justamond's Transl., London, 1776). The Abbé Raynal wrote near the time of which we are speaking.

[35] Frederick the Great says of her, in his view of Europe: "A la suite de l'Angleterre se range la Hollande, comme une chaloupe qui suit l'impression d'un vaisseau de guerre auquel elle est attachée."

to lie at the mercy of France. At the approach of the French, consternation reigned in the provinces. The Orange party raised its head and demanded the re-establishment of the Stadtholdership. The town of Veere in Zealand gave the example of insurrection, and William IV. of Nassau-Dietz, who was already Stadtholder of Friesland, Gröningen and Gelderland, was ultimately proclaimed hereditary Stadtholder, Captain-General and Admiral of the United Provinces. William IV. was the son of John William Friso, and son-in-law of George II., whose daughter, Anne, he had married.

The French threatening to attack Maestricht, the allies under the Duke of Cumberland marched to Lawfeld in order to protect it. Here they were attacked by Marshal Saxe, July 2nd 1747, and after a bloody battle compelled to recross the Meuse. The Duke of Cumberland, however, took up a position which prevented the French from investing Maestricht. On the other hand, Löwendahl carried Bergen-op-Zoom by assault, July 16th. These reverses of the allies were in some degree compensated by Anson's victory over the French fleet off Cape Finisterre, June 14th, and that of Admiral Hawke near the Isle of Aix, October 14th. These and other battles ruined the French navy.

The Austrians, who had been exceedingly irritated by the loss of Genoa, resolved this year to attempt its recovery. In a manifest breathing a spirit of vindictiveness and injustice, published March 29th 1747, the Genoese were declared rebels, and subject to all the penalties of treason; and their property, wherever found, was pronounced subject to confiscation.[36] The Austrian general, Schulenburg, master of the Boccheta, pressed hardly upon the town; but the French garrison under the Duke de Boufflers, son of the celebrated marshal, made a vigorous resistance, and on the approach of Belle-Isle and Las Minas with the French and Spanish forces, who had occupied the county of Nice early in June, the Austrians were compelled to raise the blockade and retire. The Spaniards had now again begun to co-operate with the French, and were making more vigorous preparations. Although Ferdinand, at his accession, had assured Louis XV. of his resolution to maintain the engagements contracted by his father, yet he had not only, as we have seen, withdrawn his troops from Italy, but had also entered into negociations with the British Cabinet, through the mediation of Portugal, and some steps towards a pacification had actually been taken.[37] But the influence of the Queen Dowager and the

[36] Haymann's *Archiv.* ap. Garden. t. iii.

[37] On the motion of Mr. Walpole, the British Parliament repealed the Act prohibiting commerce with Spain. Coxe, *Spanish Bourbons*, vol. iv. p. 9.

policy of the party that favoured an establishment for Don Philip in Italy, which had become almost a point of national honour, ultimately prevailed; and as it was thought that the British Cabinet leaned too much to the side of Maria Theresa, Spain again threw in her weight with France.

The campaign of 1747 not having been fortunate for the allies, who supported Austria, they resolved to make a grand effort in the following year. Great Britain, the Empress-Queen, the King of Sardinia, and the States-General, signed a Convention at the Hague, January 26th 1748, by which they agreed to bring into the field an army of 192,000 men. Great Britain and the States were each to contribute 66,000 men, and Maria Theresa 60,000. The Dutch also engaged to add ten or twelve vessels to the English fleet, which "was destined to ruin the commerce of France and protect that of the two nations." (Art. vii.) Maria Theresa was to keep in Italy 60,000 effective troops, and the King of Sardinia 30,000. The latter monarch also engaged to add his galleys to the English fleet of thirty ships of war. To support these armaments Great Britain engaged to pay a subsidy of 400,000*l.* to Austria, and another of 300,000*l.* to Sardinia.[38] In the preceding June a treaty had also been concluded between Great Britain and Russia, by which the latter Power, in consideration of a subsidy of 100,000*l.* sterling per annum, undertook to keep 30,000 infantry on the frontiers of Livonia, besides fifty vessels on the coast, in readiness to act on the first requisition of the English Cabinet.[39] By another treaty in November, in which Holland joined, the force to be provided by Russia was raised to 37,000 foot. These treaties had considerable influence in inclining France to peace.

Negociations had been going on throughout the winter, and a Congress had been appointed to meet at Aix-la-Chapelle, whose first conference took place April 24th 1748. Most of the belligerent Powers were desirous of peace. Great Britain and Holland were weary of the war; France and Spain were almost exhausted. Louis XV.'s new mistress, Madame de Pompadour, also pressed him in the same direction, because she did not like him to be absent with the army several months in the year. In order to stimulate the negociations, the French had invested Maestricht, April 13th. Marshal Saxe had remarked to Louis, "Sire, the peace must be conquered at Maestricht." The taking of that place would, indeed, have opened Holland to the French, and they had commenced the siege in the face of the allies 80,000 strong. On the other hand,

[38] Wenck, t. ii. p. 410.

[39] *Ibid.* p. 244; Rousset, *Recueil*, t. xix. p. 492.

the advance of the Russians, under Prince Repnin towards the Rhine, through Poland, Moravia, and Bohemia, also tended to accelerate a peace. This was the second time that a Russian army had appeared in Germany.

Meanwhile, however, as Austria, in whose behalf the war had been undertaken, seemed not to the Maritime Powers to exert herself in proportion to her interest in it, they had, in a secret conference, signed separate preliminaries with France, April 30th. The principal articles were:—Restitution of all conquests made during the war, which involved the restitution of Cape Breton to France, Madras to England, and to the Dutch the barrier towns conquered by the French; the duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla to be assigned to Don Philip, on condition of their being restored to the actual possessor, if Don Carlos should mount the throne of Spain, or if Don Philip should die without heirs; the republic of Genoa and the Duke of Modena to be restored to their former positions; Sardinia to hold what had been ceded to her in 1743; the *Asiento* contract and annual vessel to be renewed to Great Britain, as well as the article in the Treaty of 1718 respecting the succession to the throne of that kingdom; the Emperor Francis to be recognised by all the contracting Powers, and the Pragmatic Sanction to be confirmed; Silesia and the county of Glatz to be guaranteed to Prussia. A suspension of arms was to take place in the Netherlands within six weeks, except with regard to the siege of Maestricht.[40] That place capitulated to the French, May 7th.

Maria Theresa, seeing that the Russians had prepared to come in such force to her aid, was at first unwilling to accede to the peace. She could not digest the loss of the Italian duchies, for which she had ceded to Sardinia a part of the Milanese. But her minister, Count Kaunitz Rittberg, had formed the plan of recovering Silesia and humbling Prussia through a union with France and Russia; and on these grounds he persuaded his mistress to accept the preliminaries,[41] after protesting against what they might contain prejudicial to her interests (May 25th). The envoys of Sardinia and Modena acceded at the same time; those of Spain and Genoa, June 28th. The definitive Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, embracing the preliminaries already given, was signed by the French, English, and Dutch ministers, October 18th 1748, and a few days after by those of Spain, Genoa, Modena, and Austria. Sardinia refused to sign because the Treaty of Worms was not guaranteed. No mention

[40] Wenck, t. ii. p. 310.
[41] Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. v. S. 321.

was made of the Emperor or Empire, although the Italian duchies were Imperial fiefs.[42]

The TREATY OF MADRID, October 5th 1750, must be regarded as the complement of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Spain had refused to renew the *Asiento* and to execute Article Sixteen of the Peace, by which the profits of four years, during which the contract had been interrupted by the war, were to be allowed to the parties interested. Both sides armed, and war seemed again inevitable, when, by the treaty mentioned, Great Britain waived her claims in consideration of the King of Spain paying 100,000*l.* sterling within three months. The trade between the two countries was put on the same favourable footing in which it had stood in the reign of Charles II. of Spain.[43]

Such was the end of the war of the Austrian Succession, which had lasted eight years. Its object had been to establish four States on the ruins of the House of Austria. But though that house had been deprived of Silesia and the Italian duchies, these losses were small compared with the danger with which it had at first been threatened; while, on the other hand, it had established the order of succession and still remained a first-rate Power. France, the chief promoter of this bloody and ruinous war, gained literally nothing by it, and increased her debt by 1200 million livres, or near 50 millions sterling—another seed of the approaching revolution. Her conduct had been neither just nor worthy of a great Power; and, in consequence, she lost her reputation and ceased to be regarded as the arbitress of Europe. The part which England played in the war was conformable to the faith of treaties; though, so far as the continental struggle only is concerned, more chivalrous perhaps than prudent. Yet if she obtained no equivalent for her enormous expenses, she procured compensation for her commercial losses, established her maritime preponderance, and enforced the recognition of the exclusion of the Stuart dynasty. Spain also made some acquisitions in Italy. Russia had, for the first time, interfered with effect in the affairs of Western Europe, and laid the foundation of still more effective intervention. But the most important consequence of the war was the elevation of Prussia to a first-rate Power. The morality of the conduct by which Frederick II. achieved this result will hardly bear a strict scrutiny. So long as he attained his ends he was little scrupulous about the means. He affected friendship

[42] The treaty is in Wenck, t. ii. p. 337; cf. Garden, t. iii. p. 373 sqq.

[43] Wenck, t. ii. p. 464.

for Maria Theresa at the moment when he was preparing to wrest Silesia from her, and that under pretensions which he did not himself believe. In pursuit of his object he increased and lowered his demands according to circumstances, and contracted alliances, sometimes under insidious pretences, which were repudiated directly his interest required it. If it be possible to justify these proceedings by the "reason of State," on which he laid so much stress, let us not at least debase our judgment by also according to them a moral sanction. In the absence of any last appeal between nations but force, we can ill afford to corrupt and weaken the influence of the only other check upon ambition and violence—that of public opinion. In some eyes, however, success will be Frederick's great justification; for it is certain that he increased the Prussian dominions by a third.

CHAPTER V.

THE seven years that succeeded the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle are described by Voltaire [1] as among the happiest that Europe ever enjoyed. Commerce revived, the fine arts flourished, and the European nations resembled, it is said, one large family that had been reunited after its dissensions. Unfortunately, however, the peace had not exterminated all the elements of discord. Scarcely had Europe begun to breathe again when new disputes arose, and the seven years of peace and prosperity were succeeded by another seven of misery and war.

The ancient rivalry between France and England, which had formerly vented itself in continental struggles, had, by the progress of maritime discovery and colonisation, been extended to all the quarters of the globe. The interests of the two nations came into collision in India, Africa, and America, and a dispute about boundaries in this last quarter again plunged them into a war.

By the ninth article of the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, France and England were mutually to restore their conquests *in such state as they were before the war*. This clause became a copious source of quarrel. The principal dispute regarded the limits of Acadia, or Nova Scotia, which province had, by the twelfth article of the Treaty of Utrecht, been ceded to England *conformably to its ancient boundaries*; but what these were had never been accurately determined, and each Power fixed them according to its convenience. Thus, while the French pretended that Nova Scotia embraced only the peninsula extending from Cape St. Mary to Cape Canseau, the English further included in it that part of the American continent which extends to Pentagoet on the west, and to the river St. Lawrence on the north, comprising all the province of New Brunswick.[2] Another dispute regarded the western limits of the British North American settlements. The English claimed the banks of the Ohio as belonging to Virginia, the French as forming part of Louisiana; and they attempted to confine the British colonies

[1] *Siècle de Louis XV*, ch. xxxi.

[2] These were the boundaries laid down by the French themselves when the province was restored to them under the name of Acadia. See *Modern Univ. Hist.*

by a chain of forts stretching from Louisiana to Canada. Commissaries were appointed to settle these questions, who held their conferences at Paris between the years 1750 and 1755. Disputes also arose respecting the occupation by the French of the islands of St. Lucia, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago, which had been declared neutral by former treaties.

Before the Commissaries could terminate their labours, mutual aggressions had rendered a war inevitable. As is usual in such cases, it is difficult to say who was the first aggressor. Each nation laid the blame on the other. Some French writers assert that the English resorted to hostilities out of jealousy at the increase of the French navy. According to the plans of Rouillé, the French Minister of Marine, 111 ships of the line, fifty-four frigates, and smaller vessels in proportion, were to be built in the course of ten years. The question of boundaries was, however, undoubtedly the occasion, if not also the true cause of the war. A series of desultory conflicts had taken place along the Ohio, and on the frontiers of Nova Scotia, in 1754, without being avowed by the mother countries. A French writer, who flourished about this time, the Abbé Raynal, ascribes this clandestine warfare to the policy of the Court of Versailles, which was seeking gradually to recover what it had lost by treaties.[3] Orders were now issued to the English fleet to attack French vessels wherever found. This act has been censured as piratical, because it had not been preceded by a formal declaration of war; but it was subsequently defended by Pitt, on the ground that the right of hostile operations results not from any such declaration, but from the previous hostilities of an aggressor; nor is this principle contested in the reply of the French minister.[4] It being known that a considerable French fleet was preparing to sail from Brest and Rochefort for America, Admiral Boscawen was despatched thither, and captured two French men-of-war off Cape Race in Newfoundland, June 1755. Hostilities were also transferred to the shores of Europe. Sir Edward Hawke was instructed to destroy every French ship he could find between Cape Ortegal and Cape Clear; and the English privateers made numerous prizes.

A naval war between England and France was now unavoidable; but, as in the case of the Austrian Succession, this was also to be mixed up with a European war. The complicated relations of the European system again caused these two wars to run into one, though their origin had nothing in common. France and England,

[3] *Hist. des établissemens des Européens dans les deux Indes* (vol. v. p. 82, Eng. Tr.).

[4] See Pitt's instructions to Mr. Stanley, July 29th 1761, ap. Garden, *Hist. des Traités*, t. iv. p. 149, and the reply of M. de Bussy, *ibid.* p. 163.

whose quarrel lay in the New World, appeared as the leading Powers in a European contest in which they had only a secondary interest, and decided the fate of Canada on the plains of Germany.

The war in Europe, commonly called the SEVEN YEARS' WAR, was chiefly caused by the pride of one Empress, the vanity of another, and the subserviency of a royal courtezan, who became the tool of these passions. Maria Theresa could not digest the loss of Silesia, especially as it had been inflicted on her by an unequal adversary whom she despised. Her plans of vengeance were aided by Elizabeth of Russia, whose vanity had been hurt by the impolitic sarcasms of the King of Prussia. But the Empress-Queen would never have been able to execute her projects against Frederick II. unless she had been assisted by France. The manner in which she obtained the aid of that Power forms a masterpiece of diplomatic skill.

We have already alluded to the reluctance with which Maria Theresa signed the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. Although England had been her most powerful ally, she had begun to regard that Power with aversion, as being, through its counsels, one of the chief causes of her losing Silesia. She was also offended by the high tone assumed by the English Cabinet, and she manifested her discontent to the English Ambassador when he offered to congratulate her on the Peace, by remarking that condolence would be more appropriate.[5] She was aware, however, that a rupture with Great Britain must be made good by an alliance with France, in short, by an inversion of the whole political system of Europe, and the extinction of that hereditary rivalry which had prevailed during two centuries between France and Austria.

Such a task presented no ordinary difficulties; yet it was accomplished by the talents and perseverance of Count Kaunitz, one of the most remarkable statesmen of that age, and the greatest minister that Austria ever possessed. Kaunitz was now in the prime of life, having been born in 1711. He had been destined for the Church, but having, through the death of his elder brothers, become heir to the family title and estates, his vocation was altered. After a careful education, completed by foreign travel, he entered the service of Charles VI., and after the death of that Emperor was employed by Maria Theresa in various missions to Rome, Florence, Turin, and London, in the discharge of which his abilities procured for him her entire confidence. His success was, perhaps, in no small degree owing to the singular combination of qualities in his character. Under the easy exterior of a man of the world—

[5] Stenzel, *Gesch. des Pruss. Staats*, B. iv. S. 374.

we might even say of a fop and a voluptuary[6]—were concealed acute penetration, deep reflection, impenetrable reserve, indomitable perseverance. Even his bitter adversary, Frederick II., was forced to acknowledge the depth and power of his intellect. His political principles, like those of most statesmen of the age, were despotic; his residence at Paris had imbued him with the philosophical ideas then current, hence he was indifferent to religion, and regarded the Church only as the servant of the State. The energies of this remarkable man were directed during forty years to one object—the aggrandisement of the House of Austria. While the negociations at Aix-la-Chapelle were still pending, he had already, as we have said, conceived the seemingly impracticable project of uniting France and Austria against Prussia. The scheme was a profound secret between himself and Maria Theresa. Even the Queen's husband, Francis I., was ignorant of it till it was ripe for execution. The same thing happened at the French Court. Louis XV. and his mistress, the Marquise de Pompadour, formed a sort of interior and secret cabinet, which often acted contrary to the views of the ministers. Kaunitz, who, for the purpose of forwarding his plans, filled the post of Austrian Ambassador at Paris from the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle till the year 1753, had observed this peculiarity of the French Court, and availed himself of the facilities which it afforded. To gain Madame de Pompadour was no difficult task. She, too, like the Empress of Russia, had been irritated by some railleries of Frederick's respecting herself and her royal lover. Kaunitz artfully kept this feeling alive, and at the same time soothed the vanity of the royal favourite by the marks of favour and friendship which he persuaded his mistress to bestow upon her. He even prevailed upon the reluctant Maria Theresa, the proud descendant of the House of Habsburg, the chaste mother of a new line of Emperors, to write an autograph letter, in which the Empress-Queen addressed the low-born mistress of Louis as "*Ma Cousine!*" After the conquest of Pompadour it was not difficult to gain Louis. That monarch felt a natural antipathy for Frederick. He envied the Prussian King's splendid talents and achievements; nay, though himself sunk in all the abominations and ordures of the *Parc aux Cerfs*, he affected to abhor Frederick as a Protestant, or rather a freethinker.[7] It

[6] Thus he could not bear death to be named in his presence. The decease of any of his acquaintance was communicated to him by a circumlocution, as "he will not come again," &c. Marmontel informs us (*Mém.* t. i. p. 339), that he surprised the Count with his face smeared with the yolk of an egg, to remove the effects of the sun after hunting!

[7] Martin, t. xv. p. 492.

was necessary, however, that an alliance between France and Austria should be justified in the eyes of the French nation by some ostensible political object. To provide this, Kaunitz was prepared to sacrifice the Austrian Netherlands. Austria felt that she had been placed there by Great Britain and Holland, two Powers for whom she had no great affection, merely as a stop-gap, and to render those countries a barrier against France; but for that very reason, as well as from their distance, they were felt to be rather a burthen than an advantage. Even during the negociations for the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, Kaunitz had proposed to cede Brabant and Flanders to France if that Power would compel Frederick to restore Silesia. But France was then exhausted by the recent war, and cared not to enter into the project.[8] It was not till after many years of patient expectation that the breaking out of hostilities between France and England at length promised to crown Kaunitz's labours with success.

The counterpart of that minister's policy to conciliate France was of course to provoke a quarrel with England. Austria refused to pay the half million crowns which formed her share of the expense of the Dutch garrisons in Austrian Flanders, and abolished the commercial privileges which the English enjoyed in that country. When the British Cabinet remonstrated, the Empress-Queen petulantly replied that she was Sovereign in the Netherlands, and would not be dictated to. Matters grew worse in 1755. France was evidently meditating an invasion of Hanover, and with that view was negociating with the Elector of Cologne to form magazines in Westphalia. George II. now required of Maria Theresa, as he was entitled to do as guarantor of the Pragmatic Sanction, that she should increase her army in Flanders by 20,000 or 30,000 men. But the Court of Vienna, forgetful of the services which it had received from Great Britain, refused, on the plea that such a step would offend France; alleging also the unfounded excuse that Austria was threatened with invasion by Prussia. In vain the English Government assured her that Russia, with whom they had just concluded a treaty, would protect her against any attempt, if such was to be feared, on the part of Frederick. The treaty alluded to, executed September 30th 1755, was but a renewal of the alliance already subsisting between Great Britain and Russia since 1742. The Empress Elizabeth agreed to hold 55,000 men in readiness at the command of England on the frontiers of

[8] For these negociations see *Œuvres de Fréd. II*, t. iv. p. 16; *Mémoires de Richelieu*, t. vii. p. 241; Duclos, *Mém. Secrets* (Coll. Michaud et Poujoulat, 3 sér. t. x. p. 635).

Livonia, and forty or fifty galleys on the coast, that Power paying 100,000*l.* per annum while the army remained within the Russian boundaries, and 500,000*l.* when it marched beyond them. The invasion of Hanover, to be a *casus fœderis*.[9] But the real politics of the Court of St. Petersburg were better known at Vienna than at London. Elizabeth, as the event proved, had only signed this treaty in order to pocket the subsidy which it stipulated, and immediately hostilities broke out she joined Maria Theresa against Great Britain. In fact, a defensive alliance had been concluded at Warsaw between Austria and Russia in June 1746, and therefore, after the Peace of Breslau, in a secret article of which Maria Theresa declared that if the King of Prussia should attack either her dominions or those of Russia or Poland, she would revive her rights to Silesia.[10] In her negociations with Great Britain the Empress-Queen had already begun to throw off the mask. Instead of being defended against Prussia, she openly talked of attacking that kingdom in order to restore the European balance. Mutual recriminations and reproaches ensued; but George II. declared that he would enter into no paper war, and turned to seek an ally in his nephew, Frederick, who had formerly accused him of deserving the gallows for stealing his father's will!

It was an anxious time for the Prussian King. He wished for nothing more than to preserve what he had already obtained, and was therefore sincerely desirous of peace. But he clearly saw that the state of things precluded its maintenance. He was aware that his boldness and bad faith had made him an object of universal suspicion, that Maria Theresa was the centre of all the intrigues against him, and he strongly suspected that one of her trustiest allies might be the Russian Empress Elizabeth. At that period none of the European Courts was honest either to friend or foe. It was a contest of knavery, of bribery of one another's under-secretaries and other officers; each knew the most secret plans of his neighbour. Frederick had long been acquainted with the secret article of the Austrian and Russian treaty of Warsaw, and he felt that it was high time to fortify himself with an alliance. But he was addressed at once by France and England—which should he choose? His treaty with France was just expiring; the Court of Versailles, not yet thoroughly resolved on the grand stroke of an Austrian alliance, wished him to renew it, and to aid in an attack upon Hanover. But the French negociations were unskilfully managed. Frederick's pride revolted at the haughty

[9] Wenck, *Corp. jur. g. rec.* t. iii. p. 75. [10] Adelung, B. v. Beil. ii.

tone in which he was treated. He seemed to be regarded almost as a vassal of France; nay, some of the French proposals were positively insulting. Thus, for instance, the French minister, Rouillé, told the Prussian Ambassador to write to his master that an attack upon Hanover would afford a good opportunity for plunder, as the King of England's treasury was well provided! Frederick, naturally touchy after his somewhat equivocal exploits, indignantly replied to this home-thrust, that he hoped M. Rouillé would learn to distinguish between persons—that such proposals fitted only a contrabandist.[11] The Duke of Nivernais, who was sent on a special embassy to Berlin, tried to tempt Frederick by the offer of Tobago, one of the islands in dispute between France and England. Frederick requested him to find a more fitting governor "of Barataria." It is probable, however, that in choosing the English alliance, Frederick was guided by policy alone. From a due appreciation of the mercenary motives of the Russian Court, he was of opinion that after all it would adhere to England for the sake of her money; least of all did he expect an event so portentous as an alliance between Austria and France. He therefore entered into a Treaty of Neutrality with England, January 16th 1756, the only object of which professed to be to preserve the peace of Germany, and to prevent foreign troops from entering the Empire. By a secret article, the Netherlands were excluded from the operation of the treaty.[12]

This treaty, apparently so harmless, was followed by important consequences. Kaunitz employed it as his strongest argument to persuade the Cabinet of Versailles to a close alliance with Austria. His plans embraced the partition of Prussia among various Powers; to make the Polish crown hereditary in the Saxon family; to give the Austrian Netherlands to Don Philip in exchange for Parma and Piacenza; and to assign the ports of Nieuport and Ostend to France. These propositions occasioned violent discussions in the French Cabinet. The greater part of the ministry was for adhering to the old French anti-Austrian policy; but Louis and his mistress were for Maria Theresa. This momentous question was debated at a little house belonging to Madame de Pompadour, called Babiole. Madame de Pompadour, and her confidant the Abbé Bernis, without the intervention of any of the French ministers, arranged this momentous business with Count Stahremberg, who had succeeded Kaunitz as Austrian ambassador at Paris. The fate of France—nay, of Europe—lay at the discretion of a vain

[11] *Œuvres*, t. iv. p. 28.

[12] Wenck, t. iii. p. 84.

courtezan. The Austrian alliance was resolved on. On May 1st 1756 two treaties were executed by France and Austria, one of which stipulated the entire neutrality of the Empress-Queen in the impending war between France and England; by the other, a defensive alliance, the two Powers mutually guaranteed their possessions in Europe, and promised each other a succour of 24,000 men in case of attack, the war with England always excepted on the part of Austria; while France claimed no exceptions, not even in the case of a war between Austria and the Porte. The virtual effect of the treaties, therefore, was that Austria only engaged not to aid England against France, while France engaged to succour Austria with 24,000 men against Prussia, in case of need. But by secret articles the obligation of aid became reciprocal if other Powers, even in alliance with England, should attack the European possessions either of France or Austria.[13] Russia subsequently acceded to these treaties.

The wedge was thus got in, and Kaunitz hoped soon to drive it further, and induce the French Court to take a more active part in this project. The negociations had been concluded without the knowledge of the other Austrian ministers, or even of the Emperor Francis I., who detested France as the hereditary enemy of the House of Lorraine. When Kaunitz communicated them to the Council, the Emperor became so excited that, striking the table with his fist, he left the room, exclaiming "that such an unnatural alliance should not take place."[14] Kaunitz was so alarmed that he could not say a word; but Maria Theresa directed him to proceed, and manifested such decisive approbation that the other ministers did not venture to oppose him. The easy-tempered Francis, who, in fact, took little part in the affairs of Austria, confining himself to those of the Empire and of his grand duchy of Tuscany, was at length brought to consent to the new line of policy, and even to persuade the States of the Empire to second it.

Meanwhile hostilities had openly broken out between France and England. In December 1755 the Court of Versailles had demanded satisfaction for all vessels seized by the English; which being refused till the reopening of negociations, an embargo was placed on British vessels in French ports. Great Britain, seeing herself on the eve of a war with France, required from Holland the succours stipulated by the Treaty of 1716; but though this demand was supported by the mother and guardian of the young Stadtholder, who was George II.'s daughter, yet the anti-Orange party,

[13] Wenck, t. iii. p. 139, 141; Garden, t. iv. p. 19.

[14] Coxe, *House of Austria*, vol. iv. ch. cx.

availing itself of the alarm occasioned by a threat of Louis XV., persuaded the States-General to declare a strict neutrality. The English Cabinet had entered into treaties for the hire of troops with the States of Hesse-Cassel, Saxe-Gotha, and Schaumburg-Lippe. These petty German princes were at that period accustomed to traffic in the blood of their subjects, whose hire went not, like that of the Swiss, into their own pockets, but contributed to support the luxury and profligacy of their sovereigns. The military force of England was in those days but small; a dislike prevailed of standing armies, and her growing colonies and commerce required that her resources should be chiefly devoted to the augmentation of the navy. Hence the nation was seized almost with a panic when it was heard that large armaments, the destination of which was unknown, were preparing at Brest and Havre. The French, to increase the alarm and conceal their real design, caused large bodies of troops to assemble in their channel ports. Troops were hastily brought to England from Hanover and Hesse. But the storm fell elsewhere. War had not yet been formally declared when these armaments, joined by others from the French Mediterranean ports, appeared off Minorca, conveying an army of 12,000 men under Marshal the Duke of Richelieu. The Duke of Newcastle's administration, now tottering to its fall, had neglected the necessary precautions; the garrison of Port Mahon had been reduced to less than 3000 men; and it was only at the last moment that a fleet of ten ships, under Admiral Byng, was despatched for the defence of Minorca. When Byng arrived, the island was virtually captured. The French had landed on April 18th; on the 21st they occupied Port Mahon. General Blakeney, who commanded in the absence of Lord Tyrawley, the governor, now retired into the fort of St. Philip, which was deemed impregnable. Byng did not appear off Minorca till May 19th, and on the following day engaged the French fleet in a distant cannonade; after which he retired to Gibraltar, leaving the island to its fate. The English garrison in St. Philip's, despairing of relief, capitulated June 28th, and was conveyed to Gibraltar. Byng was afterwards condemned by a court-martial of not having done all that lay in his power to succour the place; and as popular clamour rose very high in England at the loss of Minorca, and seemed to demand a victim, he was shot in Portsmouth harbour, March 14th 1757. After the attack on Minorca, England issued a formal declaration of war against France, May 17th 1756, which was answered by the latter country June 9th.

The continental war had not yet begun. A league was preparing

between Austria, Russia, Saxony, and Sweden, among which the spoils of Prussia were to be divided. Silesia and the county of Glatz were to be restored to Austria; Prussia was to be given to Poland, Courland to Russia, Magdeburg to Saxony, Pomerania to Sweden. The Empress Elizabeth of Russia entered ardently into Maria Theresa's plans, but Kaunitz demurred to act without the consent of France. Frederick, who was acquainted with his enemies' schemes, had to determine whether he should await or anticipate the execution of them. He had learnt, to his alarm, that Russia was to begin the war; Austria was to get involved in it, and would then demand the aid of France, under her treaty with that Power. Saxony, as he discovered through Fleming, the Saxon minister at the court of Vienna, was to fall upon him when he had been a little shaken in the saddle. It is probable that Kaunitz, who wanted to drive him to some rash step, permitted him to get this secret intelligence.[15] He had, however, also learnt through another channel, his friend and admirer the Grand Duke Peter, who had secretly entered Frederick's service this very year as a Prussian captain, that the Courts of St. Petersburg and Vienna had resolved to attack him, but that the execution of the project had been deferred till the spring of 1757, in order to allow time for Russia to provide the necessary recruits, sailors, and magazines.[16] Frederick armed, and resolved on an immediate invasion of Saxony. First of all, however, by the advice of the English ambassador Mitchell, he demanded in a friendly manner, through his ambassador at Vienna, the object of the Austrian preparations; and as Maria Theresa gave an ambiguous reply to this question, as well as to a demand for a more explicit answer repeated towards the end of August 1756, Frederick, after having first published at Berlin a declaration of his motives, set his troops in motion. "It is better," he wrote to George II., "to anticipate than to be anticipated."[17]

Frederick's conduct on this occasion has been much canvassed. It has been observed that the projects of his enemies were only *eventual*, depending on the condition whether the King of Prussia should give occasion to a war, and consequently on his own conduct; that it was very possible their schemes would never have been executed, and problematical whether to await them would have been more dangerous than to anticipate them.[18] Such specu-

[15] Stenzel, B. iv.

[16] Hermann, *Gesch. Russlands*, B. v. S. 131.

[17] Lord Dover, *Life of Frederick II.* vol. ii. ch. 1.

[18] These reasons were given in a paper read before the Berlin Academy of Sciences by M. von Hertzberg, a few months after Frederick's death. The bad taste of this paper has been remarked upon by Menzel,

lations it is impossible to answer, but it may be observed that the course pursued by Frederick proved ultimately successful; and that, by attacking his enemies before they were prepared, he not only deprived Saxony of the power to injure him, but even pressed the resources of that State into his own service. It must also be remembered that the scanty means of Prussia, in comparison with those of her enemies, did not permit Frederick to keep a large force in the field for a long period of time, and it was therefore a point of the most vital importance for him to bring the war to the speediest possible conclusion. The morality of his proceeding may, in this instance, be justified by the necessity of self-defence; for there can be no doubt that a most formidable league had been organised against him.

The Prussians entered Saxony in three columns towards the end of August 1756. Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick marched with one by way of Halle, Leipsic, and Freiberg, towards Bohemia; the King himself, with Marshal Keith, led another by Torgau and Dresden; the third, under the Prince of Brunswick-Bevern, marched through Lusatia.[19] When Frederick entered Dresden, Sept. 7th he seized the Saxon archives, and caused the despatches which proved the design of the Powers allied against him to invade and divide Prussia to be published, with the celebrated *Mémoire* of M. von Hertzberg before mentioned.[20]

The Prussians at first pretended to enter Saxony in a friendly manner. They declared that they were only on their way to Bohemia, and should speedily evacuate the country; but they soon began to levy contributions. The King even established a so-called Directory at Torgau, which was to collect the revenues of the

Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen, B. v. S. 425 Anm.; as M. Hertzberg was the very person employed by Frederick thirty years before to draw up the *Mémoire raisonné*, in justification of the step he had taken. See further on this subject, Raumer, *Friedrich II. und seine Zeit.* Abschnitt 28 ff. It may be observed that Frederick's proceeding with regard to Saxony bears a strong analogy to the seizure of the Danish fleet by England in 1807.

[19] It is impossible, in a work like the present, to enter into the details of the Seven Years' War. The principal authorities on the subject are the *Hist. de la guerre de sept ans*, in Frederick's *Œuvres Posthumes*; the *History of the Seven Years' War*, by General Lloyd, with plans (3 vols. 4to.). This work has been translated into German by Tempelhoff, with additions that make it quite a new work (6 vols. 4to.). Archenholz, *Gesch. des siebenjährigen Kriegs* (2 vols. 8vo.); Stuhr, *Forschungen und Erläuterungen über Hauptpunkte der Gesch. des siebenjährigen Kriegs*, Hamburg, 1842. Jomini's *Traité des grandes opérations militaires* contains a critical account of the King of Prussia's campaigns. Napoleon has also criticised all Frederick's military operations in his *Mémoires*.

[20] *Mémoire raisonné sur les desseins dangereux des cours de Vienne et de Dresde.* The papers, however, do not appear to have afforded any proof against Saxony. See Schlosser, *Gesch. des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*, B. ii. S. 306.

electorate; and he caused that town to be fortified. Augustus III. ordered the Saxon army of about 17,000 men, under Rutowski, to take up a strong position near Pirna; but it was without provisions, ammunition, or artillery. Count Brühl had neglected everything, except his own interests and pleasures. Augustus and Brühl had shut themselves up in the impregnable fortress of Königstein. Frederick was unwilling to attack the Saxons. He wished to spare them, and to incorporate them with his own army; and he therefore resolved to reduce them by blockade. The delay thus occasioned afforded Maria Theresa time to assemble her forces in Bohemia, under Piccolomini and Browne. As the latter general was hastening to the relief of the Saxons, Frederick marched to oppose him. The hostile armies met on the plain of Lowositz, a little town in the circle of Leitmeritz, where an indecisive battle was fought, October 1st. The result, however, was in favour of Frederick. He remained master of the field, and the advance of the Austrians was checked. Frederick now hastened back to Saxony, where the troops of Augustus, being reduced to a state of the greatest distress by the exhaustion of their provisions, were compelled to surrender (October 15th), in spite of an attempt of the Austrians to release them. The officers were dismissed on parole, and the greater part of the privates incorporated in Prussian regiments. Augustus III. being permitted to retire into Poland, endeavoured, but without effect, to induce the Poles to embrace his cause. Frederick, who remained master of Saxony, concluded in the winter (January 11th 1757) a new treaty with Great Britain, the professed object of which was, to balance the "unnatural alliance" between France and Austria. Great Britain was to pay Prussia a subsidy of a million sterling during the war, to send a fleet into the Baltic, and to harass France on her coasts, or in the Netherlands; while Frederick was to add 20,000 men to the Hanoverian army[21] of 50,000.

Frederick's attack upon Saxony set in motion in the following year the powerful league that had been organised against him. The Empress-Queen, the States of the German Empire, France, Russia, and Sweden prepared at once to fall upon him. On the complaint of Augustus, as Elector of Saxony, the German Diet assembled at Ratisbon, at the instance of the Emperor Francis, with more than ordinary promptitude; declared the King of Prussia guilty of a breach of the *Landfriede*, or public peace of the Empire; and decreed, on the 17th of January 1757, an *armatura ad*

[21] The treaty will be found textually in Garden, t. iv. p. 29.

triplum, or threefold contingent of troops, and the tax or contribution called *Roman-months*, which could have brought in three million florins, or about 250,000*l.* sterling, could it have been duly levied, for the purpose of restoring Augustus to his dominions. But it was one thing to make these decrees, and another to carry them out. The Prussian envoy at the Diet treated the notary who handed him the decree with the rudest contempt. The North of Germany protested against the decision of the majority of the Diet, and the sovereigns of Lippe, Waldeck, Hesse-Cassel, Brunswick, Hanover, and Gotha found it more advantageous to let out their troops to England than to pay Roman-months and furnish their contingents to the Imperial army.

France, governed by the small passions of a *boudoir* rather than by the dictates of sound policy, instead of devoting all her energies and resources to the maritime war with Great Britain, resolved to take a principal share in the Continental war, and to assist in the abasement of the only German Power capable of making head against Austria. She determined to send three armies into Germany, and exerted her diplomacy to induce Sweden to join the league against Prussia. The revolution which had just taken place in Sweden was favourable to the designs of France. Frederick II., King of Sweden and Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, had died in 1751, and had been succeeded by Adolphus Frederick, of the House of Holstein-Gottorp, elected under Russian influence. Ulrica, sister of the King of Prussia and consort of Adolphus Frederick, had in 1756 organised a conspiracy to overthrow the aristocratic faction and restore the royal power; but it ended only in the execution of some of the principal leaders, and the still further increase of the power of the *Hats*. This party was sold to France; and the senate, without even consulting the estates of the realm, compelled the King to take part against his brother-in-law. The lure held out by France was the recovery, by Sweden, of all her former possessions in Pomerania. In the course of 1757, two conventions were executed between France and Sweden, in which Austria was also included (March 21st and September 22nd). By these treaties, Sweden, as one of the guarantors of the Peace of Westphalia, engaged to maintain in Germany an army of at least 20,000 men, exclusive of the garrison of Stralsund, and of her contingent to the Imperial army for the possessions she still held in Pomerania. Subsidies were to be paid for these succours, and for any increased force. An attempt was also made to induce Denmark to join the league; but the Danish minister, Count Bernstorff, with a high moral feeling that distinguishes him among the politicians of the day, refused to

lay the application before his sovereign, Frederick V., on the ground that nothing more wicked and dreadful can be committed than to enter into an unjust and needless war for the sake of acquiring a piece of territory.[22] A secret treaty was also concluded between the Empress-Queen and Elizabeth of Russia, January 22nd 1757. Its contents are unknown, and even its existence would have remained a secret but for its being cited in the Convention of St. Petersburg, March 21st 1760.[23]

France also drew closer her alliance with Austria by a fresh treaty, executed on the anniversary of the former one (May 1st 1757). Between these periods the Court of Versailles had become still more embittered against the King of Prussia. The Dauphin had married a daughter of Augustus III., and her tears and lamentations upon the invasion of Saxony had had a great effect upon Louis XV. Another circumstance had also contributed to his hatred of Frederick. He alone, among all the princes of Europe, had neglected to condole with the French King, when wounded with the knife of an assassin.

This attempt upon Louis's life had been produced by a fresh persecution of the Jansenists. Christophe de Beaumont, archbishop of Paris, a violent champion of orthodoxy, had in 1750 commanded his clergy to refuse the last sacraments to such dying persons as were not provided with a certificate of confession, and refused to acknowledge the Bull *Unigenitus*. The withholding of the last sacraments, it should be remembered, implied the refusal of Christian sepulture, and affixed a stigma on the deceased and his family. The French Parliament took up the cause of the people against the clergy. Violent scenes ensued. Some of the more prominent presidents and counsellors were banished; the Parliament of Paris was suspended from its functions; but a passive resistance continued, and in 1754 the King found it expedient to settle the matter by a transaction. The bishops consented to dispense with the obnoxious certificates, provided the clergy were released from the tax of a twentieth, which the government, in a new scheme of finance, had extended to the incomes of that order; and the Parliament of Paris was restored, amid the acclamations of the people, on agreeing to register a royal Declaration enjoining silence with regard to religious disputes.

The clergy, however, did not adhere to their bargain, but continued to require the certificates; whereupon the court changed sides, and banished the archbishop and several other prelates to

[22] Menzel, B. v. S. 449.

[23] Garden, t. iv. p. 24.

their country-houses. The Parliaments, encouraged by this symptom of royal favour, became still more contumacious, and refused to register some royal edicts for the imposition of new taxes required for the contemplated war. To put an end to these contentions, Louis XV., in a *Lit de Justice* held December 13th 1756, issued two Declarations. The first of these, concerning the ecclesiastical question, adopted a middle course, and ordained that the Bull *Unigenitus* was to be respected, though it was not to be regarded as a rule of faith. With respect to the edicts of taxation, the Parliament of Paris was to send in its remonstrances within a fortnight, and to register the edicts the day after the King's reply to them. These Declarations were accompanied with a royal edict suppressing two chambers of the *Enquêtes* and more than sixty offices of counsellors. This arbitrary proceeding was followed by the immediate resignation of all the members of the courts of *Enquêtes* and *Requêtes*; an example that was followed by half the *Grand' Chambre*. Out of 200 magistrates, only 20 retained office.

This spontaneous dissolution of the Parliament produced an extraordinary effect on the public, and impelled a crazy fanatic to make an attempt on the King's life. As Louis was entering his carriage at Versailles on the evening of January 5th 1757, a man stepped out from among the spectators and wounded him in the side. The wound, which appears to have been inflicted with a small penknife, was not at all dangerous; but the King, under the apprehension that the instrument had been poisoned, kept his bed several days, gave the Dauphin his last instructions, and like a man at the point of death, caused himself, in the agonies of his conscience, to be absolved five or six times over by a priest. Louis, however, speedily recovered, and Damiens—such was the name of the assassin—who appears to have been an imbecile, was condemned to expiate his crime with torments which are a disgrace to the eighteenth century, and to a civilised nation. Like Ravaillac, his flesh was torn with red-hot pincers, the wounds were filled with molten lead, and he was finally torn asunder by four powerful horses. It is, however, only justice to Louis to say that he disapproved of this cruelty, and that he signified his disgust at the conduct of some great ladies who paid large sums to obtain a view of the execution. Expressions of condolence at Louis's misfortune poured in from all the courts of Europe: Frederick alone, as we have said, expressed no sympathy and horror.[24] But to return to the negociations between France and Austria.

[24] Stenzel, *Gesch. des Preuss. Staats*, B. v. S. 23.

By the second treaty between these countries France very much augmented her succours both of troops and money. She was to maintain on foot a force of 105,000 men, besides 10,000 Bavarians and Würtembergers, till Maria Theresa, who was to employ at least 80,000 of her own troops, should have recovered Silesia and Glatz; and was also to pay an annual subsidy of twelve million florins, or about one million sterling, so long as the war should last. Austria was further to obtain the principality of Crossen, with a convenient extent of country; the present possessors of which were to be indemnified out of the Prussian dominions. Negociations were to be opened with Sweden, the Elector Palatine, the Electors of Bavaria and Saxony, and with the Dutch States-General, who were all to have a share of Prussia proportioned to their exertions in the war. To the negociations with Sweden we have already alluded. Saxony was to have the duchy of Magdeburg and the circle of the Saal, together with the principality of Halberstadt, in exchange for part of Lusatia. The Elector Palatine and the Elector of Bavaria joined the league in the hope of sharing in the spoils; the Dutch, in spite of the bait of Prussian Clèves, preserved their neutrality. Maria Theresa was to assign the Austrian Netherlands, except what she ceded to France, to the infant Don Philip, who in return was to abandon to her the duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla. Maria Theresa reserved, however, the vote and seat in the Imperial diets annexed to the circle of Burgundy, the collation of the order of the Golden Fleece, and the arms and titles of the House of Burgundy. To France were to be ceded the sovereignty of Chimai and Beaumont, the ports and towns of Ostend, Nieuport, Ypres, Furnes, and Mons, the fortress of Knoque, and a league of territory around each of these places.[25] The French were at once to occupy Ostend and Nieuport provisionally. But by assigning the Austrian Netherlands to a small prince like the Duke of Parma, Maria Theresa virtually abandoned the whole of them to France.

France had also endeavoured to persuade the Court of Madrid to join the alliance against England and Prussia; and as a lure to Spain, Louis XV., after the conquest of Minorca, offered to make over that island to Ferdinand VI., as well as to assist him in the recovery of Gibraltar. But Ferdinand was not inclined to enter into a war with England, and these offers were rejected.[26]

The forces to be brought into the field by the Powers leagued

[25] This treaty will be found in *extenso* in Garden, t. iv.; *Notes et Documens*, No iii.

[26] Coxe, *Spanish Bourbons*, vol. iv. p. 172.

against Frederick II. amounted to upwards of 400,000 men, to which Prussia and Hanover could not oppose the half of that number. In April 1757, before the second convention with Austria had been executed, the French took the field with three armies; one of which, under Marshal the Duke de Richelieu, was placed on the Upper Rhine; another, under the Prince de Soubise, on the Main; while the third and principal one, under the Marshal d'Estrées, occupied the duchies of Gelderland and Clèves, and the greater part of the Prussian territories in Westphalia—Frederick having abandoned these districts in order to concentrate his forces on the Oder. In July the French took possession of Hesse-Cassel, the capital of an ally of Great Britain; the Duke of Cumberland, who commanded the Hanoverian army of observation of about 67,000 men, continually retreating before them. The plan of the French was to reduce the electorate of Hanover to neutrality, and then to push on into Prussia. The Duke of Cumberland attempted to make a stand at Hastenbeck, but was defeated by D'Estrées. The Duke gave up the battle prematurely, the loss of the French having been twice as great as that of the Hanoverians. In spite of his victory, however, D'Estrées, who was accused of being too slow in his movements, was by a court intrigue superseded in favour of the more brilliant Marshal Richelieu, who had acquired a military reputation by the conquest of Minorca. Richelieu overran the greater part of Brunswick and Hanover, the Duke of Cumberland retiring to Kloster-Seven, between Bremen and Hamburg. Hither Richelieu hesitated to pursue him, knowing that Denmark, by the treaty of 1715 already mentioned, had guaranteed the duchies of Bremen and Verden to the House of Brunswick Lüneburg, and had promised, in case of an attack upon them, to come to its aid with 8000 men; while the French commander was ignorant that, by a recent convention executed at Copenhagen July 11th 1757, France had promised to respect the neutrality of those two duchies, reserving, however, the right of pursuing a Hanoverian army that might take refuge in them.[27]

Matters were in this position when Count Lynar offered, on the part of Denmark, to mediate between the combatants. Lynar belonged to the school of Spener and the Pietists, and according to a letter of his which fell into the hands of the Prussians, he attributed this idea to an inspiration of the Holy Ghost, which enabled him to arrest the progress of the French arms, as Joshua had formerly arrested the course of the sun.[28] However this may

[27] Garden, *Hist. des Traités*, t. iv. p. 27.
[28] Frederick, *Hist. de la guerre de sept ans*, ch. 5.

be, the Duke of Cumberland, pressed thereto by the petty interests and passions of the Hanoverian ministry and nobles, who were anxious to save their own possessions from annoyance, consented to accept the mediation of Denmark; nor was Richelieu averse to it, as the neutralising of Hanover would enable him to march against Prussia. Under these circumstances Lynar was employed to draw up the CONVENTION OF KLOSTER-SEVEN, signed September 8th 1757. By this convention an armistice was agreed upon, Cumberland's auxiliary troops, namely, those of Hesse, Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, Saxe-Gotha, and Lippe-Bückeburg—for there were no British among them—were to be dismissed to their respective countries; the Duke himself, with the Hanoverians, was to retire within twenty-four hours beyond the Elbe, leaving only a garrison of not more than 6000 men at Stade; and the French were to retain possession of what they had conquered till a peace.[29] But the composition of this document neither reflected much credit on Count Lynar's statesmanship, nor on the penetration and foresight of Richelieu. The duration of the suspension of arms was left undetermined, nor was it stipulated that the Hanoverians and their auxiliaries should be disarmed.

The Prussians had entered Bohemia from Saxony about the same time that the French invaded Westphalia, and a division, under the Prince of Brunswick Bevern, had repulsed Count Königseck at Reichenberg, April 24th 1757. Frederick in person, with the main army, marched against Prince Charles of Lorraine and Marshal Browne, who were strongly posted behind Prague, on the Moldau. As the Austrian Marshal Daun was known to be approaching with reinforcements, the King attacked Prince Charles, May 6th, and, after an obstinately contested and bloody battle, which lasted from nine in the morning till eight in the evening, completely defeated him. The Austrian camp, military chest, and sixty guns fell into the hands of the Prussians. The battle of Prague was signalised by the death of two of the most distinguished generals on either side—Marshal Browne, and the Prussian Marshal Schwerin.

After this defeat, Prince Charles threw himself into Prague with the remains of his army of about 40,000 men, where he was blockaded by Frederick; and, such was the prestige of the Prussian arms, that although Frederick's forces were not much more numerous than those which he surrounded, yet the Austrians ventured not upon any attempt to escape. Nay, as Marshal Daun was

[29] The convention will be found in the *Hinterlassene Staats-schriften des Grafen zu Lynar* (Hamburg, 1797).

approaching to relieve them, Frederick was even bold enough to march with a great part of his army to oppose him. But in this hazardous step he was not attended with his usual good fortune, which had hitherto proved so constant to him as to render him somewhat presumptuous. Daun, though rather slow, was an able and cautious general, and his army numbered 20,000 men more than that of the King—54,000 Austrians against some 34,000 Prussians. It is not surprising, therefore, that Frederick was, for the first time, though after a severe contest, entirely defeated at the battle of Kolin, June 18th. In consequence of this defeat he was compelled to raise the blockade of Prague, and to retire with all his forces into Silesia. It was on the occasion of this battle that the Empress Queen founded the order of Maria Theresa.

During the next three or four months, Frederick's prospects were gloomy enough. To add to the misfortune of his defeat, Westphalia, as we have seen, was lost; the Hanoverian army beaten and neutralised; the road to Magdeburg open to Richelieu; while the army of the Empire, called the *Army of Execution*, together with a French division under Soubise, had assembled in Thuringia. Marshal Apraxin, with 100,000 Russians, who had occupied Riga early in February, entered Prussia in June, and defeated the Prussians under Lehwald at Gross-Jägerndorf, August 30th; while Memel had been captured by a Russian maritime expedition. England had made no preparations to assist Prussia in this quarter; the Russian Court having notified that it should consider the appearance of an English fleet in the Baltic as a declaration of war, a step which the British Cabinet, having its hands full with the French war, as well as for commercial reasons, was anxious not to provoke. The Swedes, under Ungern Sternberg, invaded Pomerania and the Uckermark in September, and took several places. Silesia, and even Brandenburg, seemed to be open to the Austrians; and the Austrian General Haddick actually pushed on to Berlin in October, and levied contributions on that city during the few hours that he held it. In these critical circumstances, Frederick was almost driven to despair. He tells us himself that he meditated suicide; an idea which gave occasion to Voltaire to write him a dissuasive letter, in which he urged all the topics which could occur to a man of genius and wit on such a subject. It was a more sensible step on the part of Frederick to endeavour to open negociations with the French. Marshal Richelieu, a great nephew of the Cardinal's, had inherited the anti-Austrian policy of that minister, and regarded with disapproval the project of crushing Prussia. He was not, it is said, insensible to flattery or even to

bribes; and Frederick made proposals to him in a letter calculated to tickle his vanity, accompanied, it is supposed, with a considerable present. The French Court did not listen to these advances, but they probably contributed to the inactive line of conduct pursued by Richelieu. Frederick was saved by the want of concert and vigour among his enemies. Apraxin, instead of following up his victory at Jägerndorf, retired towards Poland and Courland, and went into winter quarters. This step is ascribed to the fondness and admiration with which the Grand Duke Peter, of Holstein-Gottorp, the heir of the Russian throne, regarded the King of Prussia;[30] and may partly also be attributed to the Russian Chancellor, Bestuscheff, who had sold himself to England and Prussia.[31] Bestuscheff was soon afterwards disgraced at the instance of the Courts of Vienna and Versailles, and Apraxin was recalled; but, fortunately for the King of Prussia, all the commanders who succeeded him—partly from some defect in the Russian military system, partly also from the knowledge that "the young court," as it was called, or the Grand Duke Peter and his wife, were well disposed towards Frederick—carried on the war with little vigour, and did only enough to insure their claims to any conquests. They adopted the convenient custom of putting their troops into winter quarters in defenceless Poland, whence, in general, they did not break up till the middle of summer, to return to them again after a short campaign. The Swedes also did little or nothing this year. Instead of marching on Berlin, as they had agreed with France, they demanded the aid of the French to hold Pomerania on the approach of Lehwald and the Prussians, whom the retreat of the Russians had enabled to advance against them. Lehwald drove them from Pomerania, except the isles of Rügen and Stralsund, which he invested.

Meanwhile the Imperial Army of Execution, under Hildburghausen, in conjunction with the French under Soubise, marched in September from Franconia into Saxony, which was still occupied by the Prussians. But the Imperial army was in bad condition, ill provided, armed, and disciplined. Only a few Austrian cavalry regiments were serviceable. Many, especially the Protestants,

[30] As early as 1751, Count Lynar, then Danish ambassador at the Court of St. Petersburg, remarks of Peter: "On lui avait fait accroire que ce prince (Frederick) l'aimoit et parloit de lui avec estime et fort avantageusement; d'où il tiroit la conséquence qu' assitôt qu'il seroit monté sur le trône S. M. prussienne rechercheroit avec empressement son amitié et se prêteroit à tous ses desseins." Lynar's *Hinterlassene Staats-schriften*, B. i. S. 469. Since the year 1755 Peter had entered into a frequent, but secret, correspondence with Frederick II.

[31] Hermann, *Gesch. Russlands*, B. v. S. 133, 141.

deserted to Frederick, who was very popular among the German troops, and especially with the officers. Hildburghausen, besides being incompetent, was hated by the army; nor was Soubise a much more skilful general. The greatest disunion prevailed both between the two commanders and their troops. The French looked upon the Germans as little better than a burthen. An army so composed was not very formidable, but Frederick had not expected their advance at so late a season. They took advantage of a retrograde movement which he made towards Brandenburg, then infested by the Austrians, to advance to Leipsic; but on his approach they retreated beyond the Saale. Frederick crossed that river and came up with them, November 5th, at Rossbach, near Weissenfels, where he gained one of his most splendid victories, taking 7000 prisoners and seventy-two guns. His success was chiefly due to Seidlitz and his cavalry.

Frederick then turned towards the Austrians, who had invaded Silesia, taken Glatz, except the fortress and Schweidnitz, November 14th, and defeated the Prince of Brunswick-Bevern near Breslau, November 22nd. The Prince, while riding only with a groom, was captured a day or two after by an Austrian outpost, apparently on purpose; Frederick having told him that he should be answerable with his head for the holding of Breslau. That town was captured by the Austrians, November 24th. But their success was of short duration. Frederick defeated Prince Charles of Lorraine and Marshal Daun, December 5th, at Leuthen, near Lissa, a battle esteemed among the *chef d'œuvres* of the military art. Although Frederick had only about 33,000 men, 40,000 Austrians were either killed, wounded, dispersed, or made prisoners. The fruits of this victory were the recapture of Breslau, December 19th, although 20,000 men had been left behind for its defence, and the hasty evacuation of all Silesia, with the exception of Schweidnitz, by the Austrians. Daun did not bring back 20,000 men with him into Bohemia. Prince Charles now laid down his command, though against the wish of his sister-in-law, Maria Theresa, with whom he was a great favourite,[32] and went to Brussels as governor of the Austrian Netherlands.

Thus fortune began again to smile from all sides upon Frederick; nor was a change of policy and the adoption of more vigorous measures on the part of the British Cabinet among the last circum-

[32] Prince Charles's want of military capacity was so glaring that he became the object of numberless pasquinades, though the Empress issued a proclamation forbidding anyone to insult him. Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. v. S. 461; Mailath, B. v. S. 64.

stances that served to encourage his hopes and raise him from despondency. William Pitt, the celebrated Lord Chatham, who now conducted the affairs of England, had resolved to push the war against France with more energy in all quarters, and especially to lend Frederick, whom he regarded with esteem and admiration, more effectual aid.[33] The Convention of Kloster-Seven had been received in England with universal indignation. George II. had at first accepted the Convention, but when he learnt all the circumstances of the conduct of his son, the Duke of Cumberland, his anger knew no bounds. The Duke was recalled, and never again held any military command. Pitt wrote to the King of Prussia, assuring him of his support, and requesting him to appoint a general to the command of the Hanoverian army. Frederick named Ferdinand of Brunswick, brother of the reigning Duke Charles; a brave, accomplished, and amiable prince, of whose military talents he had had ample experience, and especially at the battle of Sorr.[34] It was resolved to repudiate the Convention of Kloster-Seven, which had been equally as displeasing to the French as to the English Court, and had never been acknowledged by Louis XV. It had been repeatedly violated by the French troops, and George II. declared that it was not binding upon him as King of England. The army of the Hanoverian electorate was now converted into a British army, fighting avowedly for British interests, supported by British troops as well as money, and destined to settle on the plains of the Continent the colonial disputes with France in America and elsewhere. These arrangements were confirmed and carried out by a treaty between the Kings of England and Prussia, signed at London April 11th 1758, by which Great Britain engaged to pay a subsidy to Frederick of four million Prussian *thaler*, or upwards of 600,000*l.* sterling, besides supplying a British auxiliary force.[35] On the other hand, the anti-Prussian alliance was augmented by the accession of Denmark. That Power, indeed, by the treaty with France of May 4th 1758,[36] only agreed to assemble in Holstein an army of 24,000 men, to prevent any attempt on the possessions of the Grand Duke of Russia (Duke of Holstein-Gottorp), or on the neutrality of the towns of Hamburg and Lübeck, without

[33] Raumer, *Fricdrich II.*, B. ii. S. 423.

[34] This appointment was made October 28th, 1757, and consequently *before* the battle of Rossbach. The change of the English policy, and the repudiation of the Convention of Kloster-Seven, were not, therefore, at all owing to Frederick's success in that battle, as stated by Coxe, Russell, and other historians. See Schlosser, *Gesch. des 18ten Jahrh.*, B. ii. S. 331 Anm.

[35] Wenck, t. iii. p. 173. This treaty was thrice renewed: December 7th 1758, March 9th 1759, and December 12th 1760.

[36] Garden, *Hist. des Traités*, t. iv.; *Notes et Documens*, No. viii.

engaging herself to any hostile part against Prussia; but the allies had at least secured themselves from her siding with that Power, and might hope to induce her to adopt eventually more active measures. This treaty, however, had no effect on the campaign of 1758.

The English subsidies, though somewhat offensive to Frederick's pride, were indispensable to him. He was driven to hard shifts to procure the means for carrying on the war. He told his brother Henry that, though they might be heroes, they were beggars; and that, if the struggle should continue, he must go upon the highway to find the means for supporting it. Hence, in spite of his recent success, he would willingly have made peace. His sister, the Margravine of Baireuth, made some advances to the French Court to that purpose through Cardinal Tencin, but without effect; nor were Frederick's own hints to Maria Theresa of more avail. He was unwilling to increase the taxes in his hereditary dominions, and hence he made Saxony bear the chief burthen of the war, a course which he thought might induce the King of Poland to come to an accommodation with him. With the same view, as well as from the less worthy motive of personal hatred and revenge, he caused the palaces and estates of Count Brühl to be plundered and devastated. Altogether it is computed that he levied in Saxony during the course of the war between forty and fifty million dollars, without including unlicensed plundering, which might amount to as much more. Anhalt, Dessau, and other small States, were subjected to the same hard pressure. Frederick had also recourse to the expedient of coining light money. But his chief resource was England.[37]

In consequence of the policy adopted by the British Cabinet, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick had announced to Marshal Richelieu the renewal of hostilities, November 26th 1757. As the Hanoverian troops and auxiliaries had not been disarmed, although the French, in spite of the silence of the convention on that head, had attempted to enforce a disarmament, the army was soon reassembled. Nothing, however, was attempted during the remainder of the year except the siege of Harburg, and the troops were then put into winter quarters.

Marshal Richelieu was recalled from his command in Germany early in 1758, and was replaced by Count Clermont, a prince of the blood royal. Nothing could exceed the demoralisation of the French troops under Richelieu and Soubise. The armies were encumbered

[37] Stenzel, *Gesch. des Pr. Staats*, B. v. S. 134 ff.

with multitudes of tradesmen, valets, and courtezans, and were followed by three times more beasts of burthen than troop horses. Twelve thousand carts of dealers and *vivandières* accompanied the army of Soubise, without reckoning the baggage train of the officers. The camp became a sort of movable fair, in which were displayed all the objects of fashion and luxury.[38] Richelieu had employed the winter to enrich himself by plundering Hanover and the adjacent provinces, and he permitted his officers and men to follow his example. The soldiers called him *Père la Maraüde*. These disorders were naturally accompanied with a complete relaxation of discipline. The French soldiers, as well as their commanders, seemed almost to have forgotten the art of war. Maillebois, chief of the staff, complained in an official report to the minister that the troops pillaged churches, committed every possible atrocity, and were more ready to plunder than to fight. In the same report he attributes the victory at Hastenbech chiefly to the artillery.[39] Manœuvring was so little understood that it took a whole day to range an army in order of battle.[40] Against such degenerate troops it is not surprising that the military talents of Ferdinand of Brunswick, seconded by the more active assistance of England, speedily destroyed the French preponderance on the Rhine. Opening the campaign early in 1758, he drove the French from Hanover, Brunswick, East Friesland, and Hesse. On March 14th he took Minden after a four days' siege, and pursued the French to Kaiserswerth, which he entered May 31st. The French lost in their retreat large quantities of ammunition, baggage, and men. Having refreshed his army, Ferdinand crossed the Rhine at Emmerich, driving the French before him. Clermont, having attempted to make a stand at Krefeld, was entirely defeated, June 23rd. The Hanoverians then took Ruremonde and Düsseldorf, their light troops penetrating as far as Brussels, while the French retreated to Neuss and Cologne. Louis XV., after these disasters, appointed three generals to assist Clermont, who thereupon demanded his dismissal. He was succeeded by Contades.

Ferdinand now determined on invading the Austrian Netherlands, but from this he was diverted by the French under Soubise entering Hesse, whither that commander had been attracted by Ferdinand's successes, instead of marching into Bohemia to assist the Austrians. The Duke de Broglie, with the French van, defeated at Sangershausen, near Cassel, July 23rd, a division which Ferdi-

[38] See Archenholtz, *Gesch. des 7 jährigen Kriegs*, Buch iii.

[39] *French Archives*, ap. Schlosser, *Gesch. des 18ten Jahrh.*, B. ii. S. 330.

[40] Rochambeau, *Mémoires*, ap. Martin, t. xv. p. 522.

nand had left in Hesse; the French then overran that province, entered Minden, and opened the road to Hanover. Ferdinand now recrossed the Rhine and marched upon Münster, but nothing of much importance occurred during the remainder of the campaign. Ferdinand succeeded in preventing the junction of Contades, who had followed him, with Soubise, although a division of his army was attacked and defeated by Chevert at Lutternberg, October 10th, and both sides went soon afterwards into winter quarters; the Hanoverians in the North of Westphalia, and the French in the neighbourhood of Frankfort.

During this year, under the energetic administration of Pitt, the war had been vigorously pushed in all quarters of the globe; several successes had been achieved at sea, the most notable of which were Admiral Osborn's victory, near Carthagena, over a French squadron under Du Quesne, and that of Sir Edward Hawke, near the Isle of Aix. A descent, which Pitt had projected, on the French coast, conducted by Commodore Anson and Lord Howe, with 20,000 troops of debarkment, was not eminently successful. A few ships of war and a considerable number of merchantmen were burnt at St. Malo. A landing was effected at Cherbourg, and the forts and basin, together with a few ships, were destroyed; but a second attempt upon St. Malo was repulsed with considerable loss to the invaders, September 11th.

Frederick's campaign of 1758 was not attended with his usual good fortune, and it was with difficulty that he succeeded in maintaining himself against his numerous enemies. He had opened the campaign by retaking Schweidnitz from the Austrians, April 16th, and being averse to stand on the defensive, he resolved to carry the war into Moravia, whilst the Austrians were expecting him in Bohemia. He therefore marched to Olmütz and laid siege to that place; but after wasting two months before it, finding that his convoys were intercepted and that the Russians were approaching, he raised the siege, July 3rd, in order to march against the latter, effecting an admirable retreat through Bohemia, instead of Silesia, where the Austrians had made preparations to receive him.

The Russian army under Fermor had begun its march in January. It took possession of Königsberg on the 22nd of that month, then of all Prussia, and advanced to the frontiers of Pomerania and the New Mark, the Russian irregular troops, especially the Cossacks and Calmucks, committing fearful cruelties and devastations on the way. Fermor laid siege to Cüstrin, August 15th, but though the town was reduced to ashes by the Russian fire, the commandant

refused to surrender the citadel. Frederick hastened to his relief, and having formed a junction with Count Dohna's division, attacked the Russians at Zorndorf, August 25th. This battle, the bloodiest of the war, lasted from nine in the morning almost till nine at night. The Russians, who were much more numerous than their opponents, lost 19,000 men, besides 3000 prisoners and 103 guns, whilst the Prussian loss was 12,000 men and 26 guns. The battle, as Frederick acknowledged to the English ambassador, Mitchell, had been chiefly sustained by the Prussian cavalry under Seidlitz.[41] The Russians retired to Landsberg, and afterwards laid siege to Colberg, but raised it October 30th.

Frederick, after the battle of Zorndorf, hastened to the assistance of his brother Henry in Saxony, who was hard pressed by the Austrians under Daun, and the army of the Empire under Prince Frederick of Deux-Ponts, who had formed a junction with the Austrians in Bohemia. Frederick having taken up an insecure position at Hochkirch, in Lusatia, and obstinately adhering to it in spite of the remonstrances of his generals, was surprised by Daun, for whom he had too great a contempt, on the night of October 13th, and forced to abandon his camp-baggage and 101 guns. The Prussian loss on this occasion was 9000 to the enemy's 7000; and was aggravated by the death of Frederick's brother-in-law, Francis of Brunswick, and also by that of Marshal Keith.[42] In spite of this disaster, Frederick established his camp within a league of Hochkirch; whence, after being reinforced by his brother Henry, he marched into Silesia to relieve Neisse. The Austrians retired at his approach, and Frederick then returned into Saxony, as the Army of Execution was investing Leipsic, and Daun threatening Dresden. The allies now quitted Saxony, and went into winter quarters in Bohemia and Franconia. The Swedes this year accomplished nothing memorable in Pomerania and the Ucker Mark.

England and Prussia had, in November 1758, declared, through Duke Louis of Brunswick, to the ambassadors of the belligerent Powers at the Hague that they were ready to treat for a peace, but without effect. It was chiefly Maria Theresa who opposed an

[41] During the battle, Seidlitz having neglected an order of the King's, which would have exposed his men to needless loss, and Frederick having repeated it on pain of the general losing his head, Seidlitz replied, "Tell the King that after the battle my head is at his disposal; while the battle lasts, let him suffer me to use it for his service." Stenzel, B. v. S. 165.

[42] This distinguished officer, having been implicated with his brother, the Earl-Marischal of Scotland, in the Rebellion of 1715, fled his country, and after having commanded with distinction in the Russian service, entered that of Prussia.

accommodation. She still hoped to humble Prussia, and she was supported in the struggle by the resources of her husband, who carried on a sort of banking trade. France was pretty well exhausted by the war; yet Louis XV. and his mistress were constant in their hatred of Frederick. The Duke de Choiseul, however, who had recently acceded to the ministry, and who had more talent than his predecessors, and a better view of French interests, endeavoured to come to an understanding with the Empress-Queen; and he proposed to her to content herself with the county of Glatz and part of Lusatia, that so a peace might be made with England through the mediation of Prussia; but if she should be inclined to try the fortune of another campaign, then France must give up the Treaty of May 1757, and return to that of 1756. Kaunitz, having rejected all thought of peace, especially under Prussian mediation, a fresh treaty was concluded between France and Austria, December 30th 1758, less favourable to Austria than that of 1757, but more so than that of the preceding year. The French army in Germany was reduced from 105,000 to 100,000 men, and the subsidy from twelve million florins to about half that sum. All the projects for a partition of Prussia, contained in the treaty of 1757, were abandoned, and France even gave up the share assigned to her of the Netherlands. That Power, however, guaranteed Silesia and Glatz to Maria Theresa, but not the duchy of Crossen; also the restoration of the Elector of Saxony in his dominions, with some compensation, but not Magdeburg, Halberstadt, &c.[43] Russia acceded to the treaty, March 7th 1760. Thus the condescendence of Louis XV. for Maria Theresa seemed to make France a second-rate Power. Except, perhaps, the chance of humbling George II. by the conquest of Hanover, she had but little interest in the struggle on the Continent after abandoning the prospect of obtaining the Netherlands; and Maria Theresa inferred from that abandonment that France would pursue the war but languidly, and take the first opportunity to retire from it.

Prince Ferdinand, in the spring of 1759, attempted to surprise the French in their winter quarters, but was defeated by the Duke of Broglie at the battle of Bergen, April 13th, and compelled to retreat with considerable loss. The French then advanced through Hesse to Minden and Münster, which last place surrendered, July 25th. But Ferdinand defeated the French army under Contades at Minden, August 1st, which compelled them to evacuate Hesse and retreat to Frankfort, where they took up winter quarters.

[43] Wenck, t. iii. p. 185; Garden, t. iv. p. 54 sq.

The battle of Minden was gained by the bold and spontaneous advance of six English battalions, which broke the French centre, composed of sixty-three squadrons of cavalry. Contades confessed he had not thought it possible that a single line of infantry should have overthrown three lines of cavalry in order of battle.[44] The victory would have been still more decisive had not Lord George Sackville, who commanded the British cavalry, neglected Prince Ferdinand's order to charge.

The King of Prussia contented himself this year with observing Marshal Daun and the Austrians. But his general, Wedell, on whom he had conferred the absolute power of a Roman dictator, having been defeated by the Russians at Züllichau, in the duchy of Crossen, July 23rd, and the Russians having subsequently seized Frankfort on the Oder, Frederick marched against them with all the troops he could spare. They had now been joined by an Austrian corps, which increased their force to 96,000 men; yet Frederick, who had just half that number, attacked them at Kunersdorf, August 12th. After a hard-fought day he was defeated and compelled to retreat, with a loss of 18,000 men. In this battle Frederick had two horses shot under him, and was himself hit with a bullet, which was fortunately stopped by a golden *étui*. He acknowledged that had the Russians pursued their victory Prussia would have been lost. But they were tired of bearing the chief brunt of the war while the Austrians seemed to rest upon their arms; and Soltikoff, their commander, told the Austrians that he had done enough.

Meanwhile the army of the Empire, under Frederick of Deux-Ponts, had entered Saxony, and in the course of August took Leipsic, Torgau, and Wittenberg; and on December 5th, Dresden. Frederick, after he had got quit of the Russians, entered Saxony and recovered that Electorate, with the exception of Dresden, where Daun entrenched himself. This commander compelled the Prussian general, Fink, with 10,000 men, to surrender at Moxen, November 21st.

Choiseul, the new French minister, in order to create a diversion, projected an invasion of England. The Pretender went to Vannes, and large forces were assembled in Brittany and at Dunkirk. But the French were not strong enough at sea to carry out such a design. Rodney bombarded Havre and damaged the French magazines and transports; while Boys, Hawke, and Boscawen blockaded Dunkirk, Brest, and Toulon. The English fleet

[44] Stanzel, B. v. S. 204; M. Martin (t. xv. p. 555), in his account of the battle, suppresses this fact.

having been blown from Toulon by a storm, the French fleet managed to get out; but it was overtaken and defeated by Boscawen off the coast of Portugal, August 17th 1759. The grand armament, under Conflans, which had sailed from Brest, was defeated and dispersed by Hawke off Belle Isle, November 20th. Thurot, escaping in a hazy night with four frigates from Dunkirk, after beating about three months, landed at Carrick Fergus, but was defeated and killed on leaving the bay.

It was in this year that the Northern Powers first formed an alliance which may be regarded as the precursor of the *Armed Neutrality*. By a treaty between Russia and Sweden, signed at St. Petersburg, March 9th 1759, and to which Denmark acceded, March 17th 1760, the contracting Powers engaged to maintain a fleet in order to preserve the neutrality of the Baltic Sea for the purposes of commerce. Even the trade of Prussia was not to be molested, except with blockaded ports, or in cases of contraband of war.[45]

The struggle on the Continent was destined to linger on two or three more years without any decisive result. The various turns of fortune were no doubt highly interesting and exciting to the parties engaged, and the details of the military operations might perhaps even now be perused by the military student with amusement and instruction; but our limits will not permit us to enter into them at any length, and we must, therefore, as before, content ourselves with indicating the main incidents of each campaign. That of 1760 was unfavourable to the Hanoverians. The French again invaded Hesse; the hereditary Prince of Brunswick was defeated at Corbach, July 10th, and Prince Xavier de Saxe took Cassel and penetrated into Hanover. By way of making a diversion, Prince Ferdinand despatched his nephew to the Lower Rhine; but though he reduced Clèves and Rheinsberg, and laid siege to Wesel, he was defeated by the Marquis de Castries at Kloster Camp, October 16th, and compelled to recross the Rhine; and the French remained during the winter in Hanover and Hesse.

The Austrians and Russians had formed a grand plan to conquer Silesia and penetrate into Brandenburg. The Prussian general, Fouqué, was defeated near Landshut, June 23rd, by Loudon,[46] with

[45] Martens, *Suppl. au Recueil*, t. iii. pp. 36, 42.

[46] Such is the true name of this distinguished Austrian commander, and not Laudon or Laudohn, as commonly written. He derived his origin from a Scotch family of Ayrshire, but his ancestor had migrated to Livonia in the fourteenth century. Loudon, after serving in the Russian army under Marshal Münnich, offered his sword to the King of Prussia, who, after a scrutinising glance, turned his back upon him, remarking to the surrounding officers: "La physiognomie de

much superior forces, and his whole division, consisting of more than 10,000 men, were either killed, wounded, or made prisoners. Frederick, opposing his brother Henry to the Russians in Silesia, took himself the command of the army in Saxony, and laid siege to Dresden, but was compelled to raise it on the approach of Marshal Daun. Meanwhile, General Harsch, having taken Glatz, July 26th, and Breslau being threatened by Loudon, Frederick quitted Saxony to defend Silesia. He defeated Loudon at Pfaffendorp, near Liegnitz, August 15th, and having formed a junction with his brother Henry, took up a position where the enemy did not venture to attack him, and thus frustrated their plan of the campaign.

To draw him from Silesia, the Russians marched on Berlin, entered that city, October 9th, and levied heavy contributions on the inhabitants; but, after an occupation of three days, they evacuated it on the approach of Frederick, and recrossed the Oder. Meanwhile, the Imperialists, having occupied the greater part of Saxony, Frederick advanced against them into that Electorate, retook Wittenberg and Leipsic, and attacked Marshal Daun near Torgau, November 3rd, whom he defeated with much difficulty and with great loss on both sides. Frederick entered Torgau, November 4th, and subsequently attempted to recover Dresden, but without success. The movements of the Swedes were unimportant.

cet homme ne me revient pas." Loudon afterwards entered the Austrian service, and became one of Frederick's most dangerous opponents. Mailath, *Gesch. Oestr.* B. v. S. 72.

CHAPTER VI.

AT this period of the Seven Years' War two events had occurred which were destined to exert a remarkable influence on the views and operations of the contending Powers. These were the death of Ferdinand VI. of Spain, August 10th 1759, and that of George II. of England, October 25th 1760.

Ferdinand VI., though a weak and hypochondriac, was an amiable prince, whose sole pursuits were music and the chase. He had always been inclined to maintain peace with England, and the quiet temper of his consort, Barbara, daughter of John V. of Portugal, which formed quite a contrast to that of Elizabeth Farnese, confirmed him in this disposition.[1] Ferdinand's chief ministers were the Marquis Villarias and the Marquis de la Ensenada; but Villarias was soon supplanted by Don Joseph de Carvajal, a younger son of the Duke of Linares, a cold, stiff, awkward person, but of a strong understanding. Descended from the House of Lancaster, Carvajal, from family traditions, was attached to England, though, as a statesman, he was for keeping Spain politically independent of any other country. The King was a good deal governed by his confessor, Father Ravago, a Jesuit. But one of the most influential persons at the Spanish Court was Farinelli, a Neapolitan singer, who had achieved a great success at the London opera, and realised a considerable fortune. Farinelli had been employed by the late Queen of Spain to soothe her husband's melancholy with his songs; he gained Philip's favour and confidence, who settled upon him a pension of 2000*l.* sterling. After the accession of Ferdinand, he rose still higher in the royal favour. Both the King and his consort were fond of music, and Farinelli was made director of the opera and of all the royal entertainments. Behind all this, however, being a man of sense and of modest and unassuming manners, he exercised a material influence at court; his friendship was sought even by sovereigns, and Maria Theresa had condescended to write to him with her own hand.

[1] The characters of these sovereigns are described in Sir Benjamin Keene's *Despatches*, ann. 1749 sq.; cf. *Mémoires de Richelieu*, t. vi. ch. xxix.

When the war between France and England appeared imminent, both Powers contended for the favour and support of the Court of Madrid. Carvajal had died in the spring of 1754; but the English party was supported by the Duke de Huescar, afterwards Duke of Alva, and by Count Valparaiso. Ferdinand himself was averse to the French alliance. He had been offended by the Court of Versailles concluding the preliminaries of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle without his concurrence, and by its refusal to accept his favourite sister, Maria Antonietta, as consort of the Dauphin after the death of her elder sister, to whom that prince had been betrothed. Huescar and Valparaiso succeeded in excluding Ensenada, a partisan of France, from the management of the foreign office; but as neither of those grandees wished to take an active part in the ministry, Sir Benjamin Keene, at that time British minister at the Court of Madrid, directed their attention to Don Ricardo Wall, then Spanish ambassador at London.

Wall was an Irish adventurer, who had sought fortune in the Peninsula. He had distinguished himself in the action with the British fleet under Byng off Sicily in 1718; had subsequently entered the land service, and ultimately the civil service of Spain; and was now, at the recommendation of Keene, appointed foreign minister. Ensenada, in order to recover his ascendancy, had endeavoured to plunge Spain into a war with Great Britain by despatching secret orders to the Viceroy of Mexico to drive the English from their settlements at Rio Wallis. This wicked attempt ended only in the dismissal and arrest of Ensenada. The neutrality of Spain, however, became somewhat dubious. France, after the capture of Minorca, had endeavoured to lure Spain to her alliance with the offer of that island, and with the promise to assist her in recovering Gibraltar; a sort of underhand privateering warfare, encouraged by the Spanish underlings,[2] had broken out between England and Spain, which, together with the petty discussions that ensued, had caused much irritation. Mr. Pitt at this period took a very gloomy view of matters.[3] The Hanoverian army, as we have seen, had been defeated by the French, and was retiring towards Bremen. The English Government was particularly alarmed by Maria Theresa having admitted French garrisons into Ostend and Nieuport, and looked with great suspicion on the plans of Austria in Italy. Under the influence of these feelings, and by way of counteracting the offers of France, Pitt authorised Sir B. Keene to propose to the Court of Madrid

[2] Coxe, *Spanish Bourbons*, vol. iv. p. 172.

[3] See his *Despatch* to Sir B. Keene, August 23rd 1757. *Ibid.* p. 187 sqq.

the restoration of Gibraltar, as well as the evacuation of the settlements made by the English on the Mosquito shore and Bay of Honduras since 1748, on condition that Spain should assist Great Britain in recovering Minorca. These injudicious proposals, which were highly disapproved of by Keene, were fortunately not accepted by the Spanish Court; and Ferdinand preserved his neutrality till his death. This event, which happened, as we have said, in 1759, is thought to have been hastened by grief at the loss of his consort, Barbara, who had expired a year before. Ferdinand VI. was forty-six years of age at the time of his decease. His peaceful policy was stigmatised during his lifetime as unpatriotic, but has since been recognised as wise and salutary for his kingdom. During the fourteen years of his reign Spain quietly improved her agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. The enormous exactions and embezzlements of the Court of Rome were also reduced by a Concordat with Pope Benedict XIV., January 11th 1755; who, in consideration of a million Roman crowns, the patronage of fifty-two benefices, the produce of marriage licenses, and the perpetuation of the Bull of the Cruzada, surrendered all further claims.[4]

Ferdinand, by his will, appointed his half-brother Charles, King of Naples, to be his successor, and Charles's mother, the Queen Dowager Elizabeth, to be regent till her son's arrival. Yet a good understanding had not subsisted between the brothers during Ferdinand's lifetime. Don Carlos, feeling assured of the Spanish succession, which, in failure of direct heirs, had been guaranteed to him by the Peace of Vienna, and of which Ferdinand's weak health and the age of his consort rendered him pretty certain, had affected an insulting independence, had caballed with parties in Spain, and in conjunction with his brother, Don Philip, Duke of Parma, had, in opposition to the Court of Madrid, formed a close union with France. The hopes of that country were therefore revived by his accession. The arrival of Don Carlos in Spain was, however, delayed by the necessary arrangements for settling the succession to the crown of Naples. At the Peace of Vienna it had been arranged that the Two Sicilies should always be separated from Spain; and by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, which assigned Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla to Don Philip, it was provided that if Don Carlos were called to the

[4] Coxe, *Spanish Bourbons*, vol. iv. p. 219 sqq. The Pope had previously enjoyed the nomination to all preferments falling vacant during eight months of the year, hence called *Apostolical Months*. Persons appointed to such benefices, usually foreigners, gave bonds or bills called *cedulas bancarias*, to pay a certain sum to the Apostolic Chamber, which are said alone to have drained the Spanish benefices of one-fifth of their revenues. *Ibid.*

Spanish throne, and Philip should succeed his brother at Naples, Parma and Guastalla were to revert to Austria, while the duchy of Piacenza, except the capital and the district beyond the Nura, was to be ceded to Sardinia. Charles, however, was desirous that one of his sons should succeed him in his Neapolitan dominions; and the Court of Vienna, wishing to conciliate the new King of Spain, did not press its claims to the Italian duchies; while the King of Sardinia, unable singly to assert his rights, was compensated with a sum of money. The Austro-Spanish alliance was consolidated by a marriage between the Archduke Joseph and a Princess of Parma, and another between Leopold, successor to the Grand Duchy of Tuscany and a Spanish Infanta. Charles's eldest son, Philip, being imbecile, was entirely set aside; his second son, Charles, was declared heir of the Spanish monarchy, and Ferdinand, the third son, was proclaimed King of the Two Sicilies, with the title of Ferdinand IV.;[5] but as he was only eight years of age, a regency was appointed to govern the Neapolitan dominions till he should come of age. The reign of Don Carlos had been beneficial to Naples, where he was very popular. He arrived in Madrid December 9th 1759. One of his first acts was to dismiss Farinelli, who retired to Bologna. Wall and most of the former ministers were retained; though Ensenada was pardoned and returned to court, but not to power. Charles caused his second son to be acknowledged as Prince of Asturias.

The accession of Charles III. was followed by a change in the policy of Spain. That monarch had conceived an antipathy against the English for having compelled him to desert the cause of his house during the Italian war; and though his prejudices were mitigated awhile by his consort, Amelia, a Saxon princess favourable to England, yet after her death in 1760 they broke out afresh, and were sedulously fomented by the French Court.

The signal defeats sustained by France at sea, and the almost total loss of her possessions in America and the East Indies, had forced upon the attention of the French Cabinet the necessity for some change of policy. For the first two or three years of the war, the French had been successful in America. They had formed a plan to reduce all the English forts in the neighbourhood of the lakes; and the capture of Oswego by the Marquis de Montcalm in 1756, when he seized a great quantity of vessels, as well as stores and ammunition, gave them for a while the superiority in that district. In the following year Montcalm captured Fort William

[5] Ferdinand was on this occasion invested with a sword, which he afterwards presented to Nelson. Schlosser, *Gesch. des 18ten Jahrh.*, B. ii. S. 386.

Henry on Lake George. But this was about the term of their success. In 1758 the British besieged and took Louisbourg, the capital of Cape Breton, reduced all that island, and also made some conquests on the lakes and the river Ohio. In the same year, in Africa, they took Fort Louis on the Senegal, and the island of Goree. In 1759 the British arms were still more successful. After the reduction of Cape Breton, a plan had been formed for the conquest of Canada; the French were defeated near Quebec by General Wolfe, September 13th, in an action in which both that commander and the French general, Montcalm, lost their lives; a victory that was followed by the surrender of Quebec, and in the following year by the capture of Montreal and the occupation of all Canada by the English. In the same year Guadaloupe, and some smaller islands, had also surrendered to the British arms. In the East Indies the successes of the French and English had been more balanced; but on the whole the British arms had preponderated.

Two courses lay open to the French minister, Choiseul; either to make a separate peace with Great Britain, or to fortify himself by an alliance with Spain, and to draw that country into a war with England. He resolved to try the former of these courses, and in case of failure to fall back upon the other. The death of George II. and accession of George III. were favourable to his views. The young King was governed by Lord Bute, an opponent of Pitt's policy, who had succeeded the Earl of Holdernesse as secretary of state for the northern department. George III.'s English birth and education had weaned him from that fondness for the Hanoverian Electorate which had been the mainspring of the continental policy of his predecessors. He had declared in the first speech to his Parliament that he gloried "in the name of Briton;" and though such an expression might be merely a bait for popular applause, it might likewise indicate a determination to attend more strictly to the insular interests of England. Already, indeed, in the preparing of the speech, a difference of opinion had manifested itself in the Council. In the first draft the King had been made to declare that he ascended the throne in the midst of an expensive war, which he would endeavour to prosecute in the manner most likely to bring about an honourable and lasting peace; and Pitt obtained with much difficulty that, in the printed copy, the words "but just and necessary" should be inserted after "expensive," and "in concert with our allies" after "lasting peace."[6]

[6] Coxe, *Mem. of Lord Walpole.*

Pitt, however, continued to direct the English counsels during the time that he remained in office; he resolved to prosecute the war as vigorously as ever, and it was with him that Choiseul had to negociate for a peace. As the war between England and France for their possessions beyond sea had really nothing in common with the continental war, except that they were simultaneous, Louis XV. obtained the consent of his allies that he should treat with Great Britain for a separate peace; while it was proposed that a Congress should assemble at Augsburg with a view to a general pacification. Negociations were accordingly opened between the French and English Cabinets in March 1761.[7] It must be admitted that in the course of them the natural haughtiness of Pitt's temper sometimes led him to reject with disdain proposals which seemed reasonable enough. Thus the French minister offered to treat on the basis of *uti possidetis*, which was certainly favourable to England, as the English conquests had been far more considerable than those of France. Pitt did not object to this basis, but to the periods fixed for it: namely, May 1st for Europe, July 1st for Africa and America, and September 1st for the East Indies; and he declared that he would admit no other epoch than that of the signing of the Treaty of Peace. The French Cabinet naturally objected to so loose and unreasonable a method; yet, though they had offered to consider of other periods more convenient to Great Britain, Pitt delayed to answer. He was, in fact, awaiting the issue of the expedition which he had despatched against Belle Isle. A squadron under Commodore Keppel, with 9000 troops under General Hodgson, effected a landing in that island towards the end of April, but the citadel of Palais, the capital, was not finally reduced till June 7th. Belle Isle is small and barren; but its situation off the coast of Brittany, between L'Orient and the mouth of the Loire, seemed to give it importance; and it was thought that such a conquest in sight of the French coast might, merely as a point of honour, be set off against Minorca. Pitt now consented, in a memorial dated June 17th, to accept the dates of July 1st, September 1st, and November 1st for the *uti possidetis*, two months later than those proposed by France, evidently for the purpose of including Belle Isle. Some discussion ensued, and the French minister delayed his final answer till July 15th. Meanwhile the negociations which had been for some time going on between France and Spain had been brought to maturity;

[7] An elaborate and able, but, of course, partial, account of them, with the different notes and memoirs, drawn up by the Duke of Choiseul himself, will be found in Garden, *Hist. des Traités*, t. iv. pp. 87–193.

and the French memorial alluded to of July 15th was accompanied with another relating to Spain. Several Spanish demands and alleged grievances against England were brought forward for settlement, as the restitution by Great Britain of some prizes under the Spanish flag; the liberty of Spanish subjects to fish at Newfoundland; and the destruction of English establishments on Spanish territory in the Bay of Honduras; and in order that the future peace might not be disturbed by the quarrels of these two countries, it was proposed that the King of Spain should guarantee the peace between England and France. Pitt naturally rejected such a proposal with surprise and indignation; he expressed his astonishment that disputes between friends should be submitted to the mediation of an enemy; and that they should be brought forward by a French envoy, while the ambassador of his Catholic Majesty was entirely silent upon the subject! The French minister, in his subsequent correspondence, dropped, indeed, all mention of Spain; but the reply to the application which the British Cabinet now deemed it prudent to make to that of Spain, showed a perfect understanding between the two Bourbon courts. The Spanish minister, Wall, declared to Lord Bristol, who had succeeded Sir B. Keene as English ambassador at Madrid, that the French memorial concerning Spain had been presented with the entire consent of his Catholic Majesty; that nothing would induce his sovereign to separate his counsels from those of France, nor deter him from acting in perfect harmony with that country.[8] An unsatisfactory answer was also returned to Lord Bristol's inquiries respecting the warlike preparations in the Spanish ports.

Shortly afterwards was signed at Paris the celebrated treaty between France and Spain, known, like two former ones, as the FAMILY COMPACT (August 15th 1761). This measure had been carried through by the Duke de Choiseul and the Marquis de Ossuna, the Spanish ambassador at Paris, in spite of the opposition of Wall. The lures held out to Spain were, as before, the restoration of Minorca and the recovery of Gibraltar. In the preamble of the treaty, the motives of it were said to be the ties of blood and reciprocal esteem. The two Bourbon monarchs agreed in future to consider the enemy of one as the enemy of both. They mutually guaranteed each other's dominions when they should next be at peace with all the world—for Spain did not undertake to reconquer the possessions lost by France during the war—and stipulated the amount of reciprocal succours. French wars, on account of the

[8] Coxe, *Spanish Bourbons*, vol. iv. p. 261.

Peace of Westphalia, as well as those arising out of the alliances of France with German princes, were excepted from the operation of the treaty *unless some maritime Power should take part in them*, or France should be invaded *by land*. The King of the Two Sicilies was to be invited to accede to the treaty, but none but a Bourbon prince was to be admitted into the alliance.[9] But neither the King of Naples nor the Duke of Parma acceded to it.

On the same day a particular Convention was signed by the two Powers by which Spain engaged to declare war against Great Britain on May 1st 1762, if a peace had not been concluded at that date. Louis XV. undertook to include Spanish interests in his negociations with England; to assign Minorca to Spain on May 1st following, and to endeavour that it should be assured to her at the peace. Portugal was to be invited to join in the war, it being declared unjust that she should remain neuter in order to enrich herself.[10]

This Convention related only to the present war, while the Treaty was to be perpetual.

These treaties were to be kept secret, in order to afford time for the American treasure-vessels to arrive in Spain; but the English Government obtained intelligence of them. Such a league of course overthrew all hopes of a peace; yet the French Cabinet continued the negociations, and in its last memorial of September 9th repeated its offers of large concessions, though with the renewed intimation that it could not evacuate Wesel, Gelders, and the Prussian possessions in Westphalia, nor consent that Great Britain should lend any succour to the King of Prussia after the peace.[11] Pitt, with that high sense of national honour which distinguished him, and which forms so favourable a contrast to the subsequent conduct of Lord Bute, would not for a moment entertain the thought of thus deserting an ally. He did not even condescend to reply to the French memorial, but instructed Lord Stanley, who had conducted the negociations at Paris, to apply for his passports, which were accordingly granted, September 20th, and the negociations were thus terminated.

The Congress of Augsburg had also no result. The King of Prussia objected that any Imperial ambassador should appear at it, as he denied that he was at war with the Empire; nor could

[9] Martens, *Recueil des principaux Traités depuis* 1761, t. i. p. 1; Wenck, *Codex Juris Gent. rec.*, t. iii. p. 278.

[10] Flassan, *Diplomatie Franç.*, t. vi. p. 314 sq. and 322 sqq.; Garden, *Hist. des Traités de Paix*, t. iv. p. 79 sq. Coxe does not mention this Convention, but merely observes: "From this moment the question of peace or war was evidently decided by the two Bourbon Courts."—*Span. Bourbons*, vol. iv. p. 264.

[11] Garden, *ibid.*, p. 178.

the Emperor obtain from the Diet at Ratisbon authority to conclude a peace, on account of the dissensions between the Catholic and Protestant members. The Empress-Queen was for continuing the war; and her party prevailed at the Russian Court, while Sweden was in the hands of France. The King of Poland, whose Saxon dominions suffered terribly by the war, was sincerely desirous of peace; but by himself he had little weight, and, for fear of offending his powerful allies, he hardly ventured to display his peaceable inclinations.[12]

The war had continued during these negociations. In February 1761, Prince Ferdinand penetrated into Hesse, but being repulsed by the French, under Broglie, near Grünsberg, March 21st, was compelled to evacuate the Landgraviate. During the remainder of the campaign he remained on the defensive on the banks of the Lippe. The French, under Soubise and Broglie, attacked his right wing near Wellinghausen, July 15th, but were repulsed, and the campaign had no results, though Ferdinand had not half the forces of his opponents.

The Austrians in Silesia under Loudon, assisted by a large Russian force, marched on Breslau; whilst another Russian army, supported by the Russian and Swedish fleets, besieged Colberg. Frederick covered Schweidnitz and Breslau by establishing a fortified camp, first at Kunzendorf, near Freiburg, where he lay six or seven weeks, and then at Bunzelwitz. Here his small army was surrounded by 140,000 Austrians and Russians; the latter, however, were not anxious to fight for the benefit of the Austrians, and retired in September into Poland. After their departure Frederick marched to attack Loudon, who had encamped near Freiburg; when the Austrian commander took advantage of his departure to surprise Schweidnitz in the night of September 30th, and made the garrison prisoners, to the number of 3600 men. This action, and the capture of Colberg by the Russians, December 16th, are the only memorable events of the campaign in this quarter. Frederick's brother, Prince Henry, succeeded in maintaining himself against Marshal Daun in Saxony.

The year 1762 threatened to open under gloomy auspices for the Alliance of Hanover. Spain was now added to the opposite side. After the conclusion of the Family Compact, Pitt had counselled an immediate declaration of war against Spain, before her preparations should be completed; but his opinion being overruled by Lord Bute and the King, the great minister resigned (October 5th

[12] Stenzel, *Gesch. des Preuss. Staats*, B. v. S. 266 f.

1761). He was succeeded by the Earl of Egremont, but Bute was the virtual director of the English Cabinet. The event showed the wisdom and justice of Pitt's advice. The Cabinet of London demanded, at first in measured terms, that Spain should communicate the treaty which she had concluded with France. Wall evaded this inquiry till the treasure had arrived from America, and then spoke out more boldly, while the English demands also became more peremptory. There were now no motives to check the explosion of Castilian pride. The passports of the English ambassador were made out and delivered to him in December; on January 2nd 1762, England declared war against Spain; to which the Cabinet of Madrid replied by a manifesto of the 18th of the same month.

If matters looked threatening for England, they were still more menacing for the King of Prussia. The retirement of Pitt had deprived him of his best friend. Bute and the Tories denounced the foreign policy of that minister, and prepared to withdraw the subsidies which Frederick had hitherto enjoyed. The King of Prussia, they alleged, neither had done, nor could do, anything for Hanover or England, and all the resources of the country would be required for the war with Spain. Bute was not unwilling to sacrifice Frederick for the sake of peace, and he made a proposition to that effect in 1761 to the Austrian Court; but Kaunitz, who took the offer for a snare to embroil him with the Court of Versailles, rejected it with the more disdain, as the prospects of the Empress-Queen were then so brilliant that she confidently anticipated the conquest of Silesia.[13] Nay, so sure was she of an easy victory, that she reduced her army by 20,000 men. Frederick's own dominions were exhausted, and he knew not where to look for help. The only gleam of hope arose from the uncertain expectation of Turkish aid. He had negociated a treaty with the Porte and with the Khan of Tartary, and he was not without hopes that they might be induced to make a diversion in his favour by invading Hungary. But such an expectation was little more than the straw clutched by the drowning man. Frederick's situation seemed truly desperate. He expressed his gloomy forebodings, his almost utter despair, in his correspondence with the Marquis d'Argens at this period; thoughts of suicide again took possession of his mind, and he is said to have carried about with him the poison which was to end his miseries.[14] But in this extremity of misfortune he was

[13] Garden, t. iv. p. 194; Frederick II., *Guerre de Sept Ans.*, ch. xiii.; Schlosser, *Gesch. des 17ten Jahrh.*, B. ii. S. 396 f.

[14] Preuss, *Lebensgesch. Friedrichs II.*, B. ii. S. 315.

rescued by the death of the Russian Empress, Elizabeth, January 5th 1762; an event which more than compensated him for the change of ministry in England. Abandoned to sensual indulgence of every kind, Elizabeth fell a victim to her intemperance. Her extravagance was as unbounded as her idleness and aversion to business. She is said to have left between 15,000 and 16,000 dresses, few of which had been worn more than once, besides whole chest-loads of ribbands and silk stockings. She would neglect all business for months together, and could with difficulty be persuaded to affix her signature even to letters of necessary politeness to the highest potentates.[15]

The change of policy adopted by the Czar, Peter III., after his accession, was the result of private friendship, just as Elizabeth's hostility to Frederick had been the effect of personal hatred, without any regard to objects of State policy. Peter, who carried his admiration of Frederick and of everything Prussian to a ridiculous extent, communicated his aunt's death to Frederick in an autograph letter written on the very evening that it occurred, and desired a renewal of their friendship.[16] He also ordered an immediate suspension of hostilities between the Russian and Prussian armies. Peter had formed the design of recovering that part of Schleswig and Holstein which Denmark had gained through the Northern War; for which purpose he meant to employ the troops opposed to the Prussians. A truce with Prussia was accordingly signed at Stargard, in Pomerania, March 16th 1762, and on May 5th a formal peace was concluded at St. Petersburg, by which the Czar promised to restore within two months all the Prussian territories that had been conquered.[17] It was also agreed that a treaty for an alliance should be prepared, the conditions of which are not known, except that each Power was to succour the other with 15,000 men. Lord Bute had endeavoured to prevent this alliance by proposing to the Czar to choose for himself any part of Prussia that he might desire.[18]

Sweden, which had suffered nothing but losses in her war with Prussia, followed the example of Russia in reconciling herself with that country. The war had cost Sweden, the poorest country in Europe, eight million dollars. Adolphus Frederick, had he been so inclined, might easily have overthrown the ruling oligarchy, to

[15] She left the reply to Louis XV.'s announcement of the birth of his grandson unsigned for three years! Schlosser, *Gesch. des 18ten Jahrh.* B. ii. S. 406.

[16] *Biographie Peters III.*, B. ii. S. 38 f. ap. Stenzel, B. v. S. 289.

[17] Wenck, t. iii. p. 299.

[18] Lord Dover, *Life of Frederick II.*, vol. ii. p. 259.

which the Czar Peter was inimical; but feelings of piety and honour led him to respect the oath which he had taken, and he contented himself with working on its fears. The conduct of the negociations was intrusted to the Queen, Frederick II.'s sister. An armistice was agreed to, April 7th, followed by the Peace of Hamburg, May 22nd, by which everything was replaced in the same state as before the war.[19]

These events enabled Frederick to concentrate his forces in Saxony and Silesia. He had not only got rid of the Russians as opponents, but even expected their friendly aid; but in this hope he was disappointed by another revolution. Peter was deposed through a conspiracy organised by his own consort (July 9th), who mounted the throne in his stead with the title of Catherine II.[20] In the manifest which she published on her accession, dated June 28th (O. S.), she charged her husband, among other things, with dishonouring Russia by the peace which he had made with her bitterest enemy, and Frederick therefore could only expect that she would revert to the policy of Elizabeth.[21] But Catherine, the daughter of a Prussian general, born at Stettin, and married into the Russian Imperial family through the influence of Frederick, was not hostilely inclined towards her native land; and the King's alarm at her manifest was soon assuaged by a communication which he received from her that she intended to observe the peace with him, but to withdraw the Russian troops from his service. Frederick, however, persuaded the Russian general, Czernischeff, to remain by him with his corps for three days after the receipt of this notice; and during this interval, aided by the support which he derived from their presence—for though they took no part in the action, Daun, being ignorant of their recall, was compelled to oppose an equal number of men to them—he drove the Austrians from the heights of Burkersdorf. Two or three months afterwards he took the important town of Schweidnitz (October 9th), when 9000 Austrians surrendered themselves prisoners of war. This event closed the campaign in Silesia. Prince Henry had succeeded in maintaining himself in Saxony; and on October 29th he defeated the Austrians and the army of the Empire at Freiberg.

In Western Germany, Prince Ferdinand had also been, on the whole, successful. He drove the French from a strong position which they had taken up near Cassel; and though the Hanoverians

[19] Martens, t. i. p. 12; Wenck, t. iii. p. 307.

[20] We shall return to this subject in a subsequent chapter.

[21] *Biographie Peters III.*, B. ii. S. 64, ap. Stenzel, B. v. S. 300; Hermann, *Gesch. Russlands*, B. v. S. 288. The date of the revolution, and consequently of the manifest, is erroneously given by Schlosser, *Gesch. des 18ten Jahrh.*, S. 428, 431.

were defeated at Friedberg, August 30th, they succeeded in taking Cassel, October 31st. This was the last operation of the war in this quarter, hostilities being terminated by the signing of the preliminaries of a peace, November 3rd. But before we describe the negociations for this purpose, it will be necessary to advert to the war with Spain.

Portugal had been forced into the war through the threats of the Bourbon Courts. Joseph I. now occupied the throne of that kingdom. John V. died in 1750, and Joseph, then a minor, was left under the guardianship of his mother, the Queen Dowager, an Austrian princess. During this period, Sebastian Joseph of Caravalho and Melo, better known afterwards in European history as the Marquis of Pombal, acquired a complete ascendancy over the mind both of the young King and his mother, and continued for many years to administer the affairs of Portugal with an absolute authority. He had established his influence through his wife, the Austrian Countess Daun, a daughter of Marshal Daun, and a friend and confidante of the Queen. Pombal introduced many searching reforms both into Church and State, which he carried through[22] with an arbitrary despotism more resembling a revolutionary reign of terror than the administration of a constitutional minister. Like Charles XI. of Sweden, he impoverished the nobles by revoking all the numerous grants which had been made to them by the Crown in the Portuguese possessions in Asia, Africa, and America, for which he accorded but very slender compensation. Those who ventured to oppose his measures were treated with the greatest harshness and cruelty; every lonely tower, every subterranean dungeon, was filled with State prisoners. His enlightened principles formed a strange contrast to the despotic manner in which he enforced them. He abolished the abuses of the middle ages by methods which seemed only fitted for those periods, and proceeded in his work of reform regardless alike of civil and ecclesiastical law. He gave a signal proof of his severity after the terrible earthquake which, in 1755, shook Lisbon to its foundations. Upwards of 30,000 persons are said to have perished in that calamity; thousands more, deprived of all employment, wandered about homeless and starving; the Government stores were opened for their relief, and contributions poured in from all parts of Europe. It was not one of the least dreadful features of this terrible catastrophe that hundreds of wretches availed themselves of the confusion to plunder and

[22] Respecting Pombal, see Jagemann, *Das Leben Sebastian Josephs von Carvalho und Melo, Markis von Pombal, &c.* (Dessau, 1782); Moore, *Life of the Marquis of Pombal*, London, 1814; Smith, *Memoir of Marquis of Pombal*, 1843.

commit all sorts of violence. Pombal put an end to these excesses in the most summary manner. Guards were stationed at every gate and in every street, and those who could not satisfactorily account for any property found upon them, were hanged upon the spot. Gallowses were to be seen in every direction amid the ruins filled with the dead and dying. Between 300 and 400 persons are said to have been hanged in the space of a few days.

Perhaps the most searching and salutary of Pombal's reforms were those which regarded the Church. He abolished the annual *autos da fé*, abridged the power of the Inquisition, and transferred the judgment of accused persons to civil tribunals. He especially signalised himself by his hostility to the Jesuits; but we reserve his proceedings against that order to another chapter, in which we shall have to record its fall. The weak and superstitious Joseph was by nature fitted to be the slave and tool of the Romish Church; it was only the still greater awe inspired by Pombal, combined with fears for his own life, that induced him to banish the Jesuits from Portugal. The King had formed an adulterous connection with the wife of the Marquis of Tavora. During the sojourn of the court at Belem, while Joseph was supposed to be occupied with affairs of State in the apartments of his minister, he would secretly steal out to visit his mistress. The Duke of Aveiro, head of the family of Tavora, felt, or pretended to feel, indignant at the dishonour of his kindred, and laid a plot against the King's life. The disgrace, however, had been quietly endured several years. The story is involved in considerable mystery, and political motives were probably mixed up in the plot. However this may be, several desperadoes were placed in ambush at three different spots of the road traversed by the King in his secret visits; and on September 3rd 1738, while Joseph, in order, as he thought, to preserve his *incognito*, was proceeding to the house of the marchioness in the carriage of his friend Texeira, an attempt was made upon his life. The Duke of Aveiro himself fired the first shot at the coachman without effect. The coachman, instead of driving on, turned back, and thus avoided the other ambushes; but those in the first fired after the carriage, and slightly wounded the King in the shoulder. The members of the Tavora family were now arraigned and condemned. The old Marchioness of Tavora, mother of the King's mistress, was beheaded; the Duke of Aveiro was broken on the wheel; their servants were either burnt or hanged; and even those distantly connected with the accused were thrown into loathsome dungeons. The young Marchioness alone, who was suspected of having betrayed her mother and relatives, experienced any

lenity; and as the family of Tavora was closely connected with Malagrida and the Jesuits, Pombal seized the opportunity to involve that order in the accusation, and to procure their banishment from Portugal, though it seems very doubtful whether they were at all connected with the plot. The weak and superstitious King himself was blindly devoted to the Jesuits; Pope Clement XIII. took them into his protection, and Joseph, haunted by the fear of hell, at length consented to their banishment only from the more immediate danger with which, according to his minister, his life was threatened from their machinations.

Pombal, among his other reforms, had not overlooked the army; but a horde of undisciplined vagabonds, who resembled rather gipsies or bandits than soldiers, cannot be converted all at once into effective troops. Joseph's ragged and hungry soldiers would ask an alms from the passers by, even while they were standing sentinel; nor were their officers much better, though they strove to put on a military swagger. Even had the Portuguese army been better organised, it could apparently have offered but a slender resistance to the military force of Spain when, early in 1762, Charles III. marched an army to the frontiers of Portugal, and, in conjunction with Louis XV., required Joseph I. to join them in the war against England. They offered to occupy Portugal with a powerful army, to protect it against the vengeance of England; and they required an answer within four days, intimating that they should consider any delay beyond that period as a refusal of their demands. Joseph answered by declaring war against Spain and France, May 18th 1762; and he applied to England for aid; which Lord Bute, notwithstanding his pacific policy, could not of course refuse. This step was immediately followed by an invasion of Tras los Montes by the Spaniards, who, aided by a French corps, made themselves masters of Miranda, Braganza, Chaves, Almeida, and several other places; but the assistance of an English force, commanded first by Lord Tyrawley, and afterwards by the celebrated German general, the Count of Lippe Schaumburg, and ultimately reinforced by 15,000 men, under Generals Burgoyne and Lee, turned the scales of fortune in favour of the Portuguese. The Spaniards were not only compelled to evacuate Portugal in the autumn, but the allies even crossed the Spanish frontiers and took several places.

Meanwhile, as already intimated, the negociations for a peace between England, France, and Spain were brought to a close by the signing of preliminaries at Fontainebleau, November 3rd.[23] They

[23] Martens, *Recueil*, t. i. p. 17.

would have been completed earlier had not Grimaldi, the Spanish minister, deferred his signature in the hope that the English expedition directed against the Havannah would miscarry. It proved successful, and the British Cabinet consequently raised its demands. Spain, besides the Havannah, had also lost, in her short war with England, Manilla and the Philippine Isles, nine ships of the line, and three frigates, and treasure and merchandise valued at three millions sterling. She had fully realised the proverbial fate of those who interpose in quarrels, and was not inclined to prolong the war, even could she have reckoned on the continued aid of France, for which country peace had become a matter of necessity. France also, in the course of 1761 and 1762, had lost the West India Islands of Dominica, Martinique, Grenada, St. Lucie, and St. Vincent, and in the East Indies, her important settlement of Pondicherry. But the conclusion of a definitive treaty was delayed till the differences between the other belligerents were arranged.

Frederick, who had concluded an armistice with Austria, but not with the Imperialists, resolved, in order to hasten the peace, to annoy the Princes of the Empire. In the autumn of 1762, a Prussian corps entered Franconia and Bavaria, took Bamberg, menaced Nuremberg, and pushed on to the very gates of Ratisbon. The Elector of Bavaria, the Bishop of Bamberg, and other sovereigns now demanded peace, and resolved to withdraw their contingents from the army of execution, so that Prince Stolberg, who commanded it, was compelled to negociate with the Prussian commanders for a suspension of arms.[24] Peace was highly necessary for Prussia; Frederick therefore readily listened to the overtures of Baron von Fritsch, a counsellor of the King of Poland, and a congress assembled at Hubertsburg, a hunting seat of Augustus, between Leipsic and Dresden. The Conferences were opened at the end of December, and lasted till the middle of February 1763.

The definitive PEACE OF PARIS, between France, Spain, England, and Portugal, was signed February 10th 1763.[25] Both France and England abandoned their allies, and neither Austria nor Prussia was mentioned in the treaty. While Bute expressly stipulated that all territories belonging to the Elector of Hanover, the Landgrave of Hesse, and the Count of Lippe Bücheburg, should be restored to their respective sovereigns, he displayed his enmity to the King of Prussia by making no such stipulation with

[24] Menzel, *Neuere Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. v. S. 508 f.

[25] Martens, *Recueil*, t. i. p. 33; Wenck, t. iii. p. 329.

regard to Clèves, Wesel, and Gelders, but simply requiring their evacuation by the French, who were therefore at liberty to make them over to Maria Theresa.

France ceded to England Nova Scotia, Canada, and the country east of the Mississippi, as far as the Iberville. A line drawn through the Mississippi, from its source to its mouth, was henceforth to form the boundary between the possessions of the two nations, except that the town and island of New Orleans were not to be included in this cession. France also ceded the island of Cape Breton, with the isles and coasts of the St. Lawrence, retaining, under certain restrictions, the right of fishing at Newfoundland, and the isles of St. Peter and Miquelon. In the West Indies she ceded Grenada and the Grenadines, and three of the so-called neuter islands, namely, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Tobago, retaining the fourth, St. Lucie. Also in Africa, the river Senegal, recovering Goree; in the East Indies, the French settlements on the coast of Coromandel made since 1749, retaining previous ones. She also restored to Great Britain Natal and Tabanouly, in Sumatra, and engaged to keep no troops in Bengal. In Europe, besides relinquishing her conquests in Germany, she restored Minorca, and engaged to place Dunkirk in the state required by former treaties. Great Britain, on her side, restored Belle Isle, and in the West Indies, Martinique, Guadaloupe, Marie Galante, and La Desirade.

Spain ceded to Great Britain Florida and all districts east of the Mississippi, recovering the Havannah and all other British conquests. British subjects were to enjoy the privilege of cutting logwood in the Bay of Honduras. Spanish and French troops were to be withdrawn from all Portuguese territories; and with regard to the Portuguese colonies, matters were to be placed in the same state as before the war. This clause involved the restoration of San Sacramento, which the Spaniards had seized. By way of compensation for the loss of Florida, France, by a private agreement, made over to Spain New Orleans and what remained to her of Louisiana.

The PEACE OF HUBERTSBURG, between Austria, Prussia, and Saxony, was signed February 15th 1763.[26] Maria Theresa renounced all pretensions she might have to any of the dominions of the King of Prussia, and especially those which had been ceded to him by the Treaties of Breslau and Berlin; and she agreed to restore to Prussia the town and county of Glatz, and the fortresses

[26] Martens, t. i. pp. 61 and 71; Wenck, t. iii. pp. 368 and 380.

of Wesel and Gelders.[27] The Empire was included in the peace, but the Emperor was not even named. It would have been impossible for Frederick, had such been his intention, to invent a more cutting reply to the Emperor's threat of putting him under ban. It was not, however, the King of Prussia's object to humble the head of the Empire, but merely to avoid the unnecessary complications and delays which the Emperor's participation would have occasioned. The treaty was accompanied with two secret articles, by the first of which Frederick promised to give his vote for the Archduke Joseph at the next election of a King of the Romans.[28] The other article regarded the marriage of one of the younger Archdukes with a Princess of Modena, with the expectation of succeeding to that duchy, which Frederick undertook to forward. In the peace with the Elector of Saxony, Frederick engaged speedily to evacuate that Electorate and to restore the archives, &c.; but he would give no indemnification for losses suffered. The Treaty of Dresden, of 1745, was renewed.

Thus, after seven years of carnage, during which, according to a calculation of Frederick's, 886,000 men had perished, everything was replaced, in Europe, precisely in the same state as it had been in before the commencement of the war. The political results were, however, considerable. England, instead of France, began to be regarded as the leading Power, and the predominance of the five great States was henceforth established by the success of Prussia. This last result was wholly due to the genius and enterprise of Frederick II., who in the conduct of the war displayed qualities which procured for him from his admirers the appellation of *the Great*. Everything in this great struggle depended on his own personal exertions; and it is impossible to overrate the quickness, and in general the sureness of his conceptions, the happy audacity of his enterprises, his courage and endurance under reverses, and the fertility of his resources in extricating himself from them. It will, however, appear no derogation to him to allow that his genius must in all probability have at last succumbed to superior force but for some fortunate circumstances. These were, the wretched organisation of the French armies, the want of cordial co-operation on the part of the Russians, the desire of the Austrians

[27] These last, as we have seen, were held by France, between which country and Prussia no particular peace was concluded. Frederick had even made preparations to recover his places on the Lower Rhine; but they were restored to him by a Convention between the French general, Langeron, and the Prussian Von Bauer, in March 1763. Menzel, B. v. S. 510.

[28] Joseph was accordingly elected and crowned at Frankfort, in the spring of 1764. Goethe, then a youth of fifteen, was present at the ceremony, and has given an account of it in his autobiography (*Wahrheit und Dichtung*, Buch v.).

in the last years of the war to spare their troops, and finally the opportune death of the Empress Elizabeth.

The part played in the war by the Empress-Queen, though unfortunate in the result, can hardly be regarded with disapprobation, as her efforts were directed to recover what she regarded as legitimately her own. But the conduct of France, Sweden, Saxony, and Spain, and especially of the first-named country, must be condemned as a great political blunder. With regard to England, the expediency of plunging into a continental war for the sake of the Hanoverian Electorate may well admit of question. It should, however, be remembered that the struggle also concerned the balance of European power; that the honour and dignity of the King were in some degree at stake; and it must at least be admitted that, after once engaging in the contest, England, under the counsels of Bute, acted no very honourable part in abandoning her ally the King of Prussia. The Peace was highly unpopular in England. It was thought that more advantageous terms should have been insisted on, and Bute resigned soon after its conclusion.

CHAPTER VII.

During the period which elapsed between the Peace of Paris and the outbreak of the first French revolution, the affairs of Eastern and Western Europe offer but few points of contact and connection. The alliance between France and Austria, and the Bourbon family compact, helped to maintain peace upon the continent, and thus the only war among the western nations was a maritime one between France, Spain, and England. The affairs of Eastern Europe, on the other hand, were assuming a high degree of importance, through the wars and intrigues of Russia, now rapidly assuming the dimensions of a colossal Power. We shall, therefore, pursue the affairs of these groups of nations separately in the following chapters.

We have already briefly alluded to the revolution which placed Catherine II. upon the throne of Russia. Peter III. owed his downfall to two causes; he had lost the affections both of his subjects and of his wife. Peter was on the whole a good-natured, well-meaning man, but wholly unfit to govern either a nation or a household. He lost his throne and his life chiefly through his want of tact and knowledge of the world. The slave of passion and caprice, the sport of every impulse to a degree that caused the soundness of his intellect to be suspected, he took no pains to conceal his feelings. He openly displayed his contempt for the manners of the Russians and the creed of their Church; and as he had not that strength of character which had enabled Peter the Great to triumph over the prejudices of his subjects, he became at once both hated and despised. Yet it was no difficult task to govern the Russians. His predecessor Elizabeth had sat securely on her throne, though she utterly neglected all business, and abandoned herself to the most profligate extravagance and the vilest sensuality. Peter, on the contrary, began his reign with some measures really good in themselves, but unwelcome because they had not the true Russian stamp. Although Elizabeth's clemency has been praised, she had sent 80,000 persons to languish

in Siberia.[1] Most of these, with the exception of common criminals, were recalled by Peter, and among them Biron, the former Duke of Courland, Marshal Münnich, and L'Estocq. He forbade the use of torture and abolished the Secret Chancery, a terrible inquisition of police. He enlarged the privileges of the nobles, permitted them to travel, or even to enter foreign service without forfeiting their national rights; and he did away with all monopolies. But it was the reforms which he attempted in the army and the Church that proved most dangerous to himself. He dismissed Elizabeth's costly body-guard, converted his own Holstein Cuirassiers into a regiment of horseguards, and ordered that all the rest of the army should be clothed and disciplined after the Prussian fashion. Still more hazardous were his innovations in the Church. A Lutheran himself, he abolished at his court the observance of the Greek fasts, and openly neglected most of the established usages of that religion. He endeavoured to suppress the use of images, candles, and other external rites, and to reform the long, patriarchal beards, and distinctive habits of the clergy. These attacks afforded to that order a handle to excite the populace against him; but Peter's real offence had been his beneficial attempt to reduce their enormous incomes by confiscating the possessions of the convents.

As he thus estranged from him the affections of his people, so he had long before alienated those of his wife. The union had never been a happy one. Catherine had lived on ill terms with her husband ever since their marriage, in spite of the attempts of Frederick II. to reconcile them. They had each their paramours. Peter's favourite mistress was Elizabeth Woronzoff, a woman of vulgar, unprepossessing appearance, and ordinary mind. On the anniversary of his birthday February 21st 1762, he had insulted his wife by compelling her to decorate this creature with the Order of Catherine. The Empress, on the other hand, was no model of domestic virtue. Her son, Paul Petrowitsch, the heir of the Russian throne, was, as we have said, undoubtedly the offspring of Soltikoff. Ever since 1755 she had lived apart from her husband, and had indulged herself in criminal amours. Even during the lifetime of the Empress Elizabeth she had conspired against her husband with the chancellor, Bestuscheff; and after Peter's accession it seemed unavoidable that one should fall. As he had threatened to dismiss her, Catherine resolved to anticipate him, and her character enabled her to accomplish his ruin.

[1] These wretches were compelled to change their names before their departure into exile, and swear never to resume them. Hermann, *Gesch. Russlands*, B. v. S. 178.

Catherine was, in many respects, the reverse of her husband. She possessed great talent and many accomplishments; while a certain geniality had, in spite of her profligacy, procured her friends and admirers, not only in Russia, but also in Germany and France. Instead of offending her future subjects by shocking their prejudices, she had striven to conciliate their good-will by conforming to them. She learnt their language, adopted their customs, and scrupulously adhered to all their religious observances.[2] Secure of popularity, she laid the plot of that tragedy of lust and blood which recalls the worst days of the Roman Empire. Her chief instruments were the Princess Dashkoff, sister of Peter's mistress, and the five brothers Orloff. The princess, then only nineteen years of age, possessed a genius for intrigue equal to that of Catherine herself, whose frivolity and taste for French literature she shared. Gregory Orloff, one of the five brothers engaged in the conspiracy, was distinguished by his handsome person, and had long been Catherine's lover. Odard, a Piedmontese *littérateur*, contributed much to the success of the plot, which was also communicated to the Count Panin, subsequently Catherine's minister. But one of its most zealous supporters was Setschin, Archbishop of Nogvorod; who incited the multitude of *popes* or priests in his jurisdiction against the "profane" Emperor. The existence of the conspiracy was widely known; even Frederick II. had acquainted the Czar with it; but the careless Peter listened to no warnings. Fearful of discovery, Dashkoff and the Orloffs compelled Catherine to give the signal of execution. Peter was then living at Oranienbaum, Catherine at Petershof, two residences at some distance from St. Petersburg. Early in the morning of July 9th 1762, Catherine repaired to the capital, and caused the soldiers, who had been bribed, to take an oath of allegiance to her. The Senate followed the example of the soldiery in declaring Peter III. deposed, and recognising Catherine II. in his place; who was proclaimed in the principal church, by the Archbishop of Novgorod, sole Empress; while her son Paul was recognised only as her successor. Ignorant of all these events, Peter had gone in the morning to Peterhof to celebrate there the festival of Peter and Paul, and expecting to find his wife. When informed by a secret message of the proceedings in the capital, his presence of mind entirely forsook him. At length, by the advice

[2] Frederick II. thus characterised Catherine to Count von Finkenstein soon after her accession: "The Empress has much wit, no religion, and the inclinations of her predecessor (Elizabeth), together with her religious hypocrisy." Preuss, B. ii. S. 328.

of Marshal Münnich, who, with one or two others, alone remained faithful to him, he embarked on board his yacht, and proceeded to Cronstadt, in the hope of securing that important fortress. But Catherine had anticipated him. The commandant and garrison, who had been gained by the Empress, threatened to fire on the yacht, which so alarmed Peter that he hid himself in the lowest hold of the vessel. Münnich now attempted to persuade him to sail to Revel, go on board a man-of-war, proceed to Pomerania, and place himself at the head of the army, which, as we have said, was preparing to invade Denmark. But Peter had not the courage requisite for such a step. He listened in preference to the advice of his suite, who recommended him to return to Oranienbaum and effect a reconciliation with Catherine. Here he wrote a cowardly and submissive letter to his wife, offering to divide with her the imperial power; and as it remained unanswered, he despatched a second, in which he threw himself wholly on her mercy, and begged permission to retire to Holstein. The bearer of the last, Ismailhoff, Peter's friend and confidant, was bribed by the promise of high honour and rewards to become the betrayer of his unfortunate master. Ismailhoff, on his return, arrested the Czar; and after persuading, or rather compelling, him to sign a degrading document, in which he declared his incompetence to govern, and which he signed only with the title of Duke of Holstein, brought him in his own custody to Peterhof.

Catherine entered St. Petersburg, July 11th, in a sort of triumph. Gregory Orloff rode by her side; and it was evident what functions were reserved for him. Apartments were assigned to him in all the imperial palaces. He was the first of twelve who successively held this post of favourite in the household of the Empress. But the tragedy was not yet complete. The chief criminals had gone too far to allow Peter to live. He was murdered at a country-house near Peterhof, by Alexis Orloff and some confederates, by whom he was strangled, after the failure of an attempt to poison him in some Burgundy (July 17th). It is to be hoped that Catherine was not privy to this last act; yet it is difficult to reconcile her ignorance of it with her refusal to allow her husband to retire to Holstein. When Alexis Orloff came to announce to her her husband's death, she was amusing a select circle with an entertaining anecdote. Alexis called her aside to relate the news, which she affected to deplore; and after giving, with great calmness, the necessary orders, she returned to her company, and resumed the anecdote exactly where she had broken off!

Catherine in her public announcement of Peter's decease, attributed it to hemorrhoidal colic; invited all faithful subjects to pray for the repose of his soul, and to regard his unexpected death as the effect of a Divine Providence, pointing out by its unfathomable decrees paths which it alone knew for the good of herself, her throne, and her country. The body of the Czar lay in state in the convent of Alexander Newski, where the people were admitted to view it. The throat, it was observed, was encircled with a much deeper cravat than the Czar had been accustomed to wear.[3] In a hypocritical manifest, dated on the day of her husband's death, Catherine heaped every possible obloquy on his memory, and charged him with a design to murder herself, and deprive her son of the succession.

Apart from her private life, the administration of Catherine II., like that of Cæsar Borgia, was excellent. She introduced an admirable organisation both into the government and the army. Even in the Church she carried through many of those reforms the attempting which had proved her husband's ruin. Towards the end of the year 1762 the ukase of Peter III. was submitted to an ecclesiastical commission, the chief of whom were bribed; the rest were regarded as contemptible. They attempted, in revenge, to excite against the Empress the latent elements of discord. They sought to awaken public sympathy in favour of Ivan VI., the rightful heir of the Russian crown, who, dethroned in his very cradle, had now been more than twenty years a prisoner.[4] Peter III., naturally kind-hearted, had visited that unfortunate prince in his wretched dungeon at Schlüsselburg, and had endeavoured in some degree to alleviate his misfortunes.[5] The malcontent *popes* dispersed abroad a manifest said to have been drawn up during the last days of Peter III., in which that monarch, revealing the guilt of his wife, excluded her son, the Grand Prince Paul, from the succession. The popular discontent began to assume formidable dimensions; the soldiery were infected with it, and everything seemed to promise the outbreak of a fresh revolution. But Catherine was well served by her police. The soldiers of the guard were forbidden to assemble except at the special command

[3] Old Field-Marshal Trubetskoi, on approaching the body, involuntarily exclaimed, "Fie, Peter Feodorowitsch, what a thick neckerchief have they given thee!" and, rushing up to the bier, was about to tear it away, when the sentinels drew him back. Hermann, B. v. S. 307.

[4] See above, p. 364.

[5] During this interview Peter directed the miserable prisoner to ask some favour. Ivan requested a little fresh air. He had once enjoyed that luxury through a broken window! He was now, of course, almost a confirmed idiot. Hermann, *Gesch. Russlands*, B. v. S. 273.

of their officers; some of the most turbulent were arrested, and either punished with the *knout* or banished to Siberia; fear reduced the remainder to obedience. The secularisation of church property now proceeded without molestation. That measure was even assisted by the Archbishop of Novgorod, although he had delivered a bitter invective against the memory of Peter III. shortly after his death, the chief topic of which was the aggressions of that prince on the property of the Church. But Catherine had bought the time-serving prelate, and soon after she deposed him; in the just confidence that the contempt which he had incurred with his order would deprive him of all power to hurt her.[6] It was in consequence of these disturbances, and some that followed in 1763, that Ivan VI. lost his life. Well-informed courtiers whispered that he must die; insecure on her still tottering throne, his name was a tower of strength to Catherine's enemies. In the summer of 1764 she undertook a journey to Riga, in order, it was suspected, to have an interview with her former favourite, Count Poniatowski; but more probably that she might escape, by her absence, the suspicion of being privy to Ivan's murder. Before her departure she gave a written order to the two officers who had the custody of Ivan to put him to death in case of any attempt to deliver him from prison. Such an attempt was actually made by Mirowitsch, a lieutenant of the regiment in garrison at Schlüsselburg, and the orders of Catherine were executed. Mirowitsch's motives for this act are enveloped in mystery; but the evidence seems to point to the conclusion that it had been concerted with the Court. He made no attempt to escape, went through his trial with the greatest composure, and was even observed to laugh upon the scaffold. The police had orders to delay the execution till a certain hour, and Mirowitsch confidently expected a reprieve; but his head fell while the smile was still playing on his lips. The death of the deluded tool was necessary to allay the suspicion excited by the enigmatical death of Ivan.[7]

One of Catherine's first political acts after her accession was to assure Frederick V. of Denmark of her peaceful intentions, and to recall from Mecklenburg the Russian troops which Peter had kept in that duchy with the view of invading the Danish dependencies. Catherine's project of aggrandisement lay nearer home, and she prepared to reinstate Biron as Duke of Courland. After Biron's fall the duchy had long remained without a head, and was entirely governed by Russia. At length, in 1758, Charles, the third son of

[6] Hermann, B. v. S. 310 f.

[7] *Ibid.* S. 647 ff.

Augustus III. of Poland, was invested with it through the influence of the Empress Elizabeth; but neither Peter III. nor Catherine recognised him. Charles defended himself six months against the Russian forces, but was then obliged to yield. Catherine's motive for deposing him was to bring Courland more directly under Russian influence; and she promised in return to mediate the evacuation of Saxony, still held by the Prussian troops. In vain Augustus represented that the matter belonged to the jurisdiction of the King and Republic of Poland; the presence of 15,000 Russian troops in Courland was an all-sufficing answer to this objection.

This proceeding was a mere prelude to that larger drama which Catherine was preparing to exhibit on the theatre of Poland itself. At the very commencement of her reign, the health of the Polish King, Augustus III., promising him but a short tenure of life, she had prepared to interfere in the affairs of that kingdom at the next election, and with that view had sent Count Kayserlingk as her ambassador to Warsaw. Augustus, who had not visited Poland after the Peace of Hubertsburg, died at Dresden, October 5th 1763. He was succeeded in the Saxon Electorate by his son, Frederick Christian, who, however, also died in the following December, leaving a minor son, Frederick Augustus, whose election to the Polish crown was out of the question. Meanwhile, since the death of Augustus III., Poland had fallen into a state of complete anarchy. Two factions contended for the mastery; on one side the Czartorinskis, Oginskis, and Poniatowskis, supported by Russia, on the other the Radzivills and Braniskis, who relied upon the influence of France. Catherine had resolved to place the Polish crown on the head of Count Stanislaus Poniatowski, one of her former lovers;[8] a choice, however, not dictated by any recollections of that kind, but by the cool and politic advice of Count Panin, her minister for foreign affairs, who saw, in the weak and courtier-like character of Stanislaus, all those qualities which would render him the fitting tool of the interested designs of Russia. But as this plan was likely to be opposed by Austria and France, Catherine resolved to support the execution of it by a closer alliance with Prussia.

The conduct of Frederick II. at this juncture was most im-

[8] Count Poniatowski had formerly been Polish Ambassador to the Russian Court. One day in the summer of 1758, Peter detected him, in the disguise of a barber, in the garden of his wife at Oranienbaum. Peter caused him to be arrested, brought him before his courtiers and companions, and after abusing and ridiculing him, procured his dismissal to Poland. Frightened, however, by the anger of Catherine, the complaisant husband endeavoured to obtain his recall, but the Empress Elizabeth would not consent. *Biographie Peters III.* Th. i. S. 121, ap. Hermann, B. v. S. 154.

portant to the future prospects and policy of Europe. He had to choose whether he should assist the rising flood of Russian might, which threatened to overwhelm the surrounding peoples, or whether he should endeavour to set a dam to it by forming a close alliance with the Poles. At the beginning of the Seven Years' War, Frederick, in a note addressed to the Poles, had declared that the power of the House of Brandenburg and the freedom of the Polish Republic went hand in hand, and that the fall of one would certainly draw after it the destruction of the other.[9] The time seemed now to have arrived when the sincerity of this declaration was to be put to the proof. Several of the Polish magnates were inclined to elect Prince Henry of Prussia for their sovereign, and Frederick was solicited to support their choice.[10] But other considerations now prevailed with the Prussian King. The election of Prince Henry would have obliged him to change his religion—a step to which Frederick was averse, not from piety, but pride. He had already, in the year 1744, declined on this very ground the marriage of his sister Ulrica with the Grand Duke Peter, heir of the Russian throne,[11] and had substituted for her the daughter of his general, Prince Christian of Anhalt-Zerbst; that very Catherine II. whose friendship and good will was now in so unforeseen and surprising a manner of such unspeakable importance to him! Prince Henry, besides, was childless, and his acceptance of the throne of Poland could only have assured the union of the two kingdoms during the remainder of his lifetime. But Frederick's conduct was probably determined principally by the state of his foreign relations. The election of his brother as King of Poland would in all probability involve him in a lengthened war with Russia, and in such a struggle to whom could he look for help? Louis XV. opposed him, Maria Theresa hated and suspected him, George III. and Lord Bute had deserted him. A Russian alliance, on the contrary, not only assured him the support of that Power, but, by serving to maintain the anarchy of Poland, held out to him the prospect of eventual aggrandisement at the expense of that unhappy country.

The alliance was effected through Frederick's complaisance in allowing Catherine to dispose of the Polish throne. On April 11th 1764 a treaty was concluded at St. Petersburg, which, during the remainder of Frederick's reign, determined the political connection between Russia and Prussia. Ostensibly it was merely a defensive alliance for a term of eight years, but its real character was

[9] Hertzberg, *Recueil de Déductions*, t. i. p. 271.

[10] De La Roche-Aymon, *Vie privée, milit., et polit., du Prince Henri de Prusse*, ap. Menzel, B. vi. S. 37.

[11] *Ibid.* B. v. S. 376.

determined by certain secret conventions. The Empress and the King engaged by a secret article to prevent Poland from being deprived of its elective right, and rendered an hereditary kingdom, or an absolute government—stipulations which, though agreeable to the majority of the Poles themselves, deprived them of the only chance of maintaining their existence as an independent nation. The contracting Powers also agreed to protect the Polish *dissidents*, or religious dissenters, against the oppressions of the dominant Catholic Church. By a secret Convention, signed on the same day, it was further arranged that the election should fall on a *Piast*, or member of one of the native Polish families; the person selected for that honour being Count Stanislaus Poniatowski, *Stolnic* (*dapifer*, or grand carver) of Lithuania.[12] The election thus resolved on was finally carried out by force of arms. In the spring of 1764, the Radzivills and Braniski, the crown grand-general, had appeared at the head of an army and expelled the Russians from Graudenz; but the Czartorinskis, uncles of Stanislaus Poniatowski, placing themselves at the head of a confederation, and assisted by Russian troops, drove the opposing faction from the field, and Stanislaus was then chosen King, September 7th 1764. To secure his election, 10,000 Russians had marched to Warsaw, while Prussian troops made demonstrations on the frontiers. Only 4000 electors were present on the plain of Wola, about a twentieth part of those who sometimes appeared; and in order to avoid the *liberum veto*, the elective diet was converted into a confederation, which was bound by a *majority*.[13]

The policy pursued by Russia and Prussia in order to destroy Polish nationality resembled that adopted by France and Sweden at the Peace of Westphalia for the destruction of the German Empire. But though the Emperor of Germany retained at last little more than an empty title, the German nation survived in its pristine vigour, because two great and powerful monarchies had arisen in the bosom of the Confederation, which were able to assert themselves against the surrounding nations, and even to take their place among the leading Powers of Europe. But a large kingdom like Poland, in which were preserved all the abuses of the middle ages, and which possessed no centralised power, could not exist in the neighbourhood of these powerful and despotic monarchies. We have already briefly adverted to these abuses, and we shall here add,

[12] Wenck, t. iii. p. 481, and p. 487; Martens, t. i. p. 89 (without the secret articles); Frédéric II., *Mém. de* 1763–1775, ch. i.

[13] Rulhière, *Hist. de l'Anarchie de Pologne*, t. ii. p. 254; Frédéric, *Œuvres*, t. vi. p. 13.

from the account of a contemporary observer, a few more details respecting the state of Poland immediately before its first dismemberment.[14] A multitude of serfs, estimated at about six millions, formed two-thirds of the nation. They differed but little from the brutes; lived in dirt, misery, and ignorance, possessed no property of their own, and if a single crop failed, died by thousands of starvation. No change of government could render their condition worse than it was. The remaining third of the nation was composed of the clergy, the great lords or magnates, the middling and smaller nobility, the lawyers, the citizens and the Jews. The clergy was estimated at about 600,000, of whom some thirty had immense revenues; the rest were poorly off, lived in the idleness of convents, were, in general, profoundly ignorant, and employed themselves only in caballing. The magnates or great nobles numbered some 120 persons, of whom four or five might be called dominant families, princes with large revenues, numerous adherents, and even standing armies. The middling nobility comprised between twenty and thirty thousand persons, all in tolerable circumstances, who lived retired in their villages. Their only pursuit was to amass money and oppress their peasantry, or serfs; their only ambition to shine in a Diet, or appear among the clients of the great. The small nobility, estimated at 1,300,000 souls, may be said to have composed the real body of the nation—the Polish people. But what were they? A mass of persons without property or profession, of an ignorance that amounted to stupidity, the necessary slaves of the great lords, yet claiming the quality of gentlemen from their privilege of pronouncing the *veto*, of talking about their liberties, and getting drunk whenever they had the means; yet often reduced to mendicancy or to serve their more fortunate equals. The military was composed of only a few thousand brave, but ill-disciplined, men. The magistracy and lawyers were also few in number, and had but a very imperfect legal education. The class of citizens, or burgesses, was almost an imaginary one. It consisted of some 400 or 500 merchants, established in the four or five walled towns of the kingdom, and 40,000 or 50,000 artizans, as tailors, shoemakers, weavers, &c., dispersed through the hamlets which, in Poland, are dignified with the name of towns, and where they were exposed almost as much as the peasants to the brutality of the nobles. Lastly came the Jews, estimated at near a million.

[14] See the anonymous *Memoir*, entitled *Les Paradoxes, ouvrage plus vrai qu'utile*, ap. Hermann, *Gesch. Russlands*, B. v. Anhang ii. 21, p. 591 ff. The author describes himself as "un ami des hommes, qui s'occupe à leur faire du bien, qui cherche à rectifier leurs travers, et qui étudie à rectifier les siens."

A part of these conducted almost the whole traffic of the country, borrowed at a high rate of interest the money of ecclesiastics and nobles, and generally finished by a fraudulent bankruptcy. The remaining portion of this order were keepers of inns, public-houses, &c., and formed the bulk of the population of the towns. The Jews, the clergy, the *tiers état*, which, as we have seen, was quite insignificant, and foreigners residing in Poland, were alone liable to taxation, from which the nobles claimed the privilege of exemption.[15]

A nation which possessed neither a middle class, nor commerce, nor a fixed revenue, nor a regular army, nor fortresses and artillery; whose national assembly could be nullified by the *veto* of a single wrong-headed or designing member, or overawed by a turbulent confederation; whose King possessed no real power, since the heads of the army, the law, the finances, and the political government of the State—that is, the grand general of the crown, the grand chancellor, the grand treasurer, and the grand marshal—were responsible, not to him, but to the anarchical assembly before described, carried in itself all the elements of dissolution. Such a catastrophe had been foretold a century before by John Casimir, the last King of Poland of the House of Wasa, in an address to the Diet in 1661, in which, adverting to the intestine divisions of the kingdom, he predicted, in a remarkable manner, its future dismemberment by Muscovy, Austria, and the House of Brandenburg.[16]

The religious dissensions which prevailed in Poland were not among the least of the causes which contributed to its ruin, and served, indeed, as a pretext for effecting it. Under the name of *dissidents* were comprised both the members of the reformed Church and a large number of Greek Christians, inhabiting the Lithuanian provinces, formerly subject to the Russian Empire. After the Reformation, Calvinism had rapidly spread among a turbulent and republican nobility, and before the close of the sixteenth century, Poland counted a million Protestants. At first the dissentients had enjoyed an equality of civil rights with their Catholic fellow-countrymen. These rights, however, were gradually restricted; and towards the beginning of the eighteenth century, and especially after the time of Charles XII., who had indiscreetly attempted to render Protestantism the dominant religion, persecution became more vigorous and methodical. A Diet in 1717 ordered the destruction of all Protestant churches built since the

[15] Essen's *Bericht*, ap. Hermann, B. v. S. 553 Anm.

[16] See Lunigii, *Orationes procerum Europæ*, ap. Koch et Schöll, *Hist. des Traités*, t. xiv. p. 7.

Swedish invasion, and forbade the exercise of Protestant worship in all places where it had not existed before that invasion. In 1724 the intolerance of the Jesuits produced a bloody persecution at Thorn, which had nearly involved the Republic in a war with the guarantors of the Peace of Oliva. A Diet in 1733 excluded dissenters from all offices and dignities, and these decrees were confirmed by the Diet of 1736.

The dissenters availed themselves of the election of Stanislaus Augustus to invoke the protection of the Czarina. Nothing could be more acceptable to Catherine than such a pretext for meddling in the affairs of Poland. In a note presented by her ambassador, Count Kayserlingk, and her minister, Prince Repnin, which was backed by another from Frederick II., she demanded that the dissentients should be allowed the free exercise of their religion, and enjoy the same political rights as Catholics. By thus interfering in favour of liberty of conscience, as well as by helping to maintain the elective monarchy, Russia and Prussia seemed to be acting in accordance with the enlightened spirit of the age, when in fact their object only was to serve their own purposes by keeping up the anarchy in Poland. Toleration was to be established by 40,000 bayonets. But the Diet assembled in the following year, instead of lending themselves to the views of the Empress, renewed, in a moment of enthusiasm and reaction against Russian domination, all the most objectionable constitutions against dissenters.

Our space permits us only briefly to indicate some of the leading events which preceded the partition of Poland.[17] The King, by his weakness and vacillation, lost the confidence of all parties. He had at first lent himself to the Russian plans in favour of the dissidents; but finding that the carrying of them through the Diet would be incompatible with the schemes which he had formed for extending the power of the Crown, he broke with Prince Repnin, the Russian minister at Warsaw, and joined his uncles the Czartorinskis. These princes, after the election of their nephew, had endeavoured to introduce some order into the State. They

[17] Among the principal works on this subject may be mentioned: Rulhière, *Hist. de l'Anarchie de Pologne*; Ferrand, *Hist. des trois Démembremens de la Pologne* (a continuation of the preceding work); Görtz, *Mémoires et Actes authentiques relatifs aux négociations qui ont précédés le partage de la Pologne*; Frédéric II., *Mém. depuis la Paix de Hubertsburg*; Dohm, *Denkwürdigkeiten meiner Zeit*, Lemgo, 1814; *Souvenirs du Comte de * * * sur le premier Démembrement de la Pologne*, in the *Lettres particulières du baron de Viosménil sur les affaires de la Pologne*, p. 87 sqq. An accurate and valuable account of all the circumstances which preceded the first partition of Poland, from the election of Stanislaus in 1764 till its final consummation in 1755, chiefly compiled from the MS. despatches of Von Essen, the Saxon minister at Warsaw at that period, will be found in Hermann's *Gesch. Russlands*, B. v. S. 381–556.

wished to abolish the *liberum veto*, to establish a regular system of taxation, and to put the army on an adequate footing; and they had formed a Confederation to carry out their views. But although Stanislaus Augustus, in the Diet which met in October 1766, declared himself against the Russian plans in favour of the dissidents, yet the anti-Russian party suspected his sincerity, and refused to give him their confidence. Catherine, on the other hand, enraged that her creature should presume to show any will of his own, resolved, not indeed to dethrone him, but to leave him nothing but an empty title. Russia, defeated in her projects by the Diet above mentioned, resolved to effect them in another method. Her chief instrument in this work was Prince Charles Radzivill, a man of great authority in Lithuania, whom she had bought. Through his influence, and with the aid of Russian gold, no fewer than 178 Confederations were formed in Poland in 1767. These consisted not only of dissidents, but also of mal-content Catholics, who were led away with the idea that the King was to be deposed; but were perhaps more governed by Russian money than by any political or patriotic views. On June 23rd these Confederations, which are said to have numbered 80,000 members, were united into one at Radom, a town in the Palatinate of Sandomir, under Prince Radzivill and Brzotowski as marshals. According to Polish customs, a general Confederation thus formed exercised a sort of irresponsible dictatorship. Laws and magistrates were silent in its presence; the King, the senate, the holders of the highest offices and dignities, were amenable to its jurisdiction; persons who refused to join it were liable to have their property confiscated. Having effected this object, Prince Repnin now threw off the mask. A manifest was laid before the general Confederation of quite a different tenor from the propositions made to the separate ones. In these, little had been said about the dissidents; but now a complete political equality was demanded for them; and the assembly was still further disgusted by the intimation that they were to request the Russian guarantee to the laws and constitutions that they were to promulgate. As they had also discovered that Russia would not consent to the dethronement of the King, they refused to sign the Act of Confederation; whereupon the Russian colonel, Carr, surrounded the assembly with his troops, and would permit nobody to depart till the Act had been signed. To the 178 marshals of the various Confederations views of self-interest were also held out, and thus partly by force, partly by persuasion, they were induced to take an oath of fidelity to the King, and to invite his accession to the Confederation.

Repnin now ruled despotically. Under his auspices, an extraordinary Diet was opened, October 4th 1767, whose decisions, as it was held under the form of a Confederation, were regulated by a majority. Repnin arranged its proceedings in daily conferences with the Primate, Prince Radzivill, the Grand Treasurer of the Crown, and the King. The Bishops of Cracow and Kioff, the Palatine of Cracow and his son, and a few others who seemed inclined to oppose the proceedings, were seized and carried into the interior of Russia. A delegation or committee of sixty members, and another smaller one of fourteen, were now appointed; and the Diet was prorogued till February 1st 1768 to receive their report. The smaller delegation was empowered to make binding resolutions by a majority of votes, and thus eight men could decide upon the future fate and constitution of Poland, although by the will of Russia and Prussia the *liberum veto*—in other words, *unanimity* in the proceedings of the Diet—was to remain the fundamental principle of the Constitution!

Repnin governed all the proceedings of the delegation, and the report laid before the Diet contained only such matters as had been approved of by him.[18] On March 5th 1768, the King and the two marshals of the Confederation signed an act comprising, in the name of the nation, the resolutions of the Diet, and the Confederation was then dissolved. The result of their deliberations was incorporated in a treaty with Russia, and two separate conventions, which established the future constitution of Poland (February 24th 1768). The treaty confirmed the Peace of Moscow of 1686. By the first separate act,[19] the Catholic religion was made dominant in Poland. It was provided that the King must be a Catholic; that the Queen could not be crowned unless she belonged to that communion; that any Pole who abandoned that creed after the

[18] The following anecdote will show his absolute authority. A resolution had been passed in the smaller delegation which almost annihilated the authority of the papal nuncio in Poland. Catherine, however, had disapproved of it, and Repnin, in the greater delegation, drawing a paper from his pocket, said, with an air of condescension, "Gentlemen, here is a project passed by the committee, which annuls all the authority of the Pope in this kingdom, but I have the commands of my sovereign to say that she does not insist upon it. With your permission, therefore, gentlemen, I destroy it:" and, tearing it in pieces, he handed them to one of the most zealous sticklers for the Pope, with the words, "Receive from my hands these fragments of a project, and preserve them as a relic." Essen's *Berichte*, ap. Hermann, B. v. S. 426.

[19] The preamble states that it was concluded between the Emperor of Russia, the Kings of Prussia, Denmark, England, and Sweden on the one part, and the King and Republic of Poland on the other. But though it is true that the four Powers named employed their influence in favour of the dissidents, and though their ministers had assisted at the sittings of the commission, the Act was signed only by Prince Repnin and the Polish plenipotentiaries. Wenck, *Codex Jur. Gent. rec.* t. iii. pp. 651, 701; Martens, *Recueil*, t. i. pp. 391, 398.

establishment of this act, should incur the penalty of banishment. But, on the other hand, the Protestant Confederation was recognised as legal; dissenters were authorised to preserve the churches and foundations of which they were in possession; and were to be admitted into the senate and public offices on the same footing as Catholics.

The second separate act contained the cardinal laws of the Republic, as settled with Prince Repnin. The *liberum veto* was retained, so far as it subserved the purposes of foreign intervention. For, though during the first three weeks of a diet, during which only economical questions were discussed, a *majority* of votes was to decide, yet, during the last three weeks, which were devoted to affairs of State policy, it was required that the votes should be unanimous. Some really good regulations were, however, introduced. Thus the wilful murder of a serf by a noble was no longer to be redeemable with money, but was to be punished capitally.

These proceedings excited great discontent among the Poles, which was increased by the brutality of Repnin. The nation became convinced that the King had sold himself and them, that he had always been the secret ally of Russia, and that the apparent breach between the Courts of St. Petersburg and Warsaw had been a mere sham and delusion. Radzivill received the reward of his treachery by being restored to his Palatinate, from which he had been driven by the Czartorinskis, as well as by large sums of money. The fanaticism of the populace was excited by the priests, who gave out that Russia, in accord with the King Stanislaus, intended to abolish the Roman Catholic religion. The discontent was fanned by France. Choiseul, the French minister, endeavoured, but without success, to detach Frederick II. from Russia; but he succeeded in raising the Poles, and at length in persuading the Porte to enter into a Russian war. In March 1768, a Confederation was formed by the Polish Catholics in the town of Bar, in Podolia, a province neighbouring on Turkey, for the purpose of dethroning the King, driving out the Russians, and restoring Polish freedom.[20] The principal leaders were Count Krasinsky, who was elected marshal, Pulmoski, and Potocki—persons of no great consideration. This Confederation gave rise to others in great and little Poland and Lithuania. Even Radzivill himself, a fickle, drunken, and despicable character, was for a while carried away by the stream, and joined one of these asso-

[20] Rulhière, *Hist. de l'Anarchie de Pologne*, t. iii. p. 13 sqq.

ciations; but surrendered immediately the Russians appeared before his fortress of Nieswicz. The separate confederations were finally converted into a general one, which, on account of the Russian troops, held their council abroad; first at Eperies in Hungary, and then at Teschen in Silesia. From this place the deputies of the Confederation betook themselves to the little town of Bielitz, close to the Polish frontiers, and separated only by a small stream from the lordship of Biala, belonging to the Sulkowski family, so that the necessary papers could be signed on Polish ground. France assisted the Confederates with a small subsidy till the fall of the minister Choiseul, and sent to their aid the afterwards noted colonel, Dumouriez, and some other officers. But she never lent them any effectual assistance. Almost ten years before, the French Cabinet had contemplated the partition of Poland as highly improbable; and even in the event of its occurrence, had decided that it was not likely to interest France.[21] The want of discipline and subordination among the Poles, and the disunion which prevailed among their leaders, caused them, however, in spite of their bravery, to be worsted in almost every rencounter with the Russians. It was in these campaigns that the Russian general, Suvaroff, began to distinguish himself. Nevertheless, the insurrection was found difficult to suppress, and the fate of Poland was postponed a few years longer by a quarrel between Russia and the Porte.

Turkey had now enjoyed a long interval of tranquillity. Sultan Mahmoud I., who reigned twenty-four years, though not endowed with great abilities, and entirely governed by the ministers who surrounded him, encouraged the arts of peace.[22] He built numerous mosques, founded several schools and professorships, as well as four libraries. He encouraged the art of printing, which had been introduced at Constantinople by a Hungarian renegade; but it had many opponents and made but very slow progress. By granting the Janissaries an exemption from import duties, he induced a large number of them to engage in commerce, and thus rendered them anxious for the tranquillity of the government. These regulations, however, contributed to break the military spirit of the nation, as was but too manifest in its subsequent

[21] "Lors même que, contre toute vraisemblance, les quatre puissances (including Turkey) s'arrangeraient pour partager la Pologne, il est encore très-douteux que cet évènement pût intéresser la France." *Mémoire lu au Conseil* 8 *mai* 1763, ap. St. Priest, *Partage de la Pologne.*

[22] For this period of Turkish history may be consulted, Tott, *Mém. sur les Turcs et les Tartares; Turkey, its History and Progress*, from the journals and correspondence of Sir James Porter, edited by Sir George Larpent, London, 1854. Sir J. Porter was ambassador at Constantinople from 1747 to 1762.

struggles with Russia. Mahmoud I. died in his fifty-eighth year, December 13th 1754, while returning from Friday prayers. He was succeeded by his brother, Osman III., whose tranquil reign of two years presents nothing of importance. On his death, December 22nd 1756, Mustapha III., son of Achmet III., then forty-one years of age, became Sultan and Caliph. Mustapha was an accomplished and energetic prince, an astrologer and poet, and deeply religious.

The Porte had at first manifested great indifference to the fate of Poland. During the vacancy of the crown it had contented itself with presenting a moderate note to the Russian resident, April 12th 1764, protesting against any interference in the election. When the tumults broke out, Count Vergennes, the French ambassador to the Porte, endeavoured to incite it in favour of the Polish patriots. Catherine II., stimulated by ambition and the desire of aggrandisement, had not confined her views to Poland. She had also cast her eyes on some of the Turkish provinces, and had marked them out for her future prey; but, so long as the affairs of Poland remained unsettled, she wished to remain at peace with the Porte, and with this view she had bought with large sums the votes of some of the most influential members of the Divan. Hence, though Mustapha himself was inclined for war, the counsels of his ministers were long undecided. The progress of the Russian arms was, however, watched with jealousy and alarm. The incursions of their troops across the borders in pursuit of the Poles, and especially the burning of Balta, a little town on the frontiers of Bessarabia, belonging to the Tartar Khan, by the Russians and Zaporogue Cossacks, excited the anger of the Porte in the highest degree; but it was not till after the taking of Cracow by the Russians that an appeal to arms was finally decided on. The Mufti gave his long-expected Fetwa for war; the Grand Vizier, who had been an advocate of peace, was deposed; and, although Catherine had made apologies, and promised satisfaction for the damages committed by her troops, the new Grand Vizier, after upbraiding Obreskoff, the Russian resident, with the treacherous conduct of his mistress in keeping her troops in Poland, caused him to be arrested and confined in the Seven Towers.

Sultan Mustapha now made vigorous preparations for war, and assembled a numerous army. But the time of his declaration had been badly chosen. A great part of the Turkish troops were only bound to serve in the summer, and thus six months were spent in inaction, during which the Russians had time to prepare them-

selves. The Turkish regular troops were no longer very formidable; but the Tartars who inhabited the Crim, and the desolate regions north of the Dniepr and Dniester, even to the Pruth, were numerous and warlike. The Tartars of the Budziac, and the Nogai Tartars, inhabiting the Crimea, were under a Khan who was subject to the Sultan. The reigning Khan was now deposed, and his predecessor, Krim Girai,[23] who was living in banishment, being a bitter foe to the Russians, was recalled, and commissioned to begin the war with his hordes. Early in 1769, supported by 10,000 Sipahis and a few hundred Poles, Krim Girai invaded New Servia, where he committed the most terrible devastations.[24] But soon after his return from that expedition, this last of the Tartar heroes was poisoned by his Greek physician Siropolo, an emissary of the Prince of Wallachia.

The main Turkish army, under the Grand Vizier Mohammed Emir Pasha, effected little or nothing. The Russians, under Galitzin, were indeed repulsed in two attempts upon Choczim, but Emir Pasha, accused of conducting the war with too little vigour, was recalled, and beheaded at Adrianople. His successor, Mustapha Moldawanschi Ali Pasha, was still more unfortunate. After two or three vain attempts to enter Podolia, the Turks were compelled to make a general retreat; Choczim, abandoned by its garrison, fell into the hands of the Russians, September 20th 1769; who were now enabled to occupy Moldavia and Wallachia; in which last province a strong Russian party had been formed. An attempt made by a Turkish corps to recover Bucharest, the capital of Wallachia, in February 1770, was frustrated. Romanzoff, who had succeeded Galitzin as commander of the Russians, after defeating the Turks on the Larga, a tributary of the Pruth, gained a decisive victory over them on the banks of the Kaghul, August 1st 1770. After this defeat the Turks fled precipitately, abandoning Ismail as they had Choczim in the preceding year. By the end of the year the Russians had penetrated into the Crimea. Their arms had also been successful in Asia, where a great part of Armenia, Grusia, Circassia, and Kabardia had been reduced.

Voltaire was at this time endeavouring to awaken a spirit of

[23] The family of Girai, or Gherai, descended from Zingis Khan, formed a particular dynasty of the Mongols of Kipzak, called the Great Horde, or Golden Horde, which, from 1237 till the end of the fifteenth century, had ruled Russia with a rod of iron. Koch et Schöll, t. xiv. p. 458.

[24] For this war see the *Mémoires* of Baron de Tott, t. ii. De Tott's father was one of the Hungarians who had fled into Turkey with Ragotski. He himself found a refuge in France, and assisted the Turks in this war, in the capacity of an engineer.

Phil-hellenism in Frederick and Catherine; he urged them to partition Turkey and to restore the Greeks to independence. Frederick, however, avowed that he should prefer the town of Dantzic to the Peiræus.[25] His dominions were at too great a distance from Greece to enable him to derive any material advantage from such a project. But with Catherine the case was different. Her views had long been directed towards this quarter, and for some years Russian emissaries had been striving to awaken a spirit of revolt among the Greek Christians in the Morea, the islands, and all the Turkish provinces. The conquest of Greece is said to have been suggested by a Venetian nobleman to Count Alexis Orloff; and in 1769, Orloff had concluded at Pisa a formal treaty with the Mainotes and other tribes of the Morea and of Roumelia. He had engaged to supply them with the necessaries of war, and they had promised to rise so soon as the Russian flag should appear on their coasts. Fleets were prepared at Cronstadt, Archangel, and Revel, which, under his conduct, were to attempt the conquest of Constantinople. The British ministry of that day approved the project, and even signified to the Cabinets of Versailles and Madrid that it should regard as an act of hostility any attempt to arrest the progress of the Russian fleet into the Mediterranean.[26] Choiseul, on the contrary, endeavoured, but without effect, to persuade Louis XV. to sink it, as the only method of reviving the credit of France both with the Porte and Europe.[27] The first division of the Russian fleet, consisting only of three ships of war and a few transports, with about 500 men on board, appeared off Port Vitolo, near Cape Matapan, towards the end of February 1770. The Mainotes rose, but no plan of a campaign had been arranged, and the whole business degenerated into a sort of marauding expedition. Navarino alone seemed for a time likely to become a permanent conquest. But after some fruitless attempts on Modon and Coron, the Russians took their departure towards the end of May, abandoning the Greeks to their fate. They suffered dreadfully at the hands of the Turks for their temerity, and the Morea became a scene of the most frightful devastation.

The Russian fleet, which originally consisted of twelve ships of the line, the same number of frigates, besides smaller vessels, under Admiral Spiridoff, remained in the Mediterranean till 1774; but the only action of any importance that it performed

[25] See his correspondence with Voltaire.

[26] Eton's *Survey of the Turkish Empire*, ap. Zinkeisen, B. v. S. 929.

[27] *Politique de tous les Cabinets*, t. ii. p. 173 sq.

was the burning of the Turkish fleet in the Bay of Chesmeh, near the Gulf of Smyrna, after defeating it off Chios. This victory (July 5th 1770) was wholly due to the British officers serving in the Russian fleet, namely, Admiral Elphinstone, Captain Greig, and Lieutenant Dugdale, though all the honours and emoluments fell to Orloff. Elphinstone now wished to force the passage of the Dardanelles, and sail to Constantinople, but Orloff prevented him.[28]

These successes awakened the jealousy and alarm of the European Powers. England recalled her seamen from the Russian service, and proposed her mediation to the Porte, while France offered to supply the Sultan with men-of-war, in consideration of a subsidy. Austria and Prussia, neither of which desired to see Turkey destroyed, were still more nearly interested in the Russo-Turkish war. The Eastern question formed the chief subject of the conferences between Joseph II., who had now ascended the Imperial throne, and Frederick II. of Prussia, in their interviews at Neisse in Silesia, in August 1769, and at Neustadt in Moravia, in September 1770. A collateral effect of the war was to hasten the partition of Poland. There can be no doubt that at the interview at Neustadt, where Kaunitz was also present, the necessity was recognised of setting bounds to the advance of Russian power:[29] or rather the main object was, that Russia should not be suffered to aggrandise herself alone, and without the participation of Austria and Prussia. Of this policy Poland was to be the victim. Frederick, indeed, in his account of these proceedings, says not a word to this purpose; whence some writers have concluded that the affairs of Poland were not discussed at these interviews.[30] But this conclusion seems highly improbable. The partition of Poland must for some years have occupied the thoughts of Austrian and Prussian statesmen as an inevitable catastrophe. Such a conviction had at all events forced itself long before upon the minds of observant politicians who were not so directly interested in the matter. As early as 1766, Von Essen, the Saxon minister at Warsaw, had expressed, in his despatches, his opinion that the Court of St. Petersburg and the Kings of Prussia and Poland were already agreed on a partition; and he further thought that Austria was also implicated in the scheme.[31] The steps taken by Austria and

[28] Hermann, B. v. S. 623.

[29] Frédéric II., *Œuvres*, t. vi. p. 29 (ed. 1847).

[30] See Ferrand, *Hist. des trois Démembremens*, t. i. p. 119.

[31] Essen's *Bericht vom* 1. *October* 1766, ap. Hermann, *Gesch. Russlands*, B. v. S. 394 f. It may also be shown from Von Hammer's account of the events immediately preceding the war between Russia and Turkey (B. viii.), that Austria was then acquainted with the views of Russia

Prussia in 1770, were almost universally regarded in political circles as the result of the conferences of the two monarchs.[32] About the middle of that year, Austrian troops took possession of the Starosties of Zips and Zandek, the *salines*, or salt-works of Bochnia and Wieliczka, whence the King of Poland chiefly drew his revenues, and spread themselves even beyond Cracow. In November these districts were declared reunited with the kingdom of Hungary; an Austrian government was established in them, the motto of whose official seal purported that they had been lawfully recovered.[33] In the autumn of the same year, the King of Prussia, on pretence of forming a *cordon* against the plague, caused his troops to enter Polish Prussia and other districts. In the anarchy which reigned in Poland, and the devastation which ensued, commerce and agriculture were almost suspended; the peasants sought refuge in the towns, the nobles carried their property into neighbouring countries; and the want and famine which followed produced a pestilence. The Prussians, if they did not, like the Austrians, take formal possession of the districts they had invaded, acted at least as if they were the absolute masters of them, and even conducted themselves more arbitrarily than the Russians. Wood, forage, provisions of all sorts, were collected and forwarded into Brandenburg, which were paid for in a base and depreciated currency worth about one-third of its nominal value, and thousands of the inhabitants were carried off as recruits or colonists.[34]

In such a state of things, it seems idle to inquire to whom the guilt attaches of first proposing a partition of Poland. The subjugation of that unfortunate country had long been a foregone conclusion. The aims of Russia seem first to have been directed to obtain exclusive possession; but Austria and Prussia stepped in, and Austria was the first Power that *permanently* occupied some of the Polish dominions. Russia, hampered with the Turkish war, was compelled to come to terms with her two rivals. The proposal for a partition seems to have been brought about as follows:—Prussia and Austria had offered their mediation between Russia and Turkey, which the Porte had at first rejected. But after the misfortunes on the Kaghul, and in the Bay of Chesmeh, it became

and Prussia respecting Poland, and in general agreed with them. See Schlosser, *Gesch. des 18ten Jahrh.* B. iii. S. 212.

[32] Hermann, *ibid.* p. 484.

[33] "Sigillum administrationis terrarum recuperatarum."

[34] Von Raumer, *Polens Untergang*, erroneously denies this. From a certain number of acres Frederick required a young woman, a cow, a bed, and three ducats in money. Essen's *Despatch*, March 18th 1771, ap. Hermann, B. v. S. 497. From these and other oppressions, the Poles detested the Prussians even more cordially than they hated the Russians.

more pliable. When Frederick, the Emperor, and Kaunitz were at Neustadt in September 1770, a note arrived from the Porte expressing its desire for peace, and begging the mediation of the Courts of Vienna and Berlin. Frederick undertook to acquaint the Czarina with this wish. His brother, Prince Henry, after a visit to his sister at Stockholm, arrived in St. Petersburg in October, with instructions to come to an understanding with Catherine, both on the Polish and Turkish questions. A scheme for a partition of Poland was first formally broached during this visit. Whether it came from Prince Henry or Catherine is unimportant.[35] Before the Prince quitted Petersburg, towards the end of January 1771, the Czarina told him that she was prepared to come to an agreement with his brother on the subject. She had overruled the objections of her minister, Panin, who opposed the partition, not because it violated international rights, but because he wished not that others should share with Russia what he thought she might obtain alone. Frederick was, or pretended to be, astonished at the overture; but finding that Catherine was in earnest, he undertook to obtain the consent and co-operation of Austria. Kaunitz at first alleged that he feared to propose the scheme to his mistress, Maria Theresa, who either felt or affected aversion to the project; he also apprehended that it might induce Louis XV. to break the alliance with Austria, which he regarded as the *chef d'œuvre* of his policy. But after a little display of that diplomacy for which he was so famous, he came to a complete agreement with the Court of St. Petersburg, and succeeded in procuring Maria Theresa's consent to the scheme, on the ground that it would avoid an effusion of blood. Kaunitz now displayed the greatest zeal and disinterestedness in the cause of Catherine, and

[35] Much has been said on this subject, and the majority of writers incline to believe that Frederick was the first proposer of the scheme. He himself, indeed, denies it in his works, but probability seems to lie so much the other way, that one almost feels inclined to believe, with a recent French historian, that the denial was made "pour tromper la postérité" (Martin, t. xvi. p. 299, note). As early as 1733, when Frederick was still Crown Prince, he had recommended his father to invade Polish Prussia, and thus unite the kingdom of Prussia with Brandenburg (*ibid.* p. 258); and as soon as the Turkish war broke out he had insinuated to Catherine, that in order to deter Austria from opposing the progress of the Russian arms in Turkey, an understanding should be come to respecting the division of some of the Polish provinces between Austria, Russia and Prussia (*Œuvres*, t. vi. p. 27, Berlin ed., 1846). Nor is it likely that the proposal of a partition should have first come from the Court of St. Petersburg, which was desirous of obtaining the *whole* of Poland. On this subject, see Coxe, *House of Austria*, and Rulhière, *Hist. de l'Anarchie de Pologne*.

On the other side of the question see Dohm, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, B. i. Beilage A., and an elaborate note in Koch et Schöll, *Hist. des Traités*, t. xiv. p. 24 sqq., with the authorities there cited. The whole affair is a labyrinth of dirty intrigue, in which each party was endeavouring to circumvent the other.

even offered to back an ultimatum which she had proposed to the Sultan. Yet at this very time he concluded with the Porte a secret treaty against Russia (July 6th 1771);[36] not, however, with any real purpose of aiding either the Porte or the Polish Republic; but that he might be able, according to circumstances, to thwart the plans of Russia, and render more secure the participation of Austria in the spoils of Poland. He even assured Prince Galitzin that he was prepared to assist the policy of Russia and Prussia in Poland. And though he pretended that he would not hear of a partition, yet, by refusing to abandon Austria's pretensions to the county of Zips, he virtually challenged those two Powers to make proposals for such a measure.[37]

However secret was this treaty, it came to the knowledge of Catherine, and caused her to hasten the final settlement of Poland, though from motives of policy she dissembled her acquaintance with it. An attempt of the Confederate Poles in November 1771 to carry off King Stanislaus Augustus operated in the same direction. Catherine drew from this event a fresh pretext for hostility against the Republic, and the King of Poland was more than ever inclined to throw himself into the arms of Russia. The chief difficulties in the negociations between the Courts of St. Petersburg and Berlin regarded the towns of Thorn and Dantzic, and Catherine's demand that Frederick should assist her with all his forces in case she became involved in a war with Austria. To this Frederick at last consented, on the condition that, in her peace with the Porte, Russia should relinquish her conquests of Moldavia and Wallachia, and thus obviate all cause of quarrel with Austria. In return for this concession Frederick desisted from claiming Thorn and Dantzic, certain that when once master of the mouth of the Vistula, he should sooner or later obtain those important places. The Convention of St. Petersburg of February 17th 1772, between Russia and Prussia, is known only by what Frederick tells us of it.[38] The limits of the partition were determined, the period for taking possession fixed for June, and the Empress-Queen was to be invited to join the two contracting parties and partake the spoil. Russia and Prussia reciprocally guaranteed their possessions, and agreed to assist each other against Austria in case of need.

The Court of Vienna, stimulated by the restless ambition of Joseph II., made the most extravagant demands. Maria Theresa

[36] Wenck, t. iii. p. 820.

[37] Galitzin's *Letter* to Panin, in Görtz, *Mémoires et Actes Authentiques*, p. 75.

[38] *Œuvres Posth.* t. vi. p. 42 (ed. Berlin, 1847).

afterwards told Baron Breteuil, the French ambassador at Vienna, that she had done so in order to break off the whole matter, but to her surprise her claims were granted by Frederick and Catherine.[39] The sincerity of this declaration is somewhat suspicious; at all events these exaggerated demands were long obstinately insisted on; but this was probably owing to Joseph II. and Kaunitz, who appear to have overruled the more moderate counsels of the Empress-Queen. An armistice had been concluded between Russia and Turkey May 30th 1772, and early in August a congress was opened at Forkschan to treat for a peace, so that the three Powers were at liberty to prosecute their designs on Poland. The Confederates of Bar had hitherto been able to make some resistance, as the Russian troops in Poland, under the command of Suvaroff, did not exceed 10,000 or 12,000 men; but after the armistice they were increased to 30,000. Pulawski, the principal leader of the Confederation, when he heard of the union of the three Powers, retired from a hopeless contest, and exhorted his followers to reserve themselves for better times.

After some further negociations between the three sovereigns, a triple treaty, assigning to each his respective share of Poland, was signed at St. Petersburg, August 5th 1772; namely, between Austria and Russia, Russia and Prussia, and Austria and Prussia. Of these the first two only have been published, and are of the same tenour.[40]

Russia obtained by this act Polish Livonia, the greater part of the Palatinates of Witepsk and Polozk, all the Palatinate of Mscislaw, and the two extremities of that of Minsk. These districts afterwards formed the governments of Polozk and Mohileff. They comprised an area of 2500 geographical square miles, and a population of about one and a half million souls.

To Austria were assigned the thirteen towns of the county of Zips, which King Sigismund of Hungary had hypothecated to Poland in 1412; about half the Palatinate of Cracovia, a part of that of Sandomir, the Palatinate of Red Russia, the greater part of that of Belz, Procutia, and a very small portion of Podolia. The towns of the county of Zips were again incorporated with Hungary; the other districts were erected into a separate state, with the title of kingdom of Galicia and Lodomeria. They were estimated at

[39] Flassan, *Diplomatie Française*, t. vii. p. 125 sq.

[40] A summary of them will be found in Koch and Schöll, *Hist. des Traités de Paix*, t. xiv. p. 42 sqq. Maria Theresa gave her consent in these words: "*Placet*, because so many great and learned men will it; but when I am dead, the consequences will appear of this violation of all that has been hitherto held just and sacred." Mailath, *Gesch. Oestreichs*, B. v. S. 109.

1300 square miles, with a population of about two and a half millions.

Prussia obtained all Pomerelia except Dantzic and its territory, together with the districts of Great Poland, extending from the New March to Fordon and Solitz on the Vistula, and along the Netze, which river was to form the boundary line. Also the rest of Polish Prussia, except the Palatinate of Marienberg, Elbing, the Bishopric of Warmia, and the Palatinate of Culm, except Thorn, which, like Dantzic, was to remain to the Republic of Poland. These provinces embraced 700 square miles, and had then a population of about 800,000 souls. Although the Prussian share was so much smaller than the others, yet it was very valuable to Frederick, because it joined his Prussian kingdom to the main body of the monarchy, from which it had hitherto been separated. The population, too, was richer and more commercial. The districts thus confiscated formed about a third part of Poland.

In the following month (September) the three Powers published Declarations proclaiming and justifying the steps which they had taken. The most odious of these Declarations was the Prussian. Frederick II. went back to the thirteenth century to find a colour for part of his usurpations, and claimed the remainder by way of compensation for rights so long withheld from his house. Maria Theresa, more prudently and more honestly, passed lightly over the question of right, and pleaded her engagements with her allies. Catherine II. chiefly insisted on the distracted state of Poland, the necessity of restoring peace, and of establishing a natural and more secure boundary between the possessions of the two States.[41] Simultaneously with these Declarations, the combined Powers proceeded to occupy the districts respectively allotted to them. In this they found but little difficulty. The Confederates had been driven from their last strongholds in the spring; and the generals of the allies had declared that they should treat those who combined together, under whatever pretence, as bandits and murderers.[42]

The memoirs of the three Courts were answered by the Polish Government in a counter-declaration, full of truth and force, in which they recalled the series of treaties which guaranteed to the Republic the integrity of its possessions; and they justly observed that if the titles drawn from remote antiquity, when revolutions were so common and so transient, were to be enforced against Poland, provinces possessed by those very Powers who now urged

[41] The Declarations are in Martens, *Recueil*, t. i. p. 461, sqq.

[42] Ferrand, t. ii. liv. v.

them against her, might also be reunited to that kingdom; but the admission of such titles, they remarked, would shake the foundations of all the thrones in the world.[43]

The unfortunate King of Poland, abandoned by all the world, was compelled by the allied courts to convoke a Diet in order to confirm their usurpations by a Treaty of Cession, and to establish regulations for the pacification and future government of the country. At the same time each Power caused 10,000 men to enter the provinces which they had agreed to leave to Poland; and the three commanders were ordered to proceed to Warsaw and to act in concert, and with severity, towards those nobles who should cabal against the novelties introduced.[44] The Diet, which was opened April 19th 1773, was very small, consisting only of 111 Nuncios. Those nobles whose possessions lay in the confiscated provinces were excluded from it. Nearly all the members accepted bribes. A sum of 200 or 300 ducats was the price of silence; they who took an active part in favour of the allies received more. The national character had, indeed, sunk to the lowest point of degradation. The ruin of Poland was consummated by its own children amidst every kind of luxury, frivolity, and profligacy;[45]—balls, dinners, assemblies, and gaming tables. To avoid the *Veto*, the Diet was converted into a Confederation, which the King was forced to recognise by the threat that Russia, Austria, and Prussia would otherwise each send 50,000 men into Poland. After long and turbulent debates, treaties were signed with the three Powers, September 18th 1773. The whole business, however, was not concluded till March 1775, by the execution on the part of the Polish King and Republic of seven separate acts or treaties, namely, three with Russia, two with Austria, and two with Prussia.[46] These acts included the cession of the confiscated provinces. A new constitution was established for Poland, which Russia guaranteed. The crown was to be perpetually elective, and none but a Piast noble was to be eligible, having possessions in the Kingdom. The son or grandson of a deceased king could not be elected till after an interval of two reigns. The Government was to be composed of the King and two estates, the Senate, and the equestrian order. A permanent executive Council was to be established, composed of an equal number of members of the two estates, without, however, either legislative or judicial

[43] Martens, *Recueil*, t. i. p. 470.
[44] *Œuvres de Frèd. II*, t. vi. p. 58 (ed. 1847).
[45] Essen's *Bericht*, ap. Hermann, B. v. S. 541.
[46] Martens, *Recueil*, t. iv. p. 142 sqq.

power. Thus the seal was put to the vicious constitution of Poland, and the King reduced to a mere puppet.

The first partition of Poland is the most remarkable event of the eighteenth century, before the French Revolution. Breaches of national rights as gross as this have undoubtedly been perpetrated both before and since; but what rendered it particularly odious, and most revolted public opinion in Europe, was the circumstance that three great and powerful monarchs should combine together to commit such an act of spoliation. The Cabinets of Europe, however, were either silent or confined themselves to feeble remonstrances. The political effects of the partition were not, indeed, so important as it has been sometimes supposed. Poland itself was of but little weight in the political balance of Europe, and the three great Powers that divided the spoils, by receiving pretty equal shares, remained much in the same position with respect to one another as they had occupied before. Great Britain, engaged in paying court to Catherine II., in order to separate her from the Prussian alliance, took no steps to prevent the partition, and contented itself, in the interest of its commerce, with inciting Catherine not to let Dantzic and Thorn fall into Frederick's hands. With regard to France, the Duc d'Aiguillon, who had succeeded Choiseul in the ministry, either through his own fault or that of the Cardinal de Rohan, the French ambassador at Vienna, seems not to have been acquainted with the partition till informed of it at Paris by the Imperial ambassador.[47] To amend the fault of his improvidence, he tried to persuade Louis XV. to attack the Austrian Netherlands; but this proposition was rejected by the majority of the Council, on account of the state of the finances. It was also proposed to England to send a French and English fleet into the Baltic, to prevent the consummation of the dismemberment, but the proposal was coldly received.[48]

We now resume the history of the Russian and Turkish war, interrupted in order to bring to a conclusion the affairs of Poland.

The Porte, as we have said, had in 1770 accepted the mediation of Austria and Prussia. But Russia rejected the interference of any Power, and put her terms so high, by insisting on occupying Moldavia and Wallachia for a term of twenty-five years, which, of course, meant permanently, that it was impossible to listen to them. Kaunitz, therefore, entered into the treaty with the Porte of July 6th 1771, already mentioned, by which Austria was to receive 20,000 purses (10,000,000 piasters, or 11,250,000 gulden), on the

[47] Ségur, *Politique de tous les Cabinets*, t. i. p. 183.

[48] Flassan, *Diplomatie Franç.*, t. vii. p. 87; Coxe, *House of Austria*, vol. v.

score of her warlike preparations, and was also to obtain a portion of Wallachia; while she engaged to assist the Porte in recovering all the conquests of the Russians, and to compel them to evacuate Poland. Kaunitz's secret object in this treaty we have already seen. Russia showed herself so compliant, that the Austrian minister did not think it necessary to ratify the treaty, although he received a good part of the subsidy.

The campaign of 1771 was unimportant on the Danube; but the Russians, under Dolgorouki, subdued the Crimea, as well as Arabat, Jeniclava, Kertsch, Kaffa, and the isle of Taman. The Tartars now submitted to Russia, on condition of retaining their ancient customs, and Catherine appointed a new Khan. We have already mentioned the truce of 1772, and the Congress of Fockshan; which, however, like a subsequent one at Bucharest, proved fruitless. The war, when renewed in 1773, went in favour of the Turks. The Russians were compelled to recross the Danube, and remain on the defensive.

Sultan Mustapha died towards the end of this year (December 24th). His death had little influence on the course of events. His weak brother and successor, Abdul Hamed, then forty-eight years of age, was in the hands of the war party. The ensuing campaign was opened with great pomp by the Turks in April 1774, but they were soon so thoroughly beaten as to be glad of a peace on almost any terms. Never was a celebrated treaty concluded in so short a space of time, as that dictated in four hours by Count Romanzoff, in his camp at Kutschuk Kaiwardschi (July 16th), where the Turks were almost entirely surrounded. By this peace the Tartars of the Crimea, Kuban, &c., were declared independent of either empire, and were to enjoy the right of electing their Khan from the family of Zingis; only they were to recognise the Sultan as Caliph and head of their religion. Russia restored to the Tartars all her conquests in the Crimea, &c., retaining only Kertsch and Jenikala. She also restored to the Porte Bessarabia, Moldavia, Wallachia, &c., and the islands in the Archipelago; retaining Kinburn and its territory, Asof, the two Kabardias, but evacuating Georgia and Mingrelia. The Turks, however, abandoned the tribute of young men and women, which they had been accustomed to exact from these countries; and they agreed to pay four million roubles for the costs of the war. Poland, which had caused the breach between the two empires, was not even named in the treaty.[49]

[49] The treaty will be found in Wilkinson's *Account of Moldavia and Wallachia.*

A year after this peace, the Porte ceded to Austria the Bukovina, or Red Forest, a district formerly belonging to Transylvania, and which connected that country with the newly-acquired kingdom of Galicia.

During the course of this war (1773), Catherine II. was alarmed by the rebellion of a Cossack deserter named Pugatscheff, who personated the character of Peter III., to which prince he bore some resemblance. Many thousand discontented Cossacks flocked to his standard, and at one time it was apprehended that Moscow itself would rise in his favour. But the peace put an end to his hopes, and he was shortly afterwards captured and executed.[50]

[50] Peter III. had also been personated in Dalmatia by a Montenegrin adventurer named Stefano. An insurrection which he excited in 1767 was quelled in the following year.

CHAPTER VIII.

IN the preceding chapter we have anticipated some of the facts of Austrian history, which we now resume.

We have already alluded to the election of Maria Theresa's eldest son as King of the Romans, in May 1764.[1] The sudden and unexpected death of his father, Francis I., in the following year, gave him the Imperial crown, with the title of Joseph II. The Emperor and Imperial Court were celebrating at Innsbrück the marriage of his second son, Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany, with Maria Louisa, Infanta of Spain, when one evening, on entering his son's apartment, he sank into his arms in a fit of apoplexy, and immediately expired, August 18th 1765. Francis I. was fifty-eight years of age at the time of his death. He was a good-humoured, polite gentleman, with so little ambition, that he was better pleased to appear as a private man than as an Emperor, and although Co-Regent with his wife, took little or no part in the government of the Austrian monarchy. He had enriched himself by entering into various commercial and banking speculations.

The Austrian Government, therefore, proceeded in much the same train as before till the death of Maria Theresa. It was the policy of that sovereign to strengthen her connection with the Bourbon Courts. Besides the marriage of the Archduke Leopold just mentioned, she gave the hand of her daughter, Maria Antoinette,[2] to the Dauphin, afterwards Louis XVI., May 19th 1770. Another archduchess married Ferdinand IV., King of the Two Sicilies, and a third was united with the Duke of Parma.

Maria Theresa, who had experienced in her early days the evils and horrors of war, was inclined to pursue a peaceful policy. But such was not the character of her son. Although possessed of considerable talents, Joseph II. was tormented with a febrile and restless ambition, without any very fixed or definite object. During his father's lifetime, he had endeavoured to procure the reversion to the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, to the prejudice of his brother Leopold; alleging, that although he should become an Emperor

[1] Above, p. 440.

[2] Born November 2nd 1755.

on his father's death, he should not possess a foot of territory. Maria Theresa, to satisfy this craving, had promised to make him Co-Regent of Austria on the death of her husband; but, during his mother's lifetime, that office remained little more than nominal. It was chiefly through Joseph's ambition and desire of aggrandisement, that Austria was threatened with the War of the Bavarian Succession. This affair, which assumes very small dimensions, when compared with the wars of the Spanish and Austrian Successions, need not occupy any great share of our attention.

By the death of Maximilian Joseph, Elector of Bavaria, December 30th 1777, the younger branch of the House of Wittelsbach became extinct, and with it the Bavarian Electorate, which had been vested only in that family. Charles Theodore, Elector Palatine, as representative of the elder, or Rodolphine, branch of the House of Wittelsbach, was undoubtedly entitled to succeed to the Bavarian dominions, with the exception of the allodial possessions. The common ancestor of the two branches, Louis the Severe, Elector Palatine and Duke of Bavaria, had divided the succession to those possessions between his two sons, Rodolph and Louis, in 1310; and the latter, after obtaining the Imperial crown as Louis V., had confirmed this partition by a treaty with his nephews, sons of his elder brother, Rodolph, in 1329. By this treaty the two contracting parties had reserved the right of reciprocal succession in their respective dominions, the Rhenish Electoral Palatinate and the duchy of Bavaria.[3] Several claimants, however, burrowing in the inexhaustible chaos of the German archives, advanced pretensions to various parts of the Bavarian dominions. Maria Theresa, as Queen of Bohemia, claimed the fiefs of Upper Bavaria, and, as Archduchess of Austria, all the districts which had belonged to the line of Straubingen. But of this line she was not the true representative, but rather Frederick II. of Prussia, as descended from the eldest sister. Nor were her pretensions as Queen of Bohemia better founded.[4] Joseph II. claimed several portions of Bavaria as Imperial fiefs. But his pretensions were contrary to the provisions of the Golden Bull, as well as the Peace of Westphalia and the public law of Germany, which recognises as valid such family compacts as those made by the House of Wittelsbach, even though detrimental to the rights of the Empire.[5] Other minor claimants were the Electress Dowager of Saxony, who, as sister of Maximilian Joseph, claimed the allodial succession; and the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, who claimed the Landgraviate

[3] Pfeffel, t. i. pp. 472, 494.
[4] See Garden, *Hist. des Traités*, t. iv. p. 246.
[5] *Ibid.* p. 248.

of Leuchtenberg by virtue of an expectative granted by the Emperor Maximilian I. to one of his ancestors.

Charles Theodore, having no heirs, agreed to the claims of the House of Austria, which comprised half Bavaria, in the hope of thereby procuring protection and provision for his numerous illegitimate children; and the Court of Vienna had indulged the hope that the King of Prussia, now bent down by age and infirmities, would not endanger the glories of his youth by forcibly opposing the arrangement. The Convention, however, appeared to Frederick not only to menace the constitution of the German Empire, but, by giving to Austria so large an accession of territory, even to imperil the safety of his own kingdom. Such being his views, he formed an alliance with the Duke of Deux-Ponts, nephew of Charles Theodore, and next heir to the Bavarian duchy, whose inheritance had been mutilated without his consent; and he undertook to defend the Duke's rights against the House of Austria. Joseph II. would listen to no terms of accommodation; war became inevitable, and in 1778 large armies were brought into the field by both sides, which, however, did nothing but observe each other. Austria claimed the aid of France by virtue of the treaty between the two countries. Louis XVI., who then occupied the throne of France, pressed by his Austrian consort, Maria Antoinette, remained for some time undecided. But France, then engaged in a war with England, in support of her revolted North American colonies,[6] wished not to be hampered with a European war, and Louis at length declared his intention to remain neutral. Yet, to appease his brother-in-law, the Emperor, who reproached him with his desertion, Louis was weak enough secretly to furnish the fifteen million livres stipulated by the treaty.[7] Maria Theresa endeavoured to avert an effusion of blood. Without consulting her son, or her minister, Prince Kaunitz, she despatched Baron Thugut to Frederick with an autograph letter containing fresh offers of peace, and painted to him her despair at the prospect of their tearing out each other's grey hairs.[8] But the negociations were again broken off by the anger and impatience of Joseph. The Emperor threatened, when he heard of them, to establish his residence at Aix-la-Chapelle, or some other Imperial town, and never again to return to Vienna.

The campaign of 1779 was almost as barren of events as that of the preceding year. The only notable event of the war was the surprise and capture of a Prussian corps of 1200 men at Habelschwerdt by the Austrian general, Wurmser, January 18th 1779.

[6] See next chapter.

[7] Soulavie, *Mém. du Règne de Louis XVI*, t. v. p. 53.

[8] Coxe, *House of Austria*, ch. cxxix.

Under the mediation of France and Russia, negociations for a peace were opened at Teschen, in Austrian Silesia, March 14th, and a treaty was signed May 13th, the anniversary of Maria Theresa's birth. The principal points were that the Court of Vienna withdrew its opposition to the reunion of Anspach and Baireuth with the Electorate of Brandenburg on the extinction of the reigning line, by abandoning on that event the feudal claim of the crown of Bohemia to those margraviates. Charles Theodore ceded to Austria what is called the quarter of the Inn, or the district extending from Passau along the Inn and Salza to Wildshut; comprising about one-sixteenth part of Bavaria. The claims of Saxony were satisfied with six million florins.[9] Thus was established a new House of Bavaria, more powerful than the former one, since it reunited Bavaria with the Palatinate. Russia guaranteed the Peace of Teschen; and as this treaty renewed the Peace of Westphalia, it afforded that Power a pretext to meddle in the affairs of Germany.

Another attempt made by Joseph II. in 1784, but frustrated by the energetic remonstrances of the King of Prussia, to appropriate Bavaria by exchanging for it the Austrian Netherlands, together with some acts of the Imperial Court, deemed contrary to the German constitution, occasioned the *Fürsten Bund*, or League of the German Princes, formed in 1785, under the auspices of Frederick the Great, to uphold the Peace of Teschen.[10] With regard to European policy, the most significant part of this league was the reconciliation of Prussia with England, through George III. as Elector of Hanover; a change which was soon to bear its fruits.

Maria Theresa did not long survive the war of the Bavarian Succession. She expired November 29th 1780, in the sixty-fourth year of her age, after reigning forty years. Exemplary in her private life, and sincerely desirous of the welfare of her people, there are few serious blemishes in the life of this excellent sovereign, except, perhaps, her intolerance. At the commencement of her reign she formed the design of banishing the Jews from her dominions; from which she was dissuaded by the Elector of Mentz, the Kings of England and Poland, and the Pope.[11]

[9] Hertzberg, *Recueil*, t. ii. p. 267; Martens, t. ii. p. 1.

[10] Dohm, *Denwürdigkeiten meiner Zeit*, Band iii. Kap. xvi.; J. von Müller, *Darstellung des Fürstenbunds*, in the 9th vol. of his Works; Hertzberg, *Recueil*, t. ii. p. 292; Martens, t. ii. p. 553. The members of the League were Frederick, as Elector of Brandenburg, the Electors of Hanover, Saxony, and Mentz, the Dukes of Saxe-Weimar, Saxe-Gotha, Deux-Ponts, Mecklenburg, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Bishop of Osnaburg, the Prince of Anhalt, the Margrave of Baden.

[11] Raumer, *Beiträge zur N. Gesch.*, Th. ii. Abs. 20. Frederick II. had formed a high opinion of Maria Theresa:

She even lent herself in some degree to oppress the Protestants. Yet she was far from being the slave of the Pope. Having resumed with his consent the title of "Apostolical," conferred by Sylvester II. on St. Stephen, first King of Hungary, she exercised under that almost forgotten appellation an extensive and independent jurisdiction in the Hungarian Church. Of her abolition of the Jesuits we shall speak in the next chapter, when we shall have to relate the fall of that order.

The Emperor Joseph II. was forty years of age when he succeeded to the Austrian dominions. He possessed, as we have said, no despicable talents; but he had been badly educated, had no taste for literature or art, and was naturally obstinate. Hence his ill-regulated ambition plunged him into misfortunes. First, as we have seen, he coveted Bavaria; then he turned his views towards Turkey; next he embroiled himself with Holland; and finally with the Netherlands and his own hereditary states.

Joseph's meddling activity was first displayed, to the great relief of Frederick II., in domestic reforms, especially in the Church. By a decree of October 30th 1781, such monastic orders were first dissolved as were of no practical use in the State, either by keeping school, tending the sick, preaching, confessing, and the like; as the Carthusians, Camaldolenses, Hermits, and in general all female orders which did not employ themselves in education, nursing, &c. Other orders were then attacked, and in all about 700 convents were dissolved. Frederick maliciously remarked that the richer convents were suppressed in preference to the poorer, though the public good required a contrary proceeding. Thus, about 36,000 monks and nuns were secularised and pensioned. It was forbidden to send money to Rome or to receive dispensations thence, except *gratis*; and the investiture of all spiritual prebends in Lombardy was appropriated by the Emperor. An edict of toleration was published, by which the religious privileges of Protestants and non-united Greek Christians were considerably extended. The papal nuncios were told that they would be regarded only as political ambassadors by the Austrian ministers at the various courts where they resided.[12] Prince Kaunitz, an *esprit fort* of the French school, was doubtless in a great degree the author of this policy, which was adopted by Joseph II., partly because he did not wish to appear behind the other enlightened princes of the age, and partly to increase the wealth and population of his States by attracting to them Protestant traders and artisans.

"She has done honour to the throne and to her sex," he writes to D'Alembert, in January 1781. "I have made war upon her, but I have never been her enemy." *Œuvres*, t. xi. p. 292.

[12] Menzel, B. vi. Kap. xi.

Pope Pius VI., who had succeeded Clement XIV. in the papal chair in 1775, was so alarmed by these vigorous reforms that he resolved on visiting Vienna, in the hope of encouraging by his presence the dejected Catholics, as well as of overawing the Emperor by his dignity and captivating him by the charm of his manner. He made his entry into Vienna in great state in March 1782, accompanied by Joseph and his brother, who had gone out to meet him. His appearance caused great excitement. Vast crowds thronged to the Burg to obtain a sight and receive the blessing of the Holy Father; and he was obliged to show himself on the balcony several times every day. He celebrated the festival of Easter in St. Stephen's church; but the absence of the Emperor was remarked; who was unwilling, it was said, to gratify the Pontiff's vanity by occupying a lower throne than that erected for the successor of St. Peter. Pius succeeded in filling the people with enthusiasm, but made no impression on the Emperor, and thus derived no advantage from a visit by which he seemed to degrade his dignity and abnegate his infallibility. Joseph overwhelmed him with honour, but would enter into no negociations; while from Prince Kaunitz, whom he tried to conciliate, he experienced nothing but rudeness and repulse.[13] The Emperor accompanied the Pope on his return as far as Mariabrunn. Here they prayed together in the convent church, and seemed to part with emotion; but on the very same day Imperial commissaries appeared in the convent and pronounced it dissolved. After the Pope's return to Rome an angry correspondence ensued between him and the Emperor. Joseph returned the visit of Pius by appearing unexpectedly at Rome in December 1783, under the title of Count Falkenstein. He was now meditating a complete breach with the Papal See, from which, however, he was dissuaded by the Chevalier Azara, the Spanish resident at Rome. He made an advantageous treaty with the Pope regarding the Lombard Church; but from this time forward he treated the Holy Father less roughly.[14]

Joseph's measures were highly unpopular in Hungary. The idea of the independent nationality of the Hungarians was disagreeable to him, and he disappointed their hopes that he would

[13] Kaunitz not having paid him a visit, Pius was humble enough to ask to see his palace and its curiosities. The Prince received him in a morning dress, shook the hand held out to him to kiss like that of an old acquaintance, put on his hat with the excuse that his head could not bear the cold, and dragged the Pope about by the arm, on the pretence of putting him in a proper light to see the pictures. Pourgoing, *Mém. Historique sur Pie VI*, ap. Menzel.

[14] Menzel, *N. Gesch. der Deutschen*, B. vi. Kap. xi.

celebrate his coronation and hold a Diet among them. The holy crown of St. Stephen, an object venerated by the Magyars during eight centuries, was carried to Vienna and deposited in the treasure-chamber; Hungary was divided into ten circles, all public business was transacted in the German tongue,[15] and the ancient Hungarian constitution was annihilated. He was of opinion that all his subjects should speak the same language, and, as his German possessions were the most important, that the German tongue should have the preference. The nobles protested, but obeyed, while an insurrection of the peasants was speedily quelled.

The Emperor was as hasty in his foreign policy as in his domestic, and hence it had seldom a happy issue. He succeeded, however, in overthrowing the Barrier Treaty, which had always been disagreeable to the House of Austria. Joseph made a journey into the Netherlands and Holland in 1781. His attention was chiefly attracted in this tour by two things—the disastrous effects arising from the closing of the Scheldt, and the blind bigotry of the Brabanters, which kept them behind other nations; and he resolved if possible to remedy these evils. During the Seven Years' War, the Dutch had withdrawn their garrisons from the Austrian Netherlands, in order to prevent their coming in contact with the French or English, but sent them back after peace had been concluded. Maria Theresa had overlooked this conduct; but towards the end of 1781, Joseph gave notice to the States-General to withdraw their troops from the barrier towns. In vain the States remonstrated: Kaunitz only replied, "The Emperor will hear no more about barriers; they no longer exist." He confided in the French alliance; and as the Dutch, besides being harassed by intestine discord, were then involved in a war with England, to which we shall advert in the following chapter, they had no resource but to protest and comply. The barrier fortresses were then razed—a step which Austria had afterwards cause to rue.

The Emperor soon afterwards demanded from the Dutch the free navigation of the Scheldt; and this demand was accompanied with others respecting boundaries.[16] The States-General, in reply, appealed to the fourteenth article of the Treaty of Münster, ordering the closing of the Scheldt, and the fifth article of the Treaty of Vienna in 1731, abolishing the Ostend Company, and proscribing all commerce between the Austrian Netherlands and the Indies. They

[15] An unforeseen consequence of this arbitrary introduction of the German language was to awaken the expiring Magyar tongue to a new life. Mailath, *Gesch. des östr. Kaiserstaates*, B. v. S. 150.

[16] See *Tableau sommaire des Prétentions de l'Empereur*, presented at the Conferences held in Brussels in May 1784, in Martens, *Erzählung merkw. Fälle des neuern Eur. Völkerrechts*, B. ii. S. 50 f.

placed a Dutch squadron at the mouth of the Scheldt, renewed their treaty of alliance and subsidies with the Elector of Cologne, who was Joseph's brother, October 30th 1784,[17] and also endeavoured to renew their alliance with England, broken since the American war. The English Cabinet determined to remain neutral, but the fear of such an alliance induced the French to support Holland. France continued to regard Austria, in spite of the alliance between the two countries, as a probable rival, and had always opposed the wish of Maria Theresa to be admitted into the Family Compact.[18] Catherine II., on the other hand, supported the demands of the Emperor.

To bring the question to an issue, Joseph ordered some Austrian ships to ascend the Scheldt, in attempting which they were fired upon by the Dutch. The Emperor now put an army of 30,000 men in motion; the Dutch opened their sluices, and everything seemed to threaten the outbreak of a war. But Louis XVI. declared to the Court of Vienna (November 27th 1784), that he should oppose any hostile attempt upon Holland; and causing two armies to assemble, one in Flanders, and the other on the Rhine, he offered his mediation. This led to a settlement. The Emperor relinquished his demands for a sum of nine and a half million guilders. The Dutch would pay only five million; but Louis engaged to make good the difference—a step which bred much ill blood among the French, who imputed it to Maria Antoinette's love for her brother Joseph. The Emperor had likewise demanded an apology for the insult to his flag; but he interrupted the Dutch deputies as soon as they began it. The definitive treaty, guaranteed by France, was signed at Fontainebleau, November 8th 1785.[19] The Treaty of Münster was taken as its basis, and the Barrier Treaty, and that of Vienna of 1731, were annulled. The Dutch having attained their main object in shutting up the Scheldt, made more cessions of forts, &c., even than the Emperor had demanded.

The Dutch followed up this treaty with another of alliance with France, November 10th 1785.[20] Holland, as we have said, was at this time the scene of domestic disturbances, and one of the objects of the French alliance was to procure for the republican party the support of France against the House of Orange. The dissensions of the two factions had been nourished by the long minority of the hereditary Stadtholder William V. At the death

[17] Martens, t. ii. p. 540.

[18] *Politique de tous les Cabinets*, ap. Coxe, *Spanish Bourbons*, vol. iv. p. 311.

[19] Martens, t. ii. p. 602.

[20] *Ibid.* p. 612.

of his father in 1751, that prince was only three years of age. Until 1759, the regency was conducted by his mother, an English princess; and after her death, the guardianship of the young Stadtholder was divided between the States-General and Louis Ernest of Brunswick, Field-Marshal of the Republic. When, in 1766, William V. attained his majority, he signed an act called the *Act of Consultation*, engaging the Duke of Brunswick to assist him in his affairs—a proceeding regarded as unconstitutional by the patriotic, or republican party. The provinces of West Friesland, Holland, Zealand, and Utrecht, where that party chiefly prevailed, demanded the duke's dismissal; who, fatigued by the clamours of the people, at length resigned in October 1784, abandoning the Stadtholder, who had little political capacity, to the intrigues of his enemies. During this long and stormy period, the patriot party had courted the protection of France, while those who were attached to the family of Orange, and desired to uphold the Stadtholderate, cultivated the friendship of England. The chief leaders of the aristocratical or patriot party were Van Berkel, Pensionary of Amsterdam, to whom Van Bleiswyk, Grand Pensionary of Holland, though far superior in rank, was entirely subservient; Gyzlaas, Pensionary of Dordrecht, and Zeebergen, Pensionary of Haarlem. The superior influence of the former party had dragged the United Provinces into the maritime war against England in 1780, which for the present we pass over, as we shall have to relate it in the ensuing chapter. We have already recorded the struggle of the Dutch with the Emperor Joseph II. Their accommodation with that sovereign had been hastened by their domestic dissensions. A tumult had broken out at the Hague in September 1785. The States-General deprived William of the command of the garrison in that town, who thereupon claimed the protection of his uncle-in-law, the King of Prussia. Frederick II. did not show much zeal in the cause of his relative,[21] but he took some steps in his favour, and the apprehension of Prussian interference caused the States-General to conclude the arrangement with the Emperor, and the subsequent alliance with France, already recorded.

The republican party, encouraged by this alliance, proceeded to lengths which produced the revolution of 1787. William V., at the request of the States of Gelderland, who were devoted to his cause, had taken military possession of two towns in that province, which, in contempt of his prerogative, had ventured to name their own magistrates. Hereupon the States of Holland, arrogating to

[21] See Frederick's Letters on this subject in Hertzberg, *Recueil de Déductions*, t. ii. p. 394 sqq.

themselves the right to judge the proceedings of a neighbouring province, suspended the prince from his office of captain-general (September 1786). These events were followed by great excitement and irritation; which France endeavoured to allay by sending M. Rayneval to the Hague, to act in concert with the Prussian minister, Baron Görtz.

A new sovereign now occupied the throne of Prussia. Frederick II. had expired August 17th 1786, after a reign of forty-six years. If the title of Great may be justly bestowed on the monarch who, by his abilities and conduct, adds largely to his possessions, without inquiring very strictly into the means by which these acquisitions were made, Frederick is undoubtedly entitled to this appellation. Silesia, conquered by his arms, the Polish provinces, acquired by his diplomacy, formed an immense and highly valuable addition to the Prussian monarchy, and may entitle him to be regarded as its second founder. The material results of his reign are thus stated by a diplomatist of those days: "He found, on his father's death, a revenue of 13,000,000 of crowns; a treasure of 16,000,000; no debts, and an army of 50,000 men; and, at the time, this was reckoned the greatest effort of economy. He has now an income of 21,000,000 crowns; three times that sum, at least, in his coffers; and nearly 200,000 effective men."[22] Frederick had employed the years of peace which followed the Seven Years' War in alleviating, by a paternal administration, the evils which that struggle had brought upon his country. This period, though not the most brilliant, was the happiest of his reign. Manufactures and agriculture flourished; the towns and villages ruined during the war were rebuilt and repeopled; the army was again raised to a formidable footing, and the finances were re-established by the introduction of the strictest order and economy into all branches of the administration. Frederick's measures with regard to commerce, though well meant, were not so happy. In political economy, he was an admirer of Colbert and the French school, and hence was led to adopt a narrow and exclusive system. He had a natural genius for art and literature as well as war, and to the fame of a great general added that of a respectable author. His extravagant admiration of the French school served, however, rather to retard than promote the intellectual progress of his own subjects. The philosophical and freethinking principles which he had imbibed from the same school, as he forbore to force them

[22] *Despatch* of Sir James Harris (afterwards Earl of Malmsbury) to the Earl of Suffolk, March 18th 1766, in Adolphus, *Hist. of George III.*, vol. ii. App., No. ii. The same letter contains a discriminating character of Frederick.

upon his subjects, were perhaps on the whole beneficial, as they helped to introduce more tolerant views, and to mitigate the rabid bigotry which had too often characterised the professors of Lutheranism. These maxims, however, led him not to any relaxation in his method of civil government, and Prussia under his administration remained as complete a despotism as it had been under that of his predecessors.

Frederick II. was succeeded by his nephew, Frederick William II. The new monarch seemed disposed to take more interest than his uncle in the affairs of Holland; and he had, immediately after his accession, sent Baron Görtz to the Court of the Stadtholder. The negociation of that minister led, however, to no result. The views of the two parties were too opposite for conciliation; but an event which occurred towards the end of June 1787 brought matters to a crisis. The consort of William V., a princess of a high spirit, resolved to visit the Hague, although her husband could not go thither. At Schoonhoven she was stopped by the troops belonging to the States of Holland, treated almost like a prisoner, and turned back. For this affront the Princess of Orange demanded vengeance at the hands of her brother, the King of Prussia; but although the States of several provinces disapproved of what had been done, the States-General, relying on the aid of France, refused to give befitting satisfaction. Frederick William II. seized the occasion to reestablish the Stadtholder in his prerogatives. In September 1787, a Prussian army of 30,000 men, under the Duke of Brunswick, entered Holland. The dryness of the summer prevented the Hollanders from having recourse to inundation. Utrecht surrendered without a blow, and other places followed the example. The patriots, disunited among themselves, found the *free companies*, which they had raised in imitation of the middle ages, and which they had placed under the command of the incapable Rhinegrave, Von Salms,[23] totally unable to oppose an army of disciplined troops; while the nobles, who dreaded a popular government, favoured the Prussian invasion. The Prince of Orange entered the Hague, September 20th, after an absence of two years, amid the acclamations of the populace; Amsterdam surrendered, after a short resistance, October 10th, and the free companies were disarmed.

France made some show of assisting her ally, and had declared, September 16th, that she would not suffer the constitution of the United Provinces to be violated. But it was well known that the

[23] The French Government had dissuaded the Hollanders from accepting the services of La Fayette.

internal condition of France, now on the brink of a revolution, precluded her from all active interference. England declared that she would defend the Stadtholder, if attacked, and prepared her fleets for action. The Court of Versailles submitted, and exchanged declarations with England, October 27th. The disgrace reflected on the French Government by these transactions, assisted the designs of the revolutionary party in France. But the Stadtholder, though thus restored by force of arms, did not overstep the limits of the Dutch constitution. All the satisfaction he exacted was, that seventeen magistrates, directly concerned in the outrage upon his consort, should be deposed and declared for ever incapable of serving the Republic; and he cashiered several hundred officers who had borne arms against him. After establishing his authority, William proposed a general amnesty, from which only some of the ringleaders were excepted. Banished from their country, these turbulent men carried their democratic principles into France, and helped to foment the troubles of that kingdom. By a solemn Act, signed by the various States, entitled *Act of mutual Guarantee of the Seven United Provinces*, the hereditary dignities of Stadtholder, Captain-General, and Admiral-General were declared an essential part of the constitution.[24]

By the extinction of the patriot party, an end was put to the alliance between the United Provinces and France. It was replaced by a treaty of mutual defence between Great Britain and the States-General, April 15th 1788, by which Great Britain guaranteed the hereditary Stadtholdership to the family of Orange. On the same day a defensive alliance was also signed at Berlin between the States-General and Prussia.[25] These treaties were followed by a defensive alliance between Great Britain and Prussia, concluded at Loo, in Guelderland, June 13th 1788; renewed and confirmed by another treaty signed at Berlin on the 13th of the following August.[26] By a secret article, England undertook to support Prussia, in case of need, with its whole naval power, and with an army of 50,000 men.[27] Thus was formed the Triple Alliance, which exercised for some years a decisive effect upon the affairs of Europe.[28]

[24] Among the authorities for this revolution are Jacobi, *Vollständige Gesch. der sieben jährigen Verwirrungen und der darauf erfolgten Revolution in den vereinigten Niederlanden*, Halle, 1789, 2 B. 8vo.; Ségur, *Tableau de l'Europe*, t. i. p. 342.

[25] Hertzberg, t. ii. p. 444; Martens, t. iii. p. 133.

[26] Hertzberg, t. ii. pp. 449, 452; Martens, t. iii. pp. 138, 146.

[27] Zinkeisen, B. vi. S. 607.

[28] Namely, by compelling Denmark to desist from succouring Russia against Sweden; by dictating at Reichenbach the conditions of a peace between Austria and the Porte; by forcing Russia to renounce great part of her Turkish conquests; and by restoring tranquillity to the Austrian Netherlands.

The Emperor's conduct in selling the freedom of the Scheldt to the Dutch made him very unpopular in the Austrian Netherlands; and the attempt already mentioned to exchange these provinces for Bavaria, converted dislike into hatred. His church reforms were also highly distasteful to that bigoted population. As in Austria, convents were dissolved, pilgrimages and spiritual brotherhoods abolished, appeals to the Pope forbidden, in short, all the measures adopted of an incipient Reformation. Towards the end of 1786, tumults broke out at Louvain, on the suppression of the episcopal schools in that city and the removal of the university to Brussels. The disturbance was increased by alterations in the civil government. An ordinance of January 1st 1787 abolished the various councils by which the Government was conducted, and established in their place a Central Board. Innovations were also made in the constitution of the courts of law. The boundaries of the provinces were soon afterwards altered, and the whole country was divided into nine Circles, each under a commissary named by the Court of Vienna. Symptoms of insurrection appeared at Brussels in April. De Hont, a merchant of that city, implicated in a criminal case, had been arrested and tried at Vienna, contrary to the privileges of the Brabanters to be judged by their countrymen. The States of Brabant took up his cause, and declared that this violation of the *Joyeuse Entrée* prevented them from voting the annual supplies. A general fermentation ensued, which was increased by the manifest weakness of the Government. The States presented to the Archduchess Christina, Joseph's sister, who, with her husband, Duke Albert of Saxe Teschen, acted as governors, a list of their grievances in nine heads. The Council of Brabant, or first court of justice, went still further and abrogated all the new tribunals (May 8th). In consequence of a riot at Brussels towards the end of the month, the governors notified their resolution to maintain all the privileges of the States, and to revoke all regulations contrary to the *Joyeuse Entrée*. This compliance occasioned their recall. Count Trautmannsdorf was now appointed governor, with instructions to carry out the Imperial decrees, for which purpose military preparations were made. Negociations, however, ensued; apparent reconciliations were repeatedly effected, and the final outburst was postponed for a year or two. But the latent discontent was not extinguished. A secret society was formed, with ramifications throughout the provinces, which numbered 70,000 persons, and matters wore an alarming aspect when Joseph entered upon a Turkish war.

Joseph had cultivated a close friendship with the Czarina,

Catherine II. He had flattered her vanity by paying her a visit at St. Petersburg in 1780, when it had been verbally agreed that, in case of a rupture with the Porte, Russia and Austria should aggrandise themselves at its expense. Magnificent projects were discussed. Catherine inflamed Joseph with the idea of seizing Italy and Rome, and establishing a real Empire of the West, while she should found at Constantinople a new Empire of the East.[29] This suggestion only struck an old chord in the traditional policy of Austria; but it was an apt snare for the restless and short-sighted ambition of Joseph, while the hope of more immediate and practical advantage lay on the side of Catherine. The friendship of the two Courts was cemented by a family alliance. Joseph's nephew, Francis, afterwards Emperor, was married to the younger sister of the Grand Duchess of Russia, and thus the presumptive heirs of two imperial thrones became brothers-in-law.

The King of Prussia, to efface the impression of the Emperor's visit, sent his nephew and heir, Prince Frederick William, to Petersburg. But a new and adverse influence reigned at that Court. After a long enjoyment of Catherine's favour, Gregory Orloff had been *disgraced* in 1772, and dismissed with presents of untold value. He was succeeded in his office by Alexander Wassiltschikoff, an officer in the guards. But Catherine soon grew tired of a man whose only recommendation was his handsome person, and in 1774 Wassiltschikoff was superseded by Potemkin. Gregory Alexandrowitsch Potemkin was the son of a Russian noble, and had played a subordinate part in the revolution which placed Catherine on the throne. His countenance was manly, but not prepossessing; his figure gigantic, but not well proportioned; his temper violent and overbearing. He is said to have been the only man, except Orloff, who continued to retain his influence over Catherine after connections of a more tender nature had ceased. He obtained the conduct of affairs soon after his promotion, and continued to retain it till his death, though compelled in 1776 to resign his office to another. His brutal energy, which kept all the nobles in awe, was useful to the Czarina.

Potemkin had long set his heart upon a war with Turkey, with the design of seizing the Tartar countries which had been declared independent by the Peace of Kutschuk Kainardji. With this view he employed himself in exciting disturbances in the Crimea. He compelled the Porte to restore the Khan Sahim Gherai, whom

[29] We learn this fact from Joseph himself. See Dohm, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, B. i. S. 420.

it had deposed, and who was in the Russian interest; and when the Turks assumed a menacing attitude against Sahim, supported him by sending an army under Suvaroff into the Crimea (1778). The Porte on its side had indeed afforded grounds for complaint, and especially it had infringed the Peace of Kainardji by opposing the passage of Russian vessels from the *White* Sea, or Egean, into the Black Sea. The war that seemed imminent was, however, averted by the mediation of France, and a new Convention had been executed at Constantinople in March 1779.[30]

Frederick II., with a view to maintain the peace of Europe, had proposed a quadruple alliance between Russia, Prussia, Poland, and the Porte. But he soon discovered that the Court of St. Petersburg regarded the Peace of Kainardji only as a stepping-stone to greater enterprises, and Catherine abandoned an ally on whom she could no longer reckon. Thus was terminated the Russian and Prussian alliance. The breach, perhaps, was not quite complete till the death of Count Panin, in 1783, who had always favoured the alliance; but Potemkin was the decided adversary of Prussia; and when in 1782 the Grand Duke Paul and his wife made the tour of Europe, they were not permitted to visit Berlin.

After the Convention of 1779 further disputes arose between Russia and the Porte, which, however, were amicably terminated till the final explosion in 1789. Potemkin gradually induced Sahim Gherai, after renouncing his religion, even to abdicate his dominions in favour of Catherine, and to pass his life, as her lieutenant, in ease and luxury. A Russian manifesto appeared in April 1783, declaring the Crimea, the Isle of Taman, and the province of Kuban on the other side of the straits subject to the Russian sceptre, and Prince Potemkin took possession of them. Potemkin had diverted the pension assigned to the Khan to his own use; and when Sahim Gherai naturally complained of this usage, he was banished from the Crimea,[31] which, together with the other Tartar lands, was occupied by Russian soldiers. The unfortunate inhabitants, who rose to assert their freedom, were put down with a terrible massacre, in which 30,000 persons perished, of all ages and both sexes. The Turks at first acquiesced in these proceedings; and by a Convention between Russia and the Porte,[32]

[30] Called the *Convention of Ainali Karak*, from a Garden-palace near the arsenal, where it was signed.

[31] He subsequently sought refuge in Turkey, where he was strangled as a traitor a few years after.

[32] This Convention will be found in Zinkeisen, *Gesch. des osm. Reiches*, B. v. S. 933 sq. The English resident had contributed to persuade the Porte to consent to the Russian demands.

signed at Constantinople January 8th 1784, the domination of the Tartars was terminated; but it was easy to see that a war would ensue so soon as an opportunity should arise.

Catherine now seemed to have made a step towards realising her project of a new Eastern Empire. She adopted Voltaire's idea of erecting a new Greek kingdom on the coasts of the Black Sea. The recently-acquired possessions received the names of Tauria and Caucasia, and Cherson was erected in the midst of a desert as the capital of the new kingdom, but on a site so ill chosen that it was soon eclipsed by Odessa. Potemkin, who was honoured with the pompous name of the "Taurian," was made Governor-General of the conquered provinces, and Grand-Admiral of the Black Sea. But under Russian government the Tartar provinces began rapidly to decline. Such were Potemkin's injustice and violence that the greater part of the inhabitants fled the country. Two years after their union with Russia, these provinces counted no more than 17,000 males; while in former times, the Khan of Tartary had often appeared in the field with 50,000 horsemen.

The relations between Russia and the Porte continued to be uneasy. Disputes arose respecting the Turkish Government in Georgia, Moldavia, and Wallachia, and on other points; whilst the Porte on its side accused the Cabinet of St. Petersburg of frequent violations of the Peace of Kainardji. Catherine II. resolved in 1787 to visit her new possessions, and to receive at Cherson the homage of her Tartar subjects, during a grand festival in honour of the founding of that metropolis. After a visit to Kieff, she embarked on the Dniepr with her suite in a flotilla of twenty-two richly-decorated galleys (May 3rd). At Kanieff she had an interview with the King of Poland, her former lover, now her creature and victim. At Koidok she was met by the Emperor Joseph II., who, as usual, travelled *incognito* under the title of Count Falkenstein. Joseph had devotedly attached himself to her fortunes. Louis XVI. had endeavoured to dissuade his brother-in-law from the alliance; but Joseph had declared to the Court of Versailles, in August 1783, that he would support the Czarina against the Turks with 120,000 men. The present position of his affairs had, however, somewhat cooled his ardour. As the two sovereigns approached Cherson, large bonfires were kindled at every fifty rods, to enable them to travel by night. To give her new dominions an air of prosperity, Potemkin caused temporary villages to be erected along the *route*, which were peopled with inhabitants brought from afar, and dressed in holiday attire; while vast herds

of cattle were grazing in the pastures. But after Catherine had passed, villages, peasants, and herds vanished like a scene in a play, and left the country in its native solitude. At Cherson, one of the gates of which bore the ambitious inscription "The road to Constantinople," Joseph paid assiduous court to the Czarina, and every morning attended her levée as a private individual. Future projects against Turkey were cautiously and suspiciously discussed during this journey, but no definite plans were formed, and neither sovereign desired immediate war.[33] Catherine feared a diversion on the side of Prussia and Sweden, while Joseph received at Cherson alarming tidings respecting the state of Belgium. This position of affairs was favourable to Turkey, and the Divan listened to the exhortations of the English and Prussian residents not to let slip the opportunity of taking vengeance upon Catherine.[34] The Czarina, who had been scared from continuing her journey to Kinburn by the apparition of a Turkish fleet in the Liman, had scarcely returned to St. Petersburg, when the Russian minister at Constantinople was arrested and confined in the Seven Towers, August 10th 1787. At the same time war was declared against Russia. Chabaz Gherai was proclaimed Khan of the Tartars, and the Emperor was required to declare his views. Joseph replied that he was bound by treaties to Russia; and that he should repel force by force. But he offered to mediate a reconciliation; and he accompanied this declaration by placing a cordon of troops on the Hungarian frontier.

The war began with a fruitless attack of the Turkish fleet upon Kinburn, heroically defended by Suvaroff, September 24th. The winter was passed in negociations. France attempted to mediate a peace, and would probably have succeeded, had not a courier of M. de Ségur, the French minister at St. Petersburg, who was the bearer of Catherine's approval of a scheme of conciliation, been assassinated on the road. In June 1788, Potemkin crossed the Bog and invested Oczakoff. The Turkish fleet, which had attacked the Russians in the Liman near that place, was totally defeated and destroyed, June 26th. Oczakoff was taken by assault December 17th, the day of St. Nicholas, the patron saint of Russia, after a furious resistance. A dreadful massacre ensued, in which 40,000 persons are said to have lost their lives. Meanwhile Joseph II. had declared war against the Porte, February 9th 1788. Two fruitless attempts to surprise Belgrade before the declaration threw a shade over the Austrian policy. The plan of the campaign was bad. The Austrian forces were weakened by being spread in five

[33] Zinkeisen, B. vi. S. 622. [34] Ségur, *Tableau hist. et pol. de l'Europe*, t. i. p. 93.

divisions over an extent of 800 or 900 miles from the Bukovina to the Adriatic. The Emperor led his division against Belgrade, but failed through dilatoriness. Prince Liechtenstein attempted Dubitza with the same result, which place, however, was taken by Loudon, August 26th 1788. On the left wing Prince Coburg took Choczin, September 19th, and occupied a considerable part of Moldavia; but, on the whole, the campaign was unfavourable. The Grand Vizier Yussuf broke the Austrian centre and penetrated as far as Temesvar. The Turks were indeed compelled to evacuate the Banat before the end of autumn; but, on the whole, the campaign must be regarded as a failure; and the Emperor returned to Vienna ill and dispirited.

One cause of this failure was the inefficiency of the Russians, hampered by an attack of Gustavus III. of Sweden. But to explain this event it will be necessary to take a brief review of the Scandinavian kingdoms.

During the Seven Years' War, the faction of the *Hats* had reigned supreme in Sweden; but they lost their influence after the Peace, and in the Diet which assembled in 1765, the *Caps* contrived to seize the government. To the people, however, this change was of little benefit. They were still oppressed by an oligarchy differing but little from that which had been supplanted except in its views of foreign policy. The old King, Adolphus Frederick, was too fond of peace and tranquillity to attempt any changes in the state; but his son, the Crown Prince Gustavus, a nephew by his mother of Frederick the Great, had already begun to appear in public as the defender of the people against the oppressions of the nobles, and by his talents and popular qualities excited much admiration and enthusiasm. He had compelled the Council to convoke the States, before the usual period of assembly, in April 1769; a step, however, which only resulted in the establishment of the *Hats*.

In 1771 the Crown Prince made a journey to Paris; and he was in that metropolis when he heard of his father's death, on Feb. 12th. Gustavus III., while at Paris, entered into a solemn engagement with the French Ministry to bring about a monarchical revolution in Sweden. Yet at this very time he signed, at the demand of the Swedish Council, an Act of Security which they had forwarded to him, by which he promised to take on his return a solemn oath to the constitution of 1720, and to regard as enemies of their country all who should attempt to restore the Kingly power.[35]

[35] For this period of Swedish history see Sheridan, *Hist. of the late Revolution in Sweden* (Sheridan was secretary to the English Embassy in that country); Posselt, *Leben Gustavs III.*

The talents and manners of the young King made him very popular at the beginning of his reign, and great hopes were entertained of him. The gold furnished to him by the French Court was applied to corrupt the soldiery, and the mutual hatred of the two prevailing factions was employed to work their own destruction. Gustavus was called upon at his coronation, which was celebrated with great pomp in May 1772, to sign the Act of Security; but though he pledged himself by an oath to its observance, he declared that he had not read it, so great was his confidence in the States! and he was hypocritical enough to add that he had long taken the oath in his heart, being convinced that it was intended for the good of the nation. Yet he was already preparing the overthrow of the constitution.

Gustavus was sure of the people. He had also formed a party, called the court party, which included many of the Hats; he had won the military, and especially the garrison of Stockholm, to which the Council allowed double pay, in order to retain its obedience. In July 1772 disturbances broke out in the remoter provinces. Rudbeck, one of the chief members of the oligarchy, who had been despatched on this account to Gothenburg and Carlskrona, was refused admittance into the little fortress of Christianstadt. The King's brothers, Frederick Adolphus and Charles, began to put their regiments in motion in Schonen. The Council now appointed Funk, one of their body, governor of Schonen, with dictatorial power; required the King to recall his brothers, placed patrols in the streets of Stockholm, and forbade the King to leave the city (August 19th 1772).

Gustavus at this crisis seemed immersed in the most frivolous amusements, such as designing patterns for embroidery, and other pursuits of the like kind. But under this veil he had prepared the blow which he meditated striking. On the very morning that the Council had thus declared war upon him, he repaired to that assembly and loaded them with the bitterest reproaches. He next proceeded to the main guard, and assembling the officers who were in his confidence, he addressed them with that popular eloquence for which he was famed, and persuaded all but three to sign a paper, transferring their allegiance to himself instead of the Council. By the common soldiers and the populace he was received with universal applause. His next step was to surround the Council in their chamber, and place a guard upon all the avenues. Then mounting his horse, he rode through the city, announcing with his own mouth the fall of the tyrannical oligarchs amid general acclamation. Before evening, Gustavus was undisputed master of Stockholm.

Gustavus III., in his address to the people on the following day, assured them that he should claim only the limited prerogatives enjoyed by Gustavus Adolphus and Charles X. Yet the constitution, drawn up by himself, and to which he compelled the Diet to swear by pointing his cannon on the assembly, was of a quite different kind, and invested him with extraordinary prerogatives, so that, in case of need, he was even empowered to levy new taxes, without the consent of a committee of the States. The King now dismissed the old Council and appointed a new one entirely dependent on himself. But in spite of these arbitrary and unconstitutional proceedings, the first measures of Gustavus were highly popular. He abolished the abuses introduced by the late oligarchical government, and caused justice and order to flourish in the kingdom.

This revolution deprived Russia of the influence she had hitherto exercised in Sweden by means of the prevailing anarchy. In order to regain it, Russian emissaries were constantly inciting the nobles against the court. Gustavus, to revenge himself, seized the occasion of the Russian war with the Turks. He renewed the ancient connection between Sweden and the Porte, and by treaties concluded in 1787 and 1788, engaged to attack Russia, on condition of receiving Turkish subsidies.[36]

Catherine II. having equipped at Cronstadt in the spring of 1788 a fleet destined for the Mediterranean, Gustavus caused his brother, the Duke of Sudermania, to issue from Carlscrona with the Swedish fleet, while at the same time he assembled some troops in Finnland. Count Rasumoffski, the Russian Minister at Stockholm, hereupon presented a note demanding an explanation of these preparations; but as the note was addressed "to all those of the nation who participated in the government," Gustavus, instead of explaining, ordered Rasumoffski to quit the kingdom, as a disturber of the public peace; and on July 1st he caused an ultimatum to be presented to Catherine, in which he demanded the punishment of Rasumoffski, the cession of Russian Finnland and Carelia with Kexholm, and the acceptance of Swedish mediation between Russia and the Porte. He also demanded that Catherine should disarm her Baltic fleet and recall her troops from Finnland, whilst he reserved to himself the right of remaining armed till a peace should be concluded with the Porte. Catherine replied by a declaration of war, July 11th.

The Swedes began the campaign by taking Nyslot and invading

[36] Wenck, t. iii. p. 504.

Carelia. Gustavus in person laid siege to Frederickshamn, but either false news or want of provisions compelled him to raise it and retire to Kymenegord. Terror reigned at St. Petersburg. The Russian fleet had fought a drawn battle with the Swedish in the Gulf of Finnland. But the force of Gustavus was paralysed by an unforeseen event. The news of preparations making in Norway by the Danes, compelled him to return to Stockholm. He had scarce left the army when a number of officers assembled at Aniala, alleged that the Constitution of 1772 forbade the King to undertake an offensive war without the consent of the States, required the Duke of Sudermania to propose an armistice; and, on the Duke's refusal, they sent a deputation to Petersburg to declare that the army would not pass the frontiers provided Catherine instructed her troops not to enter Finnland. Catherine gave the deputation a gracious reception; an armistice was agreed on, which the Duke of Sudermania was compelled to accept; and he retired from Russian Finnland.

The preparations making by Denmark to interfere in the contest recall our attention to that country, of whose history we shall offer a brief retrospect.

Frederick V., who, towards the end of his life, grew somewhat weak and superstitious, died at the early age of forty-two, January 14th 1766. He was, however, on the whole a popular prince, a munificent patron of literature and science, a favourer of courtly splendour and titles of honour; though for the people little was done, and the peasant remained the serf of the landed proprietor. He left a son only seventeen years of age, who succeeded him with the title of Christian VII. A generous, or rather perhaps a politic, act on the part of Catherine II. had, early in Christian's reign, attached Denmark to Russia. By a treaty concluded in 1767 she had renounced, in the name of her son Paul, his pretensions to the Duchy of Schleswig, and agreed that the part of Holstein still governed in Paul's name should be reunited to Denmark.

The history of Denmark down to the period at which we are arrived presents little of importance. A domestic tragedy forms its chief incident. Christian VII. married an English princess, Carolina Matilda, a sister of George III., who, in January 1768, bore him a son and heir. In this year the young king, who had been badly educated, and whose mental weakness approached fatuity, was sent on a tour to England and France with a suite of near sixty persons, while his young consort remained at home. In Holstein the travellers were joined by a remarkable man, Struensee, town physician (*Stadtphysikus*) of Altona. Struensee, who was

destined to exert a powerful influence both over Christian and his kingdom, was a handsome, strong-built man, of witty and agreeable conversation. Bred up in an ascetic pietism by his parents, he had, like many talented persons of that age, ended with discarding all religion and becoming a disciple of the French philosophy. During this journey the King lost the little bodily and mental strength he had before possessed, and fell entirely under the influence of Struensee, who became Christian's body physician after his return to Copenhagen. Struensee now formed a criminal connection with the young Queen, Caroline Matilda; the imbecile and impotent Christian was brought entirely under their control; Count Bernstorf, Baron Holk, and the former ministers were removed; and Struensee, associating with himself Falkenskiold as commander-in-chief,[37] and Brandt, who succeeded to Holk's office of amusing the King, began in 1770 to assume the entire direction of affairs. Struensee was an autocratic reformer, after the manner of Pombal in Portugal. During his short tenure of office he is said to have issued no fewer than 600 reformatory decrees, many of which were highly salutary. He abolished the censorship of the press; suppressed the many honorary titles which had crept in to an absurd extent during the preceding reign; abolished monopolies and reversions to vacated offices; reformed the relations between the peasants and landed nobles, as well as municipal corporations, the magistracy, the universities, courts of law, &c. He made debts recoverable by legal process from the highest noble as well as from the meanest citizen. He introduced economy into the military service by reducing the royal horse guard. He also attempted some reforms in the Church, especially by abolishing most of the numerous holidays. In short, he tried to imbue Denmark, which was near a century behind the rest of Europe, with the spirit of the age, and with this view invited thither many foreigners distinguished by their learning or ability.

These innovations naturally produced great discontent and opposition among the privileged classes. Struensee had touched the interests of three powerful orders—the clergy, the army, and the nobles. Nay, with the best intentions for their welfare, he had contributed to offend the prejudices of the whole nation; for the greater part of the Danes, who were bigoted Lutherans, regarded Struensee, on account of his reforms in the Church, as no better than an atheist. The national prejudices were also shocked by the introduction of foreign teachers and outlandish ideas, and especially

[37] The *Mémoires* of Falkenskiold, translated into French by Secretan (Paris, 1826), are a source for this period.

because the edicts of reform had been promulgated in the German language instead of the Danish. Hence, a "Danish" party was formed, in opposition to the "German," and these names became the watchwords of national antipathy. The widowed Queen Juliana, Christian VII.'s stepmother, who saw her own son Frederick neglected, had retired from court in disgust, and put herself at the head of the Danish party. The conduct of the young Queen Caroline and Struensee soon supplied this faction with the means of overthrowing them. In the well-known condition of Christian, the birth of a princess had manifested the nature of the connection between Caroline and her minister. Struensee, on his side, began to abuse his influence, and effaced the merit of his reforms by his ambition, avarice, and vanity. He enriched himself, whilst he forced economy on others; nay, elated with his success, he was even weak enough to assume some of the official titles which he had abolished, and he caused himself and his colleague Brandt to be created Counts. He lived in princely style in the royal palace, and instead of a democratic reformer made himself a sort of Dictator, with the title of privy cabinet minister. All papers signed by him, and furnished with the cabinet seal, were to be regarded as valid as if they had received the royal signature.

In spite, however, of the opposition formed against him, Struensee might probably have maintained his hold of power had he possessed the requisite courage and resolution. But in the presence of danger this bold reformer did not show himself equal to the task which he had undertaken. He displayed his cowardice by flying with the whole Court from Copenhagen on the occasion of a riot of some 300 sailors, who compelled him to grant a request he had previously refused. He acted with equal pusillanimity on two or three other occasions. Thus he had determined to reduce the Norwegian guards, a privileged corps, and distribute them among the regiments of the line; yet when a mutiny arose, he not only complied with their demand to be discharged, but even conciliated them by a distribution of money. By such instances of weakness he inspired his enemies with contempt as well as hatred, and encouraged them to work his ruin.

The chief instrument of his fall was Guldberg, a miller's son, a ci-devant student of theology, who, as tutor to Prince Frederick, had acquired great influence over the Queen Dowager. Under Guldberg's direction, a conspiracy was organised against Struensee, which included Queen Juliana, Prince Frederick, Rantzau, the minister-at-war, and others. In the morning of January 17th 1772, the chief conspirators, who had gained the military, suddenly

entered Struensee's bed-chamber, and by alarming his fears compelled him to sign the documents which they had prepared. Several orders of arrest were next extorted from the imbecile Christian, by virtue of which Queen Caroline Matilda, Struensee, Brandt, and ten of their colleagues were thrown into confinement. The young Queen was conducted to Krönenburg; Struensee, and Brandt were cast into horrible dungeons and loaded with chains. Stupefied by the sense of his danger, and terrified by the threats of his judges, Struensee was induced to sign a full confession of his guilt with the Queen. But his hopes of saving his life by this step were disappointed. He and Brandt were executed April 28th. Frankenskiold was banished to Funkholm in Norway, and compelled to subsist on half-a-dollar a day; till at length, in 1777, at the intercession of the Court of St. Petersburg, he was liberated and indemnified. Queen Caroline Matilda signed a confession of her guilt, March 8th 1772. Her trembling hand was able to form only the first four letters of her name, and was guided to the end by Baron Schak. A divorce was then pronounced between her and Christian VII.; but she was liberated from confinement and conveyed to Zell, in the Hanoverian dominions, where she died in 1775 of a putrid sore throat.

The hypocritical Guldberg was now triumphant, and ruled twelve years in Denmark under the modest title of cabinet secretary. He took an opposite course to Struensee. Instead of abolishing abuses he restored them, and introduced fresh. Thus he acquired the gratitude and favour of the nobles; but the people discovered that the restoration of Lutheranism did not imply the return of happiness, and began to regret the minister over whose fall they had rejoiced. Guldberg ruled till 1784. Two years before he had dismissed the greatest ornament of this period, Peter Andrew von Bernstorf, nephew of the former minister of that name, who to great talents united strict integrity. But in the year named the young crown prince succeeded in obtaining possession of his father's person, dismissed Queen Juliana, Guldberg and their creatures, and restored Bernstorf to power.

Agreeably to its treaties with Russia, Denmark prepared to succour that Power in its war with Sweden. In September 1788 an army of 20,000 Danes, under Prince Charles of Hesse-Cassel, invaded Sweden from Norway, and advanced as far as Uddevalla, near Gothenburg. Gustavus hastened into the northern provinces of his kingdom, and by his popular eloquence incited the people to defend their country. The threats of the three allied Powers, England, Holland, and Prussia, to send a fleet to the assistance of

the Swedish King, induced the Danes to withdraw from Sweden; an armistice was concluded under British mediation, and Christian VII. declared his neutrality.

In the Diet which assembled at Stockholm in January 1789, the nobles manifested a disposition to oppose the King; but Gustavus, being supported by the other three estates, caused twenty-five of the nobles to be arrested, February 20th. On the following day he laid before the Diet a new constitution, under the title of an "Act of Union and Surety:" its object was to increase the royal prerogative, and confer on the King the power of declaring war. This act received the immediate assent of the clergy, burgesses, and peasants. The nobles rejected it, but the King compelled their speaker to affix his signature; and though this order protested, they agreed, like the rest, to furnish supplies for the war.

Hostilities continued during 1789 and 1790; but though a great many actions took place both by sea and land, they were for the most part indecisive; and, with the exception of some of the maritime operations of 1790, which brought the war to a close, are scarcely worth detailing.

In May of that year Gustavus, after defeating the Russian galleys off Frederickshamn, proceeded to Wiborg, and disembarked troops within thirty leagues of St. Petersburg. Here he was joined by his brother, the Duke of Sudermania, with the main Swedish fleet. But meanwhile the Russian fleets stationed at Cronstadt and Revel had formed a junction, constituting a force of thirty ships of the line and eighteen frigates, and they now blockaded the whole naval power of Sweden, with the King himself, in the Gulf of Wiborg, during a period of four weeks. Provisions began to fail the Swedes, and the Russian commander, sure of his prey, proposed to Gustavus to surrender by capitulation. Fortunately, an easterly wind sprang up. The Swedes, taking advantage of it, and clearing the way by means of fire-ships, succeeded in forcing a passage; but with the loss of seven ships of the line, three frigates, and 5000 men. Gustavus, who followed with the Swedish galleys, succeeded in escaping to Svenksund, but with the loss of thirty sail. The Russians, however, were subsequently defeated with great loss in an attack upon that place, and were thus hindered from any attempt upon Stockholm.

These events accelerated a peace. Russia, mistress of the Baltic, could no longer be prevented from sending a fleet into the Mediterranean; the aid of Sweden had therefore become useless to the Porte, and she could no longer reckon on subsidies from that

quarter. It was known, too, that Catherine was negociating a peace with the Porte, on the conclusion of which Sweden would be exposed to all the weight of her anger. But Catherine, on her side, was aware that the negociations between Prince Potemkin and the Turks had been broken off, and that Austria was about to conclude a separate peace with them, which would leave Prussia and Poland at liberty to turn their arms against her. She therefore proposed a conference, which terminated in the Peace of Werela, on the strict *status quo ante bellum*, August 14th 1790.[38] The progress of the French Revolution subsequently converted Gustavus and Catherine from personal enemies into warm friends and allies, and in October 1791 an alliance was concluded at Drottningholm, called the Treaty of Friendship and Union.[39]

We must now return to the Austro-Russian war with Turkey, the narrative of which was interrupted at the close of the campaign of 1788.

Prince Repnin, who had succeeded Romanzoff in the command of the Russian army in the Ukraine, defeated the Turks, who had crossed the Danube at Ismail, September 20th 1789. General Platoff, at the head of the Cossacks, took Akierman, or Bialogrod, at the mouth of the Dniestr, October 13th; and Potemkin closed the campaign by the capture of Bender, November 14th. The Austrians had been equally fortunate, under the command-in-chief of General Haddik. Prince Coburg, in conjunction with Suvaroff, defeated the Turks at Fokshani, August 1st, and again at Martinesti, September 22nd; while Count Clairfait overthrew them at Mehadia, August 28th, and drove them from the Banat. But the chief hero of the campaign was Loudon, who took the suburbs of Belgrade by storm, September 30th, and compelled Osman Pasha and the Turkish garrison to capitulate, October 8th; Semendria and Passarowitz surrendered a few days after.

Meanwhile, Sultan Abdul Hamed had been carried off by a stroke of apoplexy, April 7th 1789. His nephew and successor, Selim III., son of the unfortunate Mustapha III., a young prince of twenty-eight years, possessing considerable energy and talent, had resolved to prosecute the war with spirit; and he issued a decree commanding all the "Faithful," between sixteen and sixty years of age, to take up arms. But, like some of his predecessors, he acted with more zeal than discretion. Dressed as a sailor, or in other disguises, Selim went alone, by night as well as day, through the streets of Constantinople; he entered manufactories, shops,

[38] Martens, t. iii. p. 175.

[39] *Ibid.* t. v. p. 38.

and coffee-houses, and endeavoured to learn the wants and wishes of the people from their own mouths.[40] By such a course, however, he was often led into error. By the revival of obsolete sumptuary laws, and the severity with which he enforced their provisions with respect to apparel, &c., he lost more hearts than he had gained by his apparent zeal for the welfare of his people.

Selim's warlike ardour suspended for a while the negociations which the Court of Berlin, under the counsels of Hertzberg, had for some time been carrying on with the Porte, with the view of bringing about a peace. In January 1788, Frederick William II. had offered his mediation between Austria and the Porte; but the Emperor rejected it in an angry letter, in which he reproached the House of Hohenzollern with their encroachments ever since the days of Albert of Brandenburg.[41] The reverses suffered by the Turkish arms in the campaign of 1789 favoured the renewal of these attempts on the part of Prussia, and a close alliance between that Power and the Porte was concluded at Constantinople, January 31st 1790. By this treaty Prussia undertook to assist the Porte in the following spring with all her forces. But Diez, the Prussian minister at Constantinople, exceeded his instructions. The Cabinet of Berlin, of which Hertzberg was still the director, had only contemplated a war against Austria; but Diez, instead of using the general expression "enemies of the Porte," specifically undertook to declare war "against the Russians and Austrians;" and inserted the "Crimea," by name, as one of the provinces to be recovered by the Sultan, although he had been instructed to avoid mentioning any particular provinces.[42] The King of Prussia delayed the ratification of the treaty till June 20th, when these clauses were evaded by adding the condition, "so far as it shall be in our power, and circumstances will permit;" while all mention of the Crimea was omitted; and the words, "the provinces lost in the present war," substituted for it.[43] The Porte on its side promised to use its endeavours to procure the restitution of Galicia and the other Polish provinces seized by Austria, to the Republic of Poland.[44] In this piece of liberality towards that unfortunate country, Hertzberg, however, was not so disinterested as he seemed. His object in procuring the restoration of these provinces was to extort from Poland Dantzic and Thorn in exchange for them. By the political relations then subsisting in Europe, this alliance

[40] Zinkeisen, *Gesch. des osm. Reiches*, B. vi. S. 721.

[41] It is given by Menzel, B. vi. S. 215. Anm.

[42] Zinkeisen, B. vi. S. 749.

[43] The Ratifications are in Hertzberg, t. iii. p. 51 sq.; cf. Zinkeisen, B. vi. S. 781.

[44] Hertzberg, t. iii. p. 44; Martens, t. iv. p. 560.

assured to the Porte the friendship of Poland and Sweden, as well as the powerful intervention of Great Britain and Holland; which two Powers were to be the mediators of the future peace.

Soon after the conclusion of this treaty between Prussia and the Porte, the death of the Emperor Joseph II. (February 20th 1790) also contributed to give a new turn to affairs.

Although the success of the Austrian arms in the last Turkish campaign might serve to throw a cheering ray on Joseph's last days, yet the gloomy aspect of affairs in his own dominions is thought to have hastened his end. While the Prussians were preparing to strike a blow against him, discontent was increasing in Austria; an insurrection was daily expected to break out in Hungary; the Tyrol was in a state of general ferment; and in the Netherlands Joseph had actually been deposed. The discontent in those provinces continued to smoulder, and in 1789 it burst out into a flame.[45] Even the arbitrary act of Count Trautmannsdorf, in abolishing the *Joyeuse Entrée*, June 18th, did not produce an immediate insurrection. But the breaking out of the French Revolution, and storming of the Bastille, &c., encouraged the insurgents. The same cause had also occasioned an insurrection in the bishopric of Liége, which then belonged to the Circle of Westphalia. An imperfect attempt of the Emperor to conciliate matters in the Netherlands served rather to aggravate than soothe the general discontent. By the Edict of August 14th 1789, he re-established at Louvain the episcopal schools, but without suppressing the general seminary, and left to the theological students the choice of either. In the following September, several thousand of the malcontents, with Cardinal Frankenberg, Archbishop of Mechlin, and the Duke of Arenberg at their head, crossed the frontiers to Breda; and having formed a pretended assembly of the States, they addressed a remonstrance to the Emperor, demanding the restoration of the privileges enjoyed by Brabant from time immemorial, and threatening, in case of refusal, to appeal "to God and their swords." The people rose in arms under the conduct of Van der Meersch, a retired officer, who styled himself "General of the Patriots;" and they defeated 3000 Austrians under General Schröder, who had attacked them at Turnhout. One Van der Noot, an advocate, who called himself "Agent of the Brabanters," now assumed the direction of the movement, and became for a time the virtual ruler of the Austrian Netherlands. In November, the Austrian garrison was expelled from Ghent, and

[45] For these events see Arendt, *Die Brabantische Revolution*, in Raumer's *Taschenbuch*, 1848.

all Flanders renounced its allegiance. The Archduchess Christina and her husband quitted Brussels about the middle of that month, and soon after, the Austrian troops were driven out, though Trautmannsdorf had, for a time, apparently re-established tranquillity by restoring the *Joyeuse Entrée*. A DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE was published in that capital, December 13th 1789, to which the other provinces, with the exception of Luxemburg, acceded. Before the end of the year the Austrians were entirely expelled. On January 11th 1790, deputies from most of the provinces of the Austrian Netherlands having assembled at Brussels, signed an ACT OF UNION OF THE BELGIAN UNITED PROVINCES. The government of the new Republic, which was of an aristocratic nature, was intrusted to a Congress; of which Cardinal Frankenberg was president, Van der Noot prime minister, and Van Eupen secretary.

Such was the state of affairs at the death of Joseph II., a monarch who appears to have sincerely desired the welfare of his subjects, but who undertook the impossible task of ruling them according to the philosophic ideas of his age, with the view of rendering them happy and enlightened in spite of their interests and prejudices, and, as it were, against their will. In Hungary he found it expedient to revoke all his innovations before his death, except the Edict of Toleration and the abolition of serfdom. He also sent back to that country the holy crown of St. Stephen, which was carried in triumph to Buda. In short, he summed up, not altogether inaccurately, his own political character in the epitaph which he proposed for himself a little before his death: "Here lies a sovereign who, with the best intentions, never carried a single project into execution."[46]

Personally, however, Joseph had many excellent qualities. He was industrious in business, he mixed freely with his people, and permitted even the meanest of them to approach him. To a courtier, who proposed to reserve a portion of the Augarten for the higher classes, he replied: "If I wished to mix only with my equals, I must spend my life among the coffins of my ancestors in the imperial vault." He declined a proposal of the inhabitants of Buda to erect a statue to him, with some remarks which may serve to show his ideal of a state. He observed that he should deserve a statue when prejudices were extirpated, and genuine

[46] Coxe, *House of Austria*, vol. ii. p. 661. In this epitaph, however, Joseph was a little too severe upon himself. His revocations related only to Hungary and the Netherlands; while the regulations which he made for his other dominions continue still in force. See Menzel, B. vi. S. 252.

patriotism and correct views of the public good established in their stead; when everybody should contribute his proportion to the necessities and security of the state; when the whole of his dominions should be enlightened by means of improved education, a simpler and better teaching of the clergy, and a union of religion and law; when a sounder administration of justice should be introduced, wealth increased by augmented population and improved agriculture, better relations established between the nobles and their dependants, and trade and manufacture put on a better footing.[47] But the harshness with which he enforced minute and vexatious police regulations, deprived him of the popularity which his many good qualities were calculated to attract.

Joseph II. died at the age of forty-eight, and in the tenth year of his reign. Although he had been twice married,[48] he left no living issue, and he was therefore succeeded as King of Hungary and Bohemia, and in the sovereignty of Austria, by his brother Leopold, Grand Duke of Tuscany. Leopold had ruled Tuscany twenty-five years, with the reputation of liberality and wisdom. Like his brother Joseph, he had sought to reform the Church, and had seconded the efforts of Scipio Ricci, Bishop of Pistoia, for that purpose. An assembly of all the Jansenist prelates and clergy of Tuscany, which Ricci had convoked in the metropolis of his see in 1787, drew up the projects of reform, celebrated as the *Propositions of Pistoia.* In these Propositions the papal power was questioned, the showy and merely external worship introduced by the Popes was condemned, and the strict morality of the Jansenists declared the essential principle of Christianity. Pius VI., who now filled the papal throne, threatened Ricci with excommunication. But the firm attitude of Leopold, who forbade all appeals to Rome, refused to recognise the spiritual powers of the Nuncio, and abolished the dependence of the religious orders on foreign superiors, deterred the Pope from proceeding to this extremity. Such reforms, however, were as distasteful to the mass of the Italians as they were to the Austrians. The populace regarded Ricci as a heretic, and on that score thought themselves justified in plundering his palace. The Propositions of Pistoia were condemned by a small assembly of prelates at Florence, dignified with the name of a general synod; and Pius had only to await with

[47] Menzel, B. vi. p. 255.

[48] First to Maria Isabella of Bourbon, daughter of Don Philip, Duke of Parma; by whom he had two daughters who died young. His second wife was Josepha of Bavaria, daughter of the Emperor Charles VII.; by whom he had no issue. His second wife was distasteful to him, and he never married again; but he indulged in promiscuous amours, which sometimes endangered his health.

patience a reaction, which soon dissipated the reforms of the Tuscan bishops.[49] Equal liberality had been observed in Leopold's civil administration in Tuscany. He mitigated the rigour of the penal laws, and abolished capital punishment even in cases of murder. Observing that this mildness was attended with beneficial effects, he introduced in 1786 his celebrated Code, by which the criminal law was entirely revised, and the prosecution and punishment of offenders reduced to a *minimum* of harshness and severity.

Leopold, who was forty-three years of age at the time of his brother's death, immediately left Florence for Vienna. The political atmosphere, as we have seen, was anything but clear. Leopold felt that the most pressing necessity was to accommodate matters with Prussia. Immediately after his arrival in Vienna, he addressed a letter to the King of Prussia, in which he expressed a desire for the friendship of that monarch, and candidly declared that, as an indemnity for the expenses of the war with Turkey, he should be content with the boundaries assigned to Austria by the Peace of Passarowitz in 1718; and he concluded with assurances of moderation with regard to his future policy.[50] He had not, however, neglected the precautions necessitated by the attitude assumed by Prussia, and he had ordered an army of 150,000 men to assemble in Moravia and Bohemia; although this step compelled him to reduce his forces on the Danube. Frederick William replied in a conciliatory autograph letter, in which he intimated that he could not act without the concurrence of his allies (April 15th). At this juncture, England proposed an armistice to Prussia and the belligerents, in order to treat for a peace on the *status quo ante bellum*; but the proposal failed, chiefly through the obstinacy of Kaunitz, now an old man of eighty, whose senile caprices were treated with great deference by the Emperor, although opposed to his own convictions.[51] After the rejection of the armistice, Prussia submitted the following project for a peace: that Austria and Russia should restore to the Porte all the territory they had conquered between the Danube and Dniestr; Austria, however, retaining those parts of Wallachia and Servia which had been assigned to her by the Peace of Passarowitz, but restoring Galicia to Poland, except the district from the borders of

[49] See *Mémoires sur Pie VI. et son Pontificat.*

[50] Hertzberg, *Recueil de Déductions*, t. iii. p. 61.

[51] See *Memoirs and Correspondence* of Sir R. M. Keith (the British Minister at Vienna), *Despatch* to Duke of Leeds, May 11th 1790, vol. ii. p. 277 sqq. The Emperor, when he had any business to transact, was obliged to go to Kaunitz's house, as he never came to court. *MS. Journal. Ibid.* p. 290 note.

Hungary and Transylvania to the rivers Dniestr and Stry. In order to restore the balance between Austria and Prussia, the latter country was to have Dantzic and Thorn. On these conditions, Frederick William II. agreed not to oppose Leopold in the Netherlands, and to vote for him as Emperor.[52] The Prussian note accompanying these proposals was peremptory, almost challenging. Austria declined the terms offered, on the ground that the districts assigned to her were no equivalent for the sacrifices required of her, and that it was unreasonable to demand that peace should be made at her expense.

Both parties now prepared for war. Loudon resigned the command on the Danube, to place himself at the head of the Austrian army on the frontiers of Saxony. The main body of the Prussians, under the King, the Duke of Brunswick, and General Möllendorf, assembled in Silesia; another division was stationed in East Prussia, on the borders of Lithuania, and a third in West Prussia, towards the Vistula. It was in his camp at Schönwald that Frederick William ratified his treaty with the Porte, as already mentioned (June 20th). But in spite of these hostile demonstrations, both monarchs were secretly longing for peace. Leopold wished to compose the intestine disorders of his dominions; Frederick William apprehended that his proposals might be distasteful to Poland and the Porte; while both monarchs were filled with alarm at the rapid progress of the French Revolution. Fresh negociations were therefore opened at Reichenbach, a town in the principality of Schweidnitz. Russia refused to take part in them, having resolved to treat separately with the Porte. Hertzberg, bent on carrying his views against Austria, even at the risk of a war, endeavoured to exclude England from the conference, because that Power, as well as Holland, advocated the strict *status quo ante bellum*; and they had declared, that if Prussia should persist in her scheme of indemnification, and a war should be thereby kindled, they should not consider it a *casus fœderis*, and should forbear to take any part in it. Lucchesini, too, the Prussian minister at Warsaw, dissuaded the irresolute Frederick William from adopting Hertzberg's policy; which he and others represented as the offspring of a false ambition, and a blind and passionate hatred of Austria.[53]

Leopold's firmness had almost occasioned the breaking off the negociations, when they suddenly took a new turn. A party had

[52] Hertzberg, t. iii. p. 74.

[53] Sir R. M. Keith characterises them as "schemes of *partition, exchange*, and *depredation*." *Memoirs, &c.*, vol. ii. p. 361.

sprung up in Poland which opposed the cession of Dantzic and Thorn, its only ports, and preferred to renounce Galicia. As this party was supported by the Maritime Powers, Frederick William deemed it prudent to postpone his endeavours to obtain those places till a more convenient opportunity. In revenge, the Prussian Cabinet required that Austria should give up Turkish Wallachia, and signified that the non-acceptance of this condition within ten days would be considered a declaration of war. Leopold consented to accept the strict *status quo ante bellum*. As there had been no war between Austria and Prussia, those two Powers contented themselves with reciprocal declarations, which were combined in the CONVENTION OF REICHENBACH,[54] signed August 5th 1790. On the 21st of the same month an armistice was concluded at Giurgevo, between Austria and the Porte. Before its conclusion the Austrians had gained some advantages in the campaign of that year. Old Orsova had capitulated to them April 16th, and some successes had been achieved in Wallachia.

It was not till January 1791 that a congress for the establishment of peace between Austria and the Porte was opened, under the mediation of England, Holland and Prussia, at Sistovo, a town in Bulgaria. During its progress, the Austrians, raising a distinction between the *status quo de jure* and *de facto*, made some new demands, which they ultimately carried; not, however, in the treaty, but by a separate convention with the Porte, by which the latter ceded Old Orsova and a district on the Unna. The PEACE OF SISTOVO and the Convention were signed on the same day, August 4th 1791.[55]

The reconciliation with Prussia had many beneficial results for Leopold. Besides promoting the Peace of Sistovo, it enabled him to put down the disturbances in the Netherlands and Hungary, and helped him to the Imperial Crown. The three allied Powers did not wish to see Austria deprived of the Belgian provinces by a revolution, though they wanted her to make a new barrier treaty. After the Congress of Reichenbach had settled the affairs of Turkey, the Prussian minister delivered to those of Austria a declaration of the Maritime Powers, expressing their readiness to guarantee, in conjunction with Prussia, the constitution of the Netherlands, and to take the necessary steps to bring them again under the dominion of the House of Austria. On this intelligence the Brussels Congress sent deputies to London, Berlin, the Hague, and Paris, to make remonstrances and demand succours. Leopold,

[54] Hertzberg, t. iii. p. 103 sqq. [55] Martens, t. v. p. 18.

before he left Florence, had declared his disapproval of the innovations of his predecessor, had promised a complete amnesty, confirmed the *Joyeuse Entrée*, and even extended the privileges of his rebellious subjects; but without effect. An army of 20,000 men was raised, and placed under the command of Van der Noot; but this force, which attacked the Austrians on the Meuse, was beaten in almost every rencounter (autumn of 1790). It had been settled at Reichenbach to hold a congress at the Hague, which was opened in September, and attended by Austrian, Prussian, English, and Dutch ministers. The Belgian provinces also sent deputies; but as they still continued refractory, and demanded that France should be associated in the negociations, the mediating Powers declared, October 31st, that unless they made their submission within three weeks, they would be abandoned to their fate. This declaration was in accordance with a manifest published by Leopold at Frankfort, on the 14th of that month, announcing that if the Netherlanders should not have returned to their duty by November 21st he should cause an army of 30,000 men to enter their provinces. The insurgent states made use of the last moments of their independence to offer the sovereignty to Leopold's third son, the Archduke Charles. This step, however, did not arrest the march of the Austrians, under Field-marshal Bender. They entered Namur November 24th, and Brussels December 2nd, when the rest of the Belgian towns submitted. On December 10th the ministers of the Emperor and the mediating Powers signed, at the Hague, a definitive convention,[56] and the provinces sent deputies to tender their submission. The Netherlanders were guaranteed in their ancient rights and privileges, with some new concessions, and a general amnesty, containing only a few exceptions, was proclaimed. The Republic of the Belgian provinces had lasted scarce a year. The Archduchess Christina and her husband, the Duke of Saxe Teschen, made their solemn entry into Brussels, June 15th 1791; but though the aristocratic and more powerful party, which was in favour of kingly government, had submitted, democratic disturbances, in connection with the dominant faction in France, still continued.

The disturbances in Hungary had also been calmed. Leopold was quietly crowned at Pressburg, November 15th 1790. The Emperor's son, Alexander Leopold, whom the Hungarians had unanimously elected their Palatine, assisted in placing the crown upon his father's head. The King of Hungary had, in the previous

[56] Martens, t. iii. p. 342.

October, received at Frankfort the Imperial Crown, to which he had been unanimously elected, with the title of Leopold II. Leopold's government in the Austrian dominions was reactionary. One of his most important regulations was the introduction of the secret police, which he had established in Tuscany, principally, it is said, for his amusement. Leopold expired suddenly, March 1st 1792, in consequence of errors in diet, and the use of incentives which he prepared himself. He was forty-five years of age at the time of his death. He had had sixteen children, of whom fourteen survived him. He was succeeded in the Austrian monarchy by his eldest son Francis, then twenty-five years of age, who, in the following July, was elected and crowned Roman Emperor at Frankfort, with the title of Francis II. Leopold had invested his second son, Ferdinand, with the Grand Duchy of Tuscany.

Meanwhile the war had continued between Russia and the Porte. The campaign of 1790 began late. Under Potemkin, Suvaroff, and other generals, the Russians captured Kilia Nova, October 29th, and two or three other places subsequently surrendered. But the grand feat of the year was the taking of Ismail by assault, by Suvaroff, December 22nd. This desperate enterprise was not achieved without great loss on the part of the Russians, who stained their victory by the horrible butchery which they committed. The campaign on the Kuban and in the Caucasus was also favourable to the Russians. Several engagements took place at sea. A bloody but indecisive battle was fought near the Gulf of Jenikale, July 19th 1790, and on September 9th Admiral Ouschakoff entirely defeated the Turkish fleet near Sebastopol.

Fortune also favoured the Russian arms in 1791. The principal event in the campaign of that year was the defeat of the Grand Vizier, Yussuf Pacha, by Prince Repnin, near Maczyn, July 10th. The victory was chiefly due to General Kutusoff, who commanded the Russian left wing. On the third of the same month, General Gudowitsch, with the army of the Caucasus, took Anapa, the key of the Kuban. On August 11th, Admiral Ouschakoff, after a severe engagement, defeated the Turkish fleet off Kara Burium, or the Black Cape. But on that very day the preliminaries of a peace had been signed at Gallacz.

Catherine II. having refused to accede to the Congress of Reichenbach, or to accept the mediation of Prussia with the Porte, Frederick William put a large army on foot; and Great Britain declared to the Cabinet of St. Petersburg, that, whether the mediation of the allied Powers were accepted or not, she should demand for the Porte the strict *status quo ante bellum*. In

pursuance of this declaration a large fleet, destined for the Baltic, was equipped in the English harbours, and the Dutch were called upon to furnish their contingent. But a war with Russia was very unpopular in England, on account of the lucrative commerce with that country. It was warmly opposed by Fox and Burke; Pitt himself was not anxious for it; and the retirement of the Duke of Leeds, the foreign secretary, who was succeeded by Lord Grenville (April 1791), marked the adoption of a more pacific policy. Shortly before, the allies had obtained the consent of Denmark to act as mediator between Russia and the Porte; a mediation which Catherine accepted. She continued, however, to reject the strict *status quo*, though she was not unwilling to accept a modified one, which should give her Oczakoff and its territory; and in this demand she was supported by Count Bernstorff, who, as Danish minister, conducted the mediation; but on condition that the fortifications of Oczakoff should be razed. The allies consented; new propositions were made to Catherine on this base, and, after considerable negociation, preliminaries were signed, August 11th, at Gallacz, between Prince Repnin and the Grand Vizier. The negociations for a peace were transferred to Jassy, whither Prince Potemkin hastened from St. Petersburg to conduct them. The idea of a Peace was very distasteful to Potemkin, who was in hopes of obtaining Moldavia and Wallachia for himself, as an independent principality; nor did he altogether despair of attaining that object by his negociations. But the sittings of the Congress had scarcely begun when he was seized with a malignant fever then raging in those parts; and to which, perhaps, the agitation of his spirits contributed to give a fatal result. He left Jassy, October 15th, for his favourite residence Nicolajeff. But it was not permitted him to reach it. He died on the road the following day, in the arms of his favourite niece, the Countess Branicka. The Peace of Jassy was signed January 9th 1792. The Dniestr was now established as the boundary between the Russian and Turkish Empires, and thus Oczakoff was tacitly assigned to Russia; which Power restored to the Porte its other conquests.[57]

[57] Martens, t. v. p. 67. Also in Wilkinson's *Moldavia and Wallachia*, p. 230 sq.

CHAPTER IX.

IN the events that agitated Eastern Europe since the Peace of 1763, and which have been recorded in the two preceding chapters, we cannot help observing the decline of the political influence of France. That Power seemed to be no longer the same that had dictated the Peace of Westphalia, and terrified all Europe during the reign of Louis XIV. by her arms and negociations. An abstinence so repugnant to her natural temper, was imposed upon her only by the necessities of her internal condition, and especially by the disorder of her finances. So great was her need of repose, that one object alone, the desire of striking a blow at England, might tempt her to draw the sword. The Peace of Paris was felt as a humiliating blow by both the Bourbon Courts, and especially by that of Versailles. The Duke de Choiseul, in conjunction with Grimaldi, minister of Charles III. of Spain, made some endeavours to reopen the treaty of 1763 and renew the war with England. Circumstances, however, were not yet ripe for such an undertaking, and they deemed it prudent to defer their projects of revenge to a more favourable opportunity. A diabolical scheme which they had formed (1764) to burn the dockyards at Portsmouth and Plymouth, was fortunately discovered in time by Lord Rochford, our ambassador at Madrid, and happily frustrated.[1]

As the financial embarrassments of France paralyzed her foreign policy, so the profligate conduct of Louis XV. and his court was daily alienating the people and producing in their minds that disgust and aversion which ultimately overthrew the monarchy. The death of Louis's mistress, Madame de Pompadour, in April 1764, was only followed by a deeper plunge into vice and shame on the part of the now elderly monarch. He seemed, indeed, for a while, to be awakened to a sense of repentance and amendment by the death of his ill-used consort, Maria Leczynska, in June 1768; but these symptoms were of short duration. In the autumn of that year, his valet de chambre Lebel, the purveyor of his infamous pleasures, introduced to his notice one Jeanne Vaubernier, a woman of abandoned character, the mistress of the proprietor of a tennis

[1] Coxe, *Spanish Bourbons*, vol. iv. p. 317.

court. This creature at once acquired a complete ascendancy over the sensual monarch. He married her to an elder brother of her former keeper, created her Countess du Barri, and introduced her at court, nay, even to his own daughters.

It might be derogatory to history to narrate these particulars, but for the fact that, under the ancient *régime*, the reigning mistress too often controlled the destinies of France. Such was the case in the present instance. The pride of Choiseul forbade him to court the infamous and base-born favourite; and he even tried to awaken Louis to a sense of his disgrace in "succeeding all France." His indignation appears to have been sharpened by disappointment. His sister, the Duchess de Grammont, had failed to attract the notice of the King, and found herself supplanted not only by a woman without reputation, but even a *roturière*. The new mistress, however, was supported by the Chancellor Maupeou, and by the Duke d'Aiguillon, ex-governor of Brittany, a bitter enemy of Choiseul's, who had formerly purchased the King's favour by sacrificing to him his mistress, Madame de la Tournelle, afterwards Duchess of Châteauroux. In about a year the intrigues of this faction effected the overthrow of Choiseul. Louis dismissed that minister December 24th 1770, on the ground that he had nearly involved France with Spain in a war against England, and in a letter brutally abrupt, directed him to proceed within twenty-four hours to his château of Chanteloup.

The annexation of Corsica to France had been among the last acts of Choiseul's administration. That island had been under the dominion of the Genoese since the year 1284, when they had conquered it from the Pisans. The government of the Genoese Republic had been harsh and tyrannical. The cruelty exercised by its agents in collecting the taxes had occasioned an insurrection in 1729; since which time the island had been in a constant state of anarchy and semi-independence. They elected their own chiefs, and in 1755 they had chosen for their general the celebrated Pascal Paoli, second son of Hyacinth Paoli, one of their former leaders. Pascal Paoli, whose father was still alive, was now in his thirtieth year. He held a command in the military service of Naples, and was distinguished by his handsome person as well as by his abilities and courage. Having established himself at Corte, in the centre of the island, he organised something like a regular government, and diverted the ferocious energy of the Corsicans from the family feuds in which it found a vent, to a disciplined resistance against the common enemy. The French had assumed the part of mediators between the Genoese and their

rebellious colonists as early as 1751. The Republic had succeeded in retaining only some of the maritime places; and three of these had been occupied by the French in 1756, but without hostilely interfering between the contending parties, and only in their quality of mediators. The occupation, however, was abandoned at the end of two years; till in 1764, the Genoese having experienced the difficulty, not only of subduing the rebels, but even of retaining the places which they held, besought the French to return; and by the Treaty of Compiègne put into their hands for a term of four years Ajaccio, Calvi, Bastia, and San Fiorenzo. The Corsicans made a fruitless attempt to induce France to recognise their independence by offering the same tribute which they had been accustomed to pay to the Genoese. It may be mentioned, as illustrating the degree to which the philosophical notions then prevalent had affected the minds even of practical men, that Colonel Buttafuoco, the Corsican agent, was instructed to request the groundwork of a constitution from the pen of J. J. Rousseau, and to invite that philosopher to Corsica in the name of Paoli's government. The French Court behaved disloyally both towards their allies the Genoese and to the Corsicans. The latter were deceived with false hopes; while during a four years' occupancy a debt was contracted which the Republic of Genoa was unable to discharge. The Genoese, too proud to recognise the independence of their rebellious subjects, made over Corsica to France for a sum of two million francs, by the Treaty of Versailles, May 15th 1768. The Corsicans, however, resolved to defend themselves, and it was not till the following year that they were subdued by superior forces. They were now placed under the government of France, but it was not till several years had expired that the island was entirely tranquillised. These proceedings excited great indignation in England. General Paoli and many of his companions fled their country. Paoli came to England, where he was fêted and caressed; but the English Government did nothing for Corsica, and ultimately acquiesced in its subjection.[2]

Among the causes of Choiseul's fall was the part which he had taken against the Duke d'Aiguillon. That nobleman had been accused of maladministration in his office of Governor of Brittany, and a process had been instituted against him in the Parliament of Rennes. The King evoked the suit before the Parliament of Paris; and finding that body inimical to his favourite, he annulled

[2] See Klose, *Leben Pascal Paolis*. Anecdotes of Paoli's residence in England will be found in Boswell's *Life of Johnson*. He died in London, February 5th 1807, and was buried at St. Pancras.

their proceedings in a *Lit de Justice*, and published an edict (November 27th) infringing the privileges of the parliament. That body replied by tendering their resignation, and refused to resume their judicial functions, though commanded to do so by the King, till the obnoxious edict should be withdrawn. The Court solved the question by a *coup d'état*. On the night of January 19th 1771, the members of the parliament were awakened in their beds by the royal *musquetaires*, with a summons from the King to declare *yes* or *no*, whether they would resume their functions. All but thirty or forty refused. Even these, having retracted in a meeting of the 21st, were sent into exile, as their refractory comrades had been before, and the Council of State was charged with the provisional administration of justice. These proceedings were followed by others still more arbitrary and illegal. The parliaments throughout the kingdom were entirely suppressed, and in their place six Superior Councils (*conseils supérieurs*), with power to pronounce judgment without appeal, except in a few cases, both in civil and criminal causes, were erected in the towns of Arrâs, Blois, Châlons, Clermont-Ferraud, Lyon, and Poitiers. For the Parliament of Paris was substituted a body of seventy-five persons nominated by the King, whose places, therefore, were neither purchased nor hereditary as formerly, and who were forbidden to take presents (*épices*) from suitors. This body was nicknamed after its contriver the *Parlement Maupeou*.

All this was done under the colour of reform and intellectual progress, effected in those days by the most arbitrary sovereigns. Louis XV. was to figure as a liberal with Frederick II. of Prussia, Catherine II. of Russia, and Joseph II. of Austria. The preamble of Maupeou's Edict abolishing the Parliaments, developed ideas that were designed to attract the *philosophers*. It really succeeded in catching some of the Encyclopædists, and among them their chief and patriarch, Voltaire himself. Nor can it be denied that some of the alleged motives were sufficiently specious. Thus Maupeou took credit for abolishing the venality of offices, which often prevented the admission of persons into the magistracy who were most worthy of it; and for rendering the administration of justice both prompt and gratuitous, through the suppression of the judges' fees, and by relieving provincial suitors from the necessity of repairing to Paris, through the establishment of the *conseils supérieurs*.[3] Nor, if we regard the political functions assumed by the Parliament of Paris, was there much to regret in its fall.

[3] Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. xvi. p. 284.

Never, surely, was a political machine invented of so much pretension and so little power. A royal Edict was of no avail till sanctioned and registered by the Parliament; yet if this sanction was withheld, the King had only to hold a *Lit de Justice*, and enforce compliance. A body so constituted, and composed principally of one class in the state, could never hope to be a constitutional power; and, accordingly, its resistance to the royal will, though sometimes productive of serious disturbance, always ended in defeat. Nevertheless, the abolition of the Parliaments was unpopular with the great majority of the French nation. In the first place, the ministry from which these reforms proceeded was not only suspected, but despised. The Parliaments, again, despite the vices of their constitution, were really popular. They were the only exponents of the national voice; and in general the members, whose dignity and independence were secured by their places, though purchased, being hereditary, had shown themselves the friends of liberty and progress. The people recollected that it was they who had opposed the feudalism and ultramontanism of the middle ages, and that to them alone they could now look for any barrier against regal despotism. These sentiments were shared by many of the very highest rank. Out of twenty-nine peers present, eleven had opposed the registry of the Edicts against the Parliaments; and what seemed still more serious, all the princes of the blood royal, except one, had protested against the proceedings of the Court, and even denied the King's power to issue such an Edict as that of November 27th. The advocate-general Séguier, had warned the King to his face, while holding the *Lit de Justice*, against the course he was pursuing, and bade him remember that even in the greatest monarchies, disregard of the laws had often been the cause or the pretext of revolutions.

This blow against the State had been preceded a few years before by one against the Church. Choiseul, in conjunction with Madame de Pompadour, had effected the expulsion of the Jesuits from France; and it has been thought that the fall of that minister was hastened by the revenge and intrigues of the disciples of Loyola. The fall of the Jesuits concerns the general history of Europe, and we have therefore abstained from touching on it, till it could be narrated in its totality.

The movement against the Jesuits, as we have already said,[1] originated in Portugal, and was the work of Pombal. To the influence of the Jesuits it was ascribed that the weak and superstitious

[1] See above, Ch. VI. p. 436.

John V. had annihilated all hope of progress, by throwing his kingdom entirely into the hands of the clergy; and this circumstance is the best justification of Pombal's harsh and arbitrary proceedings against the order. Amidst the enlightenment of the 18th century, the conduct of John might have befitted the most benighted period of the dark ages. Among other instances of his extravagance, may be mentioned the foundation of the royal convent of Mafra, at an expense of forty-five million crusades, or near four million sterling. In one wing of this building, 300 lazy Franciscans were lodged in regal splendour; their church occupied the centre, and the other wing formed the king's palace! John founded a patriarchate in Lisbon, and towards the end of 1741, caused at least a hundred houses to be pulled down in that city, in order to build a patriarchal church and palace. In 1744, after recovering from an attack of sickness, he summoned to his court four and twenty prebendaries, whom he had instituted, gave all a cap, violet stockings, red shoes, a golden hat-band, and a cardinal's staff; conferred upon them ducal rank, with an income of 2000 crusades apiece, and on the following day enjoyed the spectacle of seeing them perform divine service in their new attire. The civil government was also under ecclesiastical control, and promulgated the strangest regulations. Thus, for instance, the importation of costly manufactures in gold, silver, silk, fine stuffs, &c., was suddenly prohibited, except such as were to be used by the clergy, and in the churches. The liberty to display his whims and caprices in church matters was bought by John at a high price from the Court of Rome, and no country was more profitable to the Papal Court than the little kingdom of Portugal. Hence he earned from Pope Benedict XIV. the equivocal title of *Fidelissimus*, which might signify his excessive devotion either to the Holy See, or to Christ.

In these and the like circumstances, there was enough to excite the bile of a less fiery reformer than Pombal. That minister regarded the Church, and especially the Jesuits, as the chief authors of the declining state of the kingdom; and he had been further incensed against that order by their conduct in Paraguay. Through the influence of John V.'s daughter, Barbara, who had married Ferdinand VI. of Spain, a settlement had been effected, in 1750, of the long disputes respecting the colony of San Sacramento on the river Plata, which had been assigned to Portugal by the Treaty of Utrecht.[5] Portugal abandoned that colony to

[5] There were further quarrels between Spain and Portugal respecting this colony, the possession of which was confirmed to Portugal by the Peace of Paris in 1763.

Spain, receiving in return the town and district of Tuy, in Galicia, and the Seven Missions of Paraguay. The native Indians of this district were to be transferred to Spanish soil; but their rulers, the Jesuits, incited them to oppose this arrangement, and for some time they succeeded in resisting the 3000 or 4000 Spaniards and Portuguese, under the command of the commissaries appointed to effect the exchange. Pombal despatched his brother, with a considerable army in 1753, to put an end to the dominion of the Jesuits; which, however, was not effected till 1756. Meanwhile, the great earthquake of Lisbon had taken place. The Jesuits did not let slip so favourable an opportunity for working on the superstition of the people. Pombal was denounced from the pulpits, and the earthquake was appealed to as the visible judgment of God upon his profanity.

The Portuguese minister was not a man to be daunted by such attacks. He resolved on the destruction of the Jesuits. His first victim was Malagrida, apparently a harmless fanatic, if fanaticism ever can be harmless. Gabriel Malagrida, the inventor of certain mechanical spiritual exercises which he alone could conduct, had obtained the odour of sanctity by setting afloat, through the efficacy of his prayers, a ship that had been stranded; but, regardless of these merits, the minister banished Saint Gabriel to Setubal. This step was followed up by a seizure of all the Jesuits at Court (September 1757), and the publication of a Manifesto against them which created a great sensation in Europe. The principal charge alleged against them in this document was their conduct with regard to the Indians of Paraguay. In the following year Pombal denounced them to Pope Benedict XIV. as violating the laws of their order by illicit traffic and plots against the Government; he forbade them to engage in commerce, and finally even to preach and confess. The answer of the Papal See to this application was deferred by the death of Benedict (May 1758); but soon after the attempt on the life of King Joseph, already related, afforded Pombal a pretext to root out the order. They were accused of being privy to that

Spain, however, once more seized it in 1777, and it was ceded to that Power by the Treaty of St. Ildefonso, Oct. 1st, afterwards confirmed by the Treaty of the Pardo, March 1st 1778. These arrangements were facilitated by the death of Joseph I. of Portugal, in Feb. 1777. He was succeeded by his daughter, Maria Francisca, whose connection with the Spanish House rendered the Treaty of the Pardo a sort of family compact. Pombal had endeavoured to set aside Maria Francisca, by abolishing the decrees of the Cortès, which established the female succession, and transferring the crown to Joseph, grandson of the reigning monarch, who gave his consent to the arrangement. But Charles III. announced his resolution of supporting his niece's rights with his whole force, and the design against her was abandoned. On the accession of Maria Francisca, Pombal was dismissed. Coxe, *Span. Bourbons*, ch. lxix. For the treaties, Marten's *Recueil*, t. i. pp. 634, 709.

design; the new Pope, Clement XIII., was applied to for a brief authorising their degradation and punishment; and on the Pope's hesitating, Pombal caused all the Jesuits in Portugal, to the number of 600, to be seized and thrown on the Italian coast at Cività Vecchia (September 1759). Clement, in retaliation, ordered Pombal's manifesto to be publicly burnt; to which that minister replied by confiscating all the possessions of the Society, and breaking off diplomatic relations with Rome. Pombal, who was no philosophic reformer, and was not averse even to an *auto da fé* that increased his popularity, proceeded against the unfortunate Malagrida by ecclesiastical methods. Instead of arraigning him for high treason, he caused him to be declared a heretic by the Inquisition, which was administered by Dominicans. He was then delivered to the secular arm and burnt September 20th 1761.

Considering the light in which the Jesuits were generally regarded, Pombal's act did not meet so much approval from the public opinion of Europe as might have been anticipated. The hypocrisy of the proceedings against them was revolting to the philosophical spirit of the age, while their illegality and cruelty excited disgust in England and other Protestant countries. Nevertheless a strong feeling of dissatisfaction with the order prevailed throughout the greater part of Europe, which the example of Portugal served to bring into action. France was the first nation to imitate it. The Jesuits, generally so accommodating to the manners of the age, had been imprudent enough to display their hostility towards Madame de Pompadour, and, by a strange coalition, the royal mistress combined with the Jansenists of the Parliament for their destruction. Their commercial transactions in the French colonies afforded a handle against them. Their house at Martinico, governed by La Valette, had been converted into a great commercial and banking establishment. Their consignments having been intercepted by the English, the merchants who had accepted their bills became insolvent, and the creditors then proceeded against La Valette, who declared himself bankrupt. The creditors hereupon brought an action at Marseilles against the whole order established in France, and obtained a verdict (May 1760), which was confirmed on appeal by the Parliament of Paris.

The scandal of this affair caused a great sensation in Europe. The Genoese Government ordered the Jesuits to close their commercial establishment in that city. Venice forbade them to receive any more novices. In France, their trade, principally in drugs, was suspended, and their affairs, as well as the constitutions of their order, were submitted, in spite of the intervention of Pope

Clement XIII., to the examination of the various Parliaments. That of Paris severely denounced their doctrines as murderous and abominable, condemned a multitude of their books, and forbade them any longer to teach. Louis XV., who, from fear, it is said, of a Jesuit knife, was not so inimical as his mistress to them, endeavoured to effect a compromise, and, by the advice of some of his chief prelates, proposed to them to modify their institutions. But to permit these to be regulated by a civil power would have been a kind of suicide. Their general, Ricci, at once rejected the proposal, and declared that they must remain as they were, or cease to exist.[6] Clement XIII. in vain endeavoured to rouse the fanaticism of France in their favour. Choiseul and Pompadour triumphed over all opposition, though the Queen and the Dauphin were ranged on the other side. But the minister prudently left the odium and responsibility of the proceedings against the Jesuits to the Parliaments, who, in the winter of 1761, issued against them several celebrated *comptes rendus*. The Parliament of Rouen took the lead in these proceedings by a decree annulling the statutes of the Society, condemning them to be burnt, and directing all the Jesuits in their jurisdiction to evacuate their houses and colleges (February 1762). The Parliament of Paris followed this example in April, and similar measures were adopted by those of Bordeaux, Rennes, Metz, Pau, Perpignan, Toulouse, and Aix. Some of these courts, however, as those of Dijon and Grenoble, did not go to such lengths, while others, as those of Besançon and Douai, were altogether favourable to the Society. The Parliament of Paris, in a decree of August 6th, charged the Jesuits with systematically justifying crimes and vices of all sorts; brought against them the political charge of owing their allegiance to a foreign sovereign, thus forming a state within the state; and finished with pronouncing them irrevocably excluded from the kingdom.[7] But though this decree was published in the King's name it did not bear his signature; and it was not till November 1764 that the Society was entirely suppressed in France by royal authority.

Choiseul's enmity against the Jesuits was not satisfied with their expulsion from France. He resolved to effect their entire destruction, and especially he contributed to their banishment from Spain; where he is said not to have scrupled at circulating forged letters in the names of their generals and chiefs, with the design of bringing them into hatred and suspicion.[8] Several of the Spanish

[6] "Sint ut sunt, aut non sint." *Flassan*, t. vi. p. 500.

[7] *Anc. Lois Françaises*, t. xxii. p. 328.

[8] Coxe, *Spanish Bourbons*, vol. iv. p. 354.

ministers of that day, Aranda, Campomanes, Monino (afterwards better known as Florida Blanca), were imbued with the spirit of the French philosophy, and were disposed to follow the example of Choiseul; but Charles III. hesitated long before he adopted any violent measures against the order. Some occurrences, however, which took place in 1765 and the following year excited his suspicions against them. They were accused of being the authors of the disturbances which arose in the Spanish colonies in America on the occasion of a new code of taxes, as well as of the tumults at Madrid in the spring of 1766. These riots, however, were really caused by the conduct of the Marquis Squillaci, Minister of Finance and War. Squillaci had introduced a better system of police at Madrid; but being himself an Italian, he had paid little attention, in prosecuting his reforms, to the national customs and prejudices; nor were these much more respected by the King, who, though born in Spain, had quitted it too early to retain much predilection for its manners. Squillaci had also incurred the hatred of the people by establishing a monopoly for supplying Madrid with oil, bread, and other necessaries. But his interference with the national costume was the immediate cause of the insurrection. The huge mantles and hats with flaps that could be let down had been found, by the concealment which they afforded to the person, to favour the commission of murders, robberies, and other crimes, and Squillaci therefore published an edict forbidding them to be worn. Its appearance was the signal for an uproar. The populace surrounded the royal palace; loud cries arose for the head of Squillaci; nor could the tumult be appeased till the King appeared on his balcony, promised to dismiss the obnoxious minister, and to appoint a Spaniard in his stead. Instead of doing so, however, Charles fled to Aranjuez in the night with Squillaci. But the tumult was renewed, the King was again forced to capitulate, and to perform his promise of dismissing the minister. Charles attributed these affronts to a conspiracy of the Jesuits with a view to drive him into a retrograde policy. They were also charged with a design to exterminate the King and all his family, of which, however, there appears to be no proof. The Society was suppressed in Spain by a royal decree, April 2nd 1766, and all the members of it were banished the kingdom. It was further ordered that the Jesuits in all the Spanish possessions throughout the world should be arrested on the same day and hour, carried to the nearest port, and shipped off to the Roman States, as being the subjects of the Pope rather than of the King. Clement XIII., at the instigation of Ricci, declared that he would not receive them. The Spanish

vessels that arrived at Cività Vecchia were fired upon; they were repulsed at all the ports on the Italian coast; and the miserable exiles with whom they were filled, after enduring terrible hardships, were at length indebted to Charles III. for procuring them an asylum in Corsica. The Court of Rome ultimately relaxed in its severity, and received the Jesuits despatched from the East Indies and America; to each of whom the King of Spain allowed a small pittance of two pauls, or about a shilling a day.[9]

The decree of Charles III. was followed by another blow against the Jesuits in France. The measures taken against them in that country had not been rigorously carried out. They had found support in the differences of opinion respecting them that prevailed in the various parliaments, as well as the quarrels of those bodies with the Court, and they had still retained influence enough to cause fear and embarrassment to their opponents. But when the news of the proceedings against them in Spain arrived in France, the Parliament of Paris was encouraged to declare them public enemies, to command them to quit the kingdom in a fortnight, and to supplicate the King, in conjunction with all Catholic princes, to obtain from the Pope the entire suppression of the order (May 9th 1767). Choiseul, in conjunction with Pombal, urged the King of Spain to support them in this undertaking; but though Charles had acted so rigorously against the order in his own dominions, he could not at first persuade himself to aid in their entire destruction. While he was thus hesitating, the Pontiff, by an imprudent provocation, determined him to assist the views of the French and Portuguese ministers. The Bourbon sovereigns in Italy, the King of Naples, and the Duke of Parma, had followed the example of Spain, and expelled the Jesuits. Clement XIII. was impolitic enough to show his displeasure by attacking the weakest of these sovereigns. He excommunicated the Duke of Parma, and declared him deprived of his principality, as a rebellious vassal of the Church (January 20th 1768). To avenge this insult to the House of Bourbon, Charles III. urged the Kings of France and Naples to take vigorous steps against the Pope. Louis XV. responded to his appeal by seizing Avignon and the Venaissin, whilst the Neapolitans invaded Benevento. The movement against the Jesuits spread throughout Catholic Europe. They were expelled from Venice, Modena, and even from Bavaria, the focus of German Jesuitism. The pious scruples of Maria Theresa deterred her at present from proceeding

[9] Respecting the Spanish Jesuits, see Viardot, *Les Jésuites jugés par les rois, les évêques, et le pape*, 1857.

to such extremities; although her son Joseph II., and her minister Kaunitz, disciples of the French philosophy, would willingly have seen them adopted; but the order was deposed from the chairs of theology and philosophy in the Austrian dominions. At length an alarming proof of the influence still retained by the Jesuits in Spain, induced Charles III. to co-operate vigorously for their suppression. On St. Charles's day, when he showed himself on his balcony, the people having raised a unanimous cry for their recall, the Spanish ambassador at Rome was instructed, in conjunction with those of France and Naples, to require from the Pope the abolition of the order (January 1769). This demand proved a death-blow to the aged Clement XIII., who expired on the very eve of the day when the question was to come before the Consistory (February 3rd). The Jesuits moved heaven and earth to procure the election of a Pope favourable to their cause; but they missed their aim by two votes. The choice of the conclave fell on Ganganelli, a minor conventual, whose opinion on the subject was unknown. Ganganelli, who assumed the title of Clement XIV., was of quite a different character from his mediocre, rigid, and obstinate predecessor. He possessed considerable abilities, was enlightened and tolerant, and bore some resemblance to Benedict XIV., but had less vivacity and gentler manners. The Jesuit question was a terrible embarrassment to him. On one side he found himself menaced by the Bourbon sovereigns; on the other, the obscure threats of the Jesuits filled him with the apprehension of poison. To conciliate the former, he revoked the Brief against the Duke of Parma, suppressed the famous Bull *In Cœna Domini*, and even wrote to the King of Spain (April 1770), promising to abolish the Jesuits. That Society struggled with all the tenacity of despair, and scrupled not to invoke the aid even of heretical Powers, as England, the Czarina, and Frederick II. The fall of Choiseul filled them with hope; but Charles III. was now become even more implacable than he, and appealed to the Family Compact to urge on the French King. The last support of the Jesuits gave way when Maria Theresa, at the instance of her son Joseph, at last consented to their abolition. Clement XIV. now found himself compelled to defer to the wishes of the allied Courts. On July 21st 1773, he issued the Bull *Dominus ac Redemptor noster*, for the suppression of the order, in which he acknowledged that they had disturbed the Christian commonwealth, and proclaimed the necessity for their disappearance. The houses of the order still remaining were now shut up, and the General Ricci was imprisoned in the Castle of St. Angelo, where he expired two years

after. It was in Protestant countries alone that the Jesuits found any sympathy and defence. Frederick the Great especially, who considered their system of education to be useful, forbade the bull against them to be published in his dominions. But the Jesuits were destined to revive.

Clement XIV. was rewarded for his compliance by the restoration of Avignon and the Venaissin, which, however, the Revolution was soon to reunite to France. On the other hand, this measure is thought to have cost him his life. In the Holy Week of 1774 he was suddenly seized with symptoms that appeared to indicate poison; and though he survived till September 22nd, he was subject to constant torments. All Rome ascribed his death to the *aqua tofana*; and such also was the opinion of Cardinal Bernis, the French Ambassador at Rome, as well as of Pius VI., Clement's successor.[10] The Spanish and Neapolitan ministers, on the other hand, attributed his malady to fear.[11] But to return to the affairs of France.

After the dismissal of Choiseul, the government of that country was conducted by a sort of triumvirate, composed of the Chancellor Maupeou, the Abbé Terrai, who administered the finances, and the Duke d'Aiguillon, who was appointed secretary for foreign affairs in June 1771; while over all the infamous Du Barri reigned supreme. Nothing of importance occurred in the external relations of France during the remainder of Louis XV.'s reign. The only event of European interest was the partition of Poland, which country, as we have seen, D'Aiguillon abandoned to its fate. Meanwhile domestic maladministration was producing those evils and exciting those class-hatreds, which, though kept down for a time, exploded so fearfully in the Revolution. The finances were every day growing worse and worse. Terrai, to avert a total bankruptcy, resorted to a partial one by cheating the public creditors, plundering annuitants, and arbitrarily reducing the interest on government debts. These measures, indeed, touched only the richer classes of society, but the arbitrary taxes which he imposed were felt by the people at large. The wide-spread misery and discontent were aggravated by dearth. Several bad harvests had succeeded one another; the scarcity became intolerable, although the exportation of corn had been prohibited, and frequent riots took place in the provinces. In this state of things the public hatred

[10] See Bernis' *Despatches*, Sept. 28th and Oct. 26th 1774, and Oct. 28th 1777, ap. Martin, *Hist. de France*, t. xvi. p. 222 note.

[11] On the fall of the Jesuits, see St. Priest, *Suppression de la Société de Jésus*; Theiner, *Geschichte des Pontificats Clemens XIV.*; Abbé Georges, *Mém. pour servir à l'Histoire des évènemens de la fin du xviiième siècle.*

found an object in the King himself. The Parliament of Rouen openly charged Louis XV. with being a forestaller, nor could he satisfactorily refute the imputation.[12] About the year 1767 a company had been established under the control of Government called the *Société Malisset*, with the object apparently of keeping the price of corn at a certain level, and insuring a supply for Paris by buying up and storing grain in plentiful years in order to resell it in times of scarcity. The design, perhaps, may have been good; but a measure so easy of abuse and so liable to suspicion was in the highest degree dangerous. Profligate, expensive, and avaricious, Louis XV. scrupled not to avail himself of the advantages of his situation to fill his private treasury at the expense of his subjects. He was accustomed to speculate in all kinds of securities, and when an Edict was in preparation by the council which might depreciate the value of any of these, he withheld his signature till he had realised![13] In like manner he converted the *Société Malisset* into an instrument of private gain. Through the agency of Terrai, who bought up corn at low prices in Languedoc, where exportation had been prohibited, large quantities were sent to Jersey, through the ports of Brittany, which had been opened, in order to be reimported into France after prices should have been raised to their *maximum* by artificial methods. The King's participation in these nefarious transactions was notorious. The prices of grain throughout the kingdom lay constantly on his writing table; nay, among the officers of finance, the name of a "Treasurer of grain on account of His Majesty" was inadvertently suffered to appear in the Royal Almanack for 1774. The Court endeavoured to divert the popular odium by accusing the Parliaments of causing the scarcity; the Parliaments retorted the charge on the ministers; the people regarded them all as equally guilty, and ended by considering the upper classes as so many vampires leagued to suck their blood. The *Société Malisset* obtained the name of the *Pacte de Famine*, under which it was destined to appear at the breaking out of the Revolution.

The notoriously depraved and licentious character of the King, combined with this baseness, caused him to be contemned as well as hated. Already in his lifetime the people bestowed on his heir the title of *Louis le Désiré*, so low had Louis, once the *bien Aimé*, fallen in the popular estimation. The universal wish for his death

[12] The Provost de Beaumont, who had denounced the *Société Malisset* to the Parliament, suddenly disappeared. On the celebrated 14th of July 1790, he was discovered in a dungeon. Martin, t. xvi. p. 294.

[13] *Vie privée de Louis XV.*, t. iv. p. 152; ap. Martin, t. xvi. p. 293.

was gratified May 10th 1774. It was caused by the small-pox, caught from a scarcely marriageable girl, one of the victims of his lust; which, falling on a man of sixty-four with a constitution already contaminated by vice, proved fatal. He had reigned fifty-nine years, during which he had contrived totally to destroy the prestige of monarchy, created by the brilliant reigns of Henry IV. and Louis XIV.

He was succeeded by his grandson Louis XVI., whose father the Dauphin had expired in 1765. The new monarch, as we have said, had married, in May 1770, the Austrian Archduchess Marie Antoinette, daughter of Maria Theresa. He was now in his twentieth year, and his character was yet undeveloped. It seemed to promise both good sense and good principles, accompanied, however, with that want of energy and resolution which ultimately proved the chief cause of his ruin, and unrecommended by grace and dignity of manner. He was fond of books, and still more of the natural sciences and mechanical arts. His first act was to send Madame du Barri to a convent; but, with his usual indecision, this severity was not sustained, and she was permitted to retire to her estate near Marli. The fall of the mistress was soon followed by that of the ministers who had supported her. Maupeou, D'Aiguillon, and Terrai were succeeded by Maurepas, Vergennes, and Turgot. The last, who had distinguished himself as a political economist, after filling the office of Minister of Marine, was placed at the head of the finances.

In November 1774, Louis XVI., by the advice of Maurepas, re-established the Parliaments—one of the greatest mistakes, perhaps, of his reign. His address to that of Paris, however, was very despotic, and he made several alterations in its constitution, especially by the suppression of the two chambers of requests. Turgot, who was inimical to the Parliaments, had opposed this measure. By the dismissal of Turgot in May 1776, through the intrigues of Maurepas and other enemies, the monarchy lost its last chance; he was perhaps the only man in France who, by means of reform, might have averted revolution. His fall is said to have been accomplished by means of a letter, in which his hand was forged, containing sarcasms upon the Queen and Maurepas, and even expressions calculated to wound the King.[14] Turgot was succeeded as controller of the finances by M. de Clugni, and, after his death, by Taboureau de Réaux. The latter was an insignificant person, and the finances were really managed by Necker, a Genevese

[14] See *Œuvres de Turgot, Notice Hist.*, par M. Daire, t. i. p. cxi.

banker, under a new title of Director of the Royal Treasury (1776). In the following year, on the resignation of Taboureau, Necker was made Director-General of the finances, but without a seat in the Council, on the ground of his religion. Nevertheless, France and Europe called it the Necker Administration. Necker was a good practical man of business, and introduced many useful reforms; but he possessed not that broad and daring grasp of mind and those statesmanlike views which characterised Turgot.

The state of the revenue compelled France at this period to play but a minor part in the general affairs of Europe, and the reign of Louis XVI. might probably have been passed in profound tranquillity, had not the quarrel of Great Britain with her North-American colonies offered an opportunity, too tempting to be resisted, to gratify the national hatred and revenge. The history of that quarrel belongs to the domestic annals of England, and is connected with European history only by its results, and the maritime war to which it gave rise. Its details must be familiar to most of our readers, and we need therefore only briefly recapitulate some of its leading events:—the Stamp Act of 1765, attempted to be thrust on the Americans by the mother-country, and resisted by them on the ground that they were not represented in the British Parliament; its withdrawal in the following year, accompanied, however, with an offensive declaration of the supreme rights of the mother-country over her colonies; the renewed attempt, in 1767, to raise duties in America on tea, paper, painters' colours, and glass; the abandonment of these by Lord North, except the duty on tea, in 1770; the permission given to the East India Company, in 1773, to export their surplus stock to America, and the destruction of some of these cargoes in Boston harbour. The quarrel was now becoming serious and complicated. In the spring of 1774, Acts were passed by the British Parliament for suppressing the port of Boston, for abolishing the charter and democratic government of Massachusetts, and for authorising the governors of colonies to send home persons guilty of rebellion, to be tried by the Court of King's Bench. General Gage was sent to Boston to enforce these measures; but the troops at his disposal were not adequate to support such vigorous proceedings. The colonists agreed to abstain from using British merchandise till Massachusetts should be restored to its privileges; while a General Congress, which met at Philadelphia in December 1774, resolved to repel force by force. They drew up addresses to the people of Great Britain, as well as to the Colonies; and a petition to the King, in which they professed, or pretended to profess, their loyalty. But, in spite of Lord

Chatham's eloquent warnings, the Government persisted in its course. In February 1775, bills were brought in to restrain the commerce of the New England provinces, and to exclude them from the Newfoundland fishery. These measures were shortly followed by a collision. General Gage, who had received reinforcements, having dispersed some American militia at Lexington, April 19th 1775, the colonists assembled on all sides, and drove the English back to the suburbs of Boston. The Congress now appointed George Washington commander-in-chief; and on the 6th of July, they published a Declaration explaining their motives, but denying any intention to separate from the mother-country. Washington, with 20,000 men, now blockaded Boston. In an attempt to relieve themselves, the English, under Generals Howe and Burgoyne, fought the battle of Bunker's Hill, July 17th, when, but with considerable loss, they ultimately defeated the Americans under Putnam. The blockade of Boston, however, still continued, and in March 1776, Howe was compelled to abandon that town, and to retire to Halifax in Nova Scotia. The Americans, elated with their success, made an attempt upon Canada, but were repulsed.

The English Ministry had felt the necessity for making more vigorous efforts, and early in 1776, treaties had been concluded with some German princes, the Duke of Brunswick, the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, his son, the Count of Hanau, and the Prince of Waldeck, by which they engaged to supply between 17,000 and 18,000 men to serve against the Americans. The country had to pay dearly for the degradation of incorporating these foreign hirelings in her armies. Much deeper, however, was the shame of the princes who engaged in this white slave trade, and sold the blood of their subjects to fill their own coffers, and support their pomp and luxury. The Duke of Brunswick alone appears to have applied the wages of blood to the benefit of his remaining subjects. These proceedings afforded the Americans a motive, or at all events a pretext, for taking the last step, and altogether renouncing their connection with the mother-country, in order that they might be able to hire foreign mercenaries themselves. Public opinion in America had been stimulated in this direction by many publications and addresses, and especially by Thomas Paine's celebrated pamphlet entitled *Common Sense*. On July 4th 1776, Congress, under the presidency of John Hancock, made its DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCY; and in the following October, thirteen States[15]

[15] New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.

confederated themselves together at Philadelphia, under the title of the United States of America.

The German contingents had raised the British army in America to 55,000 men, and the campaign of 1776 proved very unfavourable to the Americans. From desertion and other causes, Washington at one period found his army reduced to 3000 men. But he retrieved his fortunes in a winter campaign, in which, being aided by reinforcements under General Lee, he reconquered the greater part of Jersey, and drove the English back to Brunswick.

The American Declaration of Independency encouraged France to afford more active, though still underhand, assistance to the nascent republic. Already before that event, Silas Deane had been despatched to France, where, under the guise of a merchant, he intrigued with the Government, and endeavoured to obtain supplies of arms and money. His negociations were carried on through Baron de Beaumarchais, now best known as a lively and successful dramatist, but who himself regarded literature as very subordinate to his commercial and political pursuits. Louis XVI. was averse to a war with England, and in this view he was supported by Maurepas and Necker. Marie Antoinette, on the other hand, led away perhaps by an unreflecting enthusiasm, was ardent in the cause of American liberty, and this feeling was shared by what was called the Austrian party. Vergennes, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, inclined the same way, but from different motives; a bitter hatred of England, and a desire of overthrowing the peace of 1763, which he regarded as ignominious, and detrimental to French interests. This party prevailed. The French Ministry secretly encouraged the Americans, flattered their military ardour, and gave circulation to the writings of their partisans, while at the same time, the French ambassador in London was instructed frequently to assure that Court of the strictest neutrality on the part of France! The French Government did not merely connive at the Americans being furnished with supplies and munitions; it gave them active assistance. Beaumarchais was provided with a million livres to found a commercial house for supplying the Americans with the materials of war, and the public arsenals were placed at his disposal for the purchasing of warlike stores. On the recommendation of the Court of Versailles, Beaumarchais obtained a second million from Spain. Other commercial houses were also assisted with money by the Government, and from these Silas Deane procured all that he wanted. Aids in money were

also directly forwarded to the Congress through private channels.[16] Privateers, fitted out in France, but sailing under American colours, committed great depredations on the English trade. Towards the end of 1776, the arrival of Dr. Franklin and Dr. Lee in Paris, as envoys from the American Congress, excited great enthusiasm. These representatives of the New World, by the simplicity of their dress and manners, attracted the attention and homage of a frivolous people, which fancied that it had grown philosophical. To many of the *têtes exaltées* of the times, the opportunity of striking a blow at once in the cause of liberty and against England was irresistible. Among the most distinguished Frenchmen who offered their swords to the Americans, may be named La Fayette, the Viscount de Noailles, and the Count de Ségur.

It was not, however, till 1778 that France formally recognised American independence. The American campaign of that year had at first gone in favour of the English. Howe had defeated Washington at Brandywine September 11th, had subsequently taken Philadelphia (26th), and again repulsed Washington at German Town, October 24th. But these successes were more than counterbalanced by the fate of General Burgoyne. That commander, advancing from Canada by Lake Champlain, was surrounded by the enemy at Saratoga; where, not having received the support which he expected from General Howe and Sir H. Clinton, he was compelled to surrender with his whole remaining force to the American general Gates (October 16th).

The capitulation of Saratoga formed a crisis in the American war. France, which had been gradually increasing her navy and preparing for events, was induced by this disaster of the British arms to side openly with the revolted colonists. She entered into a treaty of friendship and commerce with them, February 6th 1778, and on the same day was concluded between them an eventual defensive and offensive treaty, to take effect in case Great Britain should break the peace with France; an event which of course must have been foreseen as a certain consequence of the recognition of American independence, and which France was at all events determined to bring about. She promised pecuniary aid, and both parties agreed not to lay down their arms, nor to conclude a separate truce or peace with Great Britain, till she should have recognised the United States.[17] Long after these treaties had been arranged,

[16] Flassan, t. vii. p. 149 (letter of Vergennes to the King, May 2nd 1776): cf. Loménie, *Beaumarchais, sa vie, ses écrits et son temps.*

[17] Martens, t. ii. p. 701. It is called a *defensive alliance*, but some of the articles stipulate respecting a contemplated attack by France on British Possessions.

both Maurepas and De Vergennes, the latter *upon his honour*, denied all knowledge of them when questioned by Lord Stormont, the British ambassador.[18] On March 13th, the French ambassador at London announced with offensive *brusquerie* the measures taken by his court. He declared that Louis XVI., having resolved to uphold the commercial liberties of his subjects, and to maintain the honour of the French flag, had taken for this purpose eventual measures with the United States.[19] Such an announcement so delivered could only be regarded as a declaration of war, and accordingly the English ambassador was recalled from Paris.

Louis XVI. had thus struck a blow, which, it can hardly be doubted, contributed to his appearance on the scaffold. The financial embarrassments of France were augmented by the expenses of the war, while the maxim was sanctioned that a people who consider themselves oppressed are at liberty to rebel, and a school was opened to young Frenchmen who brought back with them from America a spirit of innovation and a resolution to carry this maxim into execution in their own country.[20]

Menaced by a war with France, Great Britain had offered Congress the most liberal terms of accommodation provided the Declaration of Independence should be withdrawn; but it was now too late; the proposals were received by the Americans with insulting virulence, and were denounced as contrived only to make them languid in pursuing the war.

Finding a war with France inevitable, George III., in a message to Parliament, declared that the peace of Europe had been disturbed against his will, that he could be hardly reproached for his feelings against so unjust and so unprovoked an aggression on the honour of his crown and the interests of his kingdom, contrary to the most solemn assurances, in violation of the laws of nations, and injurious to the rights of all the sovereign Powers of Europe.

The war, which had not been formally declared, was inaugurated by an affair off Ushant, June 17th, between Keppel's fleet and two French frigates, one of which was captured. On July 27th, an indecisive engagement took place in the same neighbourhood between the fleets of Keppel and D'Orvilliers. The Duke of Chartres, afterwards the noted Duke of Orléans, was on board the latter; and some reflexions on his courage during the action, im-

[18] Adolphus, *Reign of George III.*, vol. ii. p. 537 sq.

[19] Flassan, t. vii. p. 167.

[20] Thus when La Fayette read at Washington's head-quarters, in the French notification to England that the United States were recognised as being "en possession de l'indépendance par leur Acte de tel jour," he exclaimed: "Voilà une grande vérité que nous leur rappellerons un jour chez eux!" *Mémoires* de la Fayette, ap. Martin, t. xvi. p. 426.

puted to Queen Marie Antoinette, caused him to conceive against her an implacable hatred.

A French fleet, under the Count d'Estaing, had been despatched to surprise Admiral Howe in the Delaware. D'Estaing, however, was three months in sailing to America, and the English division occupying Philadelphia had time to escape to New York. An engagement between Howe and D'Estaing was prevented by a storm. An English fleet under Admiral Byron, which had been despatched in quest of D'Estaing, compelled him to renounce an enterprise against Rhode Island which he had concerted with the Americans, and to retire to Boston, where he was blockaded by Byron; but in November he succeeded in escaping to the Antilles. Other operations this year were the taking of St. Lucie, and of St. Pierre, and Miquelon, two small islands off Newfoundland, by the English, and the capture of Dominica by the French. The land campaign terminated on the whole in favour of the English, Colonel Campbell, towards the close of the year, having reduced the greater part of Georgia.

The war had also extended to the East Indies. In that country, as in America, the French had secretly assisted the enemies of the British Crown, and especially Hyder Ally, the formidable sovereign of Mysore; who had been disgusted with the refusal of the English to grant him the aid against the Mahrattas, to which he thought himself entitled by a treaty concluded with them in 1769. But the efforts of the French were not so successful in these regions as in the other hemisphere. As soon as the certainty of a war with France was known in India, the Government of Calcutta suddenly attacked the possessions still retained by France in India. Chandernagor and the factories at Masulipatam and Karical surrendered without a blow. A military force, supported by a naval squadron, was then directed against Pondicherry, which surrendered after a siege of seventy days (October 1778). Fort Mahé was captured in the following March, and the French flag disappeared, for a while, from the Indian continent. In Africa, however, the French took the English factories at Senegal (January 1779).

The year 1779 added Spain to the list of Powers arrayed against England. That country had long displayed a hostile feeling against England, and the Spanish minister, Florida Blanca, had been endeavouring to raise up enemies against her by his intrigues and negociations with Hyder Ally, the King of Prussia, the Empress of Russia, and even the Emperor of Morocco, whose aid might be of service in an attempt to recapture Gibraltar. Charles III., however, when summoned by the Court of Versailles to afford his aid

in conformity with the Family Compact, at first pretended a desire to restore tranquillity, although he had already determined on a war, and was making preparations for it, which were to be completed under this veil. He offered his mediation, proposing terms that were wholly inadmissible by the British Government, although they met the views of France and the American envoys; and when they were declined, he declared war against Great Britain, June 16th 1779. The declaration was accompanied with a long and laboured manifesto, one of the most singular compositions in the annals of diplomacy, for the minuteness with which the most trifling grievances were enumerated, and the pomp and vehemence with which they were denounced.[21] France, also, after a year's war, now first published a manifesto in justification of her views and conduct, which was answered by the historian Gibbon.

The union of France and Spain threatened England with dangers such as she had not experienced since the days of the Armada. The combined fleets, when united in July, formed a total of sixty-eight ships of the line, besides frigates and smaller vessels. On the coasts of Brittany and Normandy a host of 60,000 men had been assembled for a descent upon England, and 300 transports had been prepared for their conveyance. The precautions taken in England against this threatened invasion, and the efforts made to raise a military force, served to increase the panic. Many of the inhabitants of the south coast sought refuge in the interior of the kingdom. The English Government, lulled into a false security by the professions of Spain, and by the idea that a war was quite opposed to her interests, had neglected to take the necessary precautions; and an appeal to Holland to furnish the succours stipulated by treaty had proved unavailing. The fleet that mustered under the flag of Admiral Hardy numbered only thirty-eight ships of the line, and was therefore compelled to remain on the defensive. The combined French and Spanish fleets appeared three consecutive days before Plymouth, and chased Hardy towards the Wight. An action was momentarily expected, when the French and Spanish commanders suddenly retired to their ports. The only mischief they had effected was the taking of a sixty-four gun ship, the Ardent.

This mortifying failure occasioned for a time a serious misunderstanding between the Bourbon Courts. Florida Blanca induced Charles III. to make a direct, but clandestine, proposition to

[21] Coxe, *Spanish Bourbons*, vol. v. p. 42. See also for these negociations, Dohm, *Materialien für die Statistick*, Lieferung, iii. and iv.; Adolphus, *Reign of George III.*, ch. xxxv.

the English Cabinet for a peace, on condition of the surrender of Gibraltar; but, though the English Government seemed inclined to listen to the offer, the negociations came to nothing, and were probably only intended by Spain to stimulate France to more vigorous action. The Spaniards, however, had strongly at heart the recovery of that fortress. They had laid siege to it immediately after the rupture with England; but Rodney managed to revictual it, and reinforce the garrison by landing a regiment. On his way he had captured off the coasts of Spain a convoy of fifteen sail, with a sixty-four gun-ship, and four frigates, carrying naval stores and provisions to Cadiz, which contributed to the supply of Gibraltar. On January 16th 1780, he defeated, off Cape St. Vincent, the Spanish blockading squadron under Admiral Langara, after a severe engagement of eight hours, during a dark and tempestuous night. Rodney, after relieving Gibraltar, sailed for the West Indies. The Spaniards had soon after some revenge, by surprising and capturing off the Azores a British West Indian fleet. Near sixty vessels were carried into Cadiz, with property estimated at two million sterling.

The chief incident in the war in America, during the year 1779, was the capture of St. Vincent and Grenada by D'Estaing. An indecisive action took place between him and Admiral Byron, July 6th. Towards the autumn, D'Estaing made an attempt to reconquer Georgia, and in conjunction with the American general Lincoln, he assaulted Savannah, October 9th, but was repulsed with great loss. In Africa, the English took the Isle of Goree from the French. The campaign of 1780 was also marked with varying success. General Clinton undertook from New York an expedition into South Carolina, and captured Charlestown, May 12th; but by Clinton's departure, Rhode Island was left exposed, and in July the French established themselves in it. Lord Cornwallis, whom Clinton had appointed commandant at Charlestown, defeated the American general Gates, who was endeavouring to surround him with superior forces, at Camden, August 16th. In the South, the Spaniards took most of the English forts on the Mississippi. At sea, Rodney fought three indecisive actions with Count de Guichen off Martinico (April 17th, May 15th, 19th). During this year, the formation of the ARMED NEUTRALITY, and the rupture between Great Britain and Holland, seemed to array against the former Power nearly the whole of Europe.

In order to explain the League called the Armed Neutrality, we must premise a few brief remarks on the state of maritime law.

From the earliest periods of maritime commerce, the attention

of European jurists had been directed to the question of the rights of neutrals during war. One of the oldest Maritime Codes, the *Consolato del Mare*,[22] established the principles "that neutral merchandise carried by an enemy is free; but that the neutral flag does not neutralise an enemy's merchandise."[23] These principles were subsequently restricted; the former was rejected, the latter retained. Francis I. of France, by an Edict in 1543, rendered maritime law still less liberal, by declaring that the goods of an enemy found in a neutral vessel, entailed the confiscation of the rest of the cargo, and even of the ship. This continued to be the general maritime law, especially in France, though with some particular exceptions, down to about the middle of the 17th century, when greater privileges were accorded to the neutral flag. The reverse of the principle laid down by the *Consolato del Mare* had, about the period already named, been pretty generally established; namely, that in all instances goods follow the flag: so that neutral goods on board an enemy's vessel might be confiscated; whilst the neutral flag rendered an enemy's merchandise sacred.[24] This principle it was that enabled the Dutch to become the carriers of Europe. It had been recognised in several treaties by the States-General, France, Great Britain, Spain, and Portugal, between the years 1642 and 1674; but Denmark and Sweden adhered to the old system. Louis XIV., however, finding himself in possession of an enormous fleet, and considering himself master of the seas, issued in 1681, in contempt of treaties, the famous Ordinance, which condemned all ships laden with an enemy's goods, as well as the goods of his own subjects and allies found in an enemy's vessel; or, in other words, he ordained that the neutral flag does not cover the goods, and, on the other hand, that the enemy's flag condemns neutral merchandise. In the war of the Spanish Succession, the French Government became still more illiberal, and established the maxim that the quality of the merchandise seized does not depend on the quality of the owner; but that every production of the soil or manufacture of an enemy, whoever the proprietor might be, was liable to confiscation.

Great Britain restrained these excesses by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, by proclaiming the principle that the neutral flag covers an enemy's goods; though it was tacitly recognised that neutral merchandise in an enemy's vessel was not exempt from seizure. France subsequently repudiated this principle in various treaties;

[22] See Vol. II. p. 27.

[23] Garden, *Hist. des Traités*, t. v. p. 15 *et seq.*

[24] It should be remembered, however, that goods contraband of war must always be excepted.

and Louis XV., by an ordinance of October 21st 1744, declared as lawful prize not only an enemy's goods on board a neutral vessel, but, in general, all productions of an enemy's soil or manufacture, by whomsoever owned; with exceptions, however, in favour of the Dutch and Danish flags. Even so late as 1779, when the war with Great Britain had commenced, France had not yet recognised the principle that the flag covers the goods. An ordinance of July 26th 1778 confirms that of 1681, in all particulars not altered by the later one; and as in this nothing is said about the principle in question, it must, of course, be regarded as recognising the ancient theory. Nay, this theory was acted upon in a treaty concluded between France and the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, September 18th 1779.[25] It was not till 1780 that France, veering with her interests, suddenly changed her tone, and subscribed to the principles adopted by the Armed Neutrality.[26]

This famous League was caused as follows. The North of Europe abounds with materials, such as timber, hemp, pitch, &c. for the construction and equipment of ships. When the war between Great Britain and the Bourbon Courts broke out, the English cruisers intercepted neutral vessels conveying such materials to French and Spanish ports, on the ground that they were contraband of war. To prevent this practice was one of the motives of Catherine II. for forming the Armed Neutrality; a measure which has been considered as redounding to her glory, yet which was in fact effected, almost against her will, by a ministerial intrigue. A struggle was going on between England and the Powers inimical to her to obtain the friendship and support of the Czarina. Catherine herself was disposed towards England, and these sentiments were shared by Prince Potemkin. The British Cabinet, to lure Catherine, had offered to cede to her Minorca; and Potemkin, in return for the exertion of his influence, was to have two millions sterling, the computed value of the stores and artillery.[27] On the other hand, Potemkin was enticed by Prussia and France with the prospect of Courland and the Polish crown. Catherine's minister,

[25] Garden, *Hist. des Traités*, t. v. p. 26.

[26] It will be seen from this statement, which is taken from the impartial work of M. le Comte de Garden above cited, that the French, till they found the contrary to be their interest, were the most illiberal and tyrannical of all the maritime Powers. Yet M. Martin, in his account of the Armed Neutrality, with a want of candour unworthy of an historian, suppresses these circumstances (though he often cites Garden), and makes it appear as if the French had always been the friends, the English always the enemies, of a liberal maritime policy. (*Hist. de France*, t. xvi. p. 453 sqq.) Hence also Coxe's assertion (*Sp. Bourbons*, vol. v. p. 87) that France "had laboured to introduce the principle that neutral ships might carry on the trade, both coasting and general, of hostile nations," appears to be incorrect.

[27] Coxe, *Spanish Bourbons*, vol. v. p. 100.

Count Panin, was, however, adverse to Great Britain and a warm supporter of Frederick II., who, at that time, entertained a bitter animosity against George III. and the English nation. According to the apology for his administration, published by Florida Blanca, the Spanish minister, he it was who, by his intrigues and negociations with Count Panin, was the chief instrument in bringing about the Armed Neutrality. Orders were issued directing the Spanish cruisers to imitate the example of England in overhauling and seizing neutral vessels; and when Russia, and other neutral Powers, complained of this practice, the Cabinet of Madrid replied that, if they would defend their flag against the English, when conveying Spanish effects, that Spain would then respect that flag, even if conveying English goods. The decision of the Russian Court was influenced by two occurrences. A fleet of Dutch merchantmen, bound for the Mediterranean, and convoyed by some ships of war under Count Bylandt, was encountered and stopped by an English squadron under Commodore Fielding; Bylandt made some show of resistance, but submitted, after an exchange of broadsides, and a few of the merchantmen were captured and carried to Spithead (January 1st 1780). This affair concerned not only the Dutch, but also all neutral maritime Powers, among which it was a very generally received maxim that a neutral fleet, under neutral convoy, was exempt from the right of search; the presence of the ships of war being a Government guarantee that the vessels under convoy were not abusing the rights of neutrals. England had not accepted a principle easy of abuse, and which, in fact, the contraband articles in some of the vessels captured sufficiently proved had been abused in this instance. The other occurrence touched Catherine still more nearly. The Spaniards, in conformity with Florida Blanca's policy, having seized two Russian ships in the Mediterranean, the Czarina, at the instance of Sir James Harris (Lord Malmsbury), the English ambassador, proceeded to fit out a fleet at Cronstadt, to demand satisfaction. Panin at first pretended to approve; but, passing from this incident to general considerations, he chalked out a magnificent plan, founded on the rights of nations, and calculated to rally every people round the Russian flag, and render the Czarina the arbitress of Europe. Catherine, ever dazzled by brilliant ideas, gave her assent to the scheme, without perceiving that it was principally directed against England. Panin immediately seized the opportunity to forward to the Courts of London, Versailles, Madrid, Stockholm, and Copenhagen (February 28th 1780), a Declaration, announcing the four following principles: 1. That neutral vessels

may freely navigate from one port to another on the coasts of belligerent nations. 2. That goods, except contraband of war, belonging to the subjects of such belligerent Powers, are free on board of neutral vessels; in other words, that the flag covers the cargo. 3. That with regard to contraband, the Empress adhered to the definition in her commercial treaty with Great Britain, June 20th 1776. 4. That a blockade, to be effective, must be maintained by vessels sufficiently near to render the entrance of the blockaded port dangerous. And she declared her resolution to uphold these principles by means of an armed force.[28]

This declaration was joyfully received by the Courts of Versailles and Madrid. Great Britain abstained from discussing the principles which it promulgated, and continued to act on the system which she had adopted. That system was certainly contrary to the regulations she had laid down at the Peace of Utrecht in the treaties between herself, France, and Holland; but she defended her course on the ground that these were only *particular* Conventions, not intended to assert any *general* principle; and that nothing had been said about any such principle in the other treaties which go to make up the Peace of Utrecht.

Denmark and Sweden accepted the declaration of Russia, as advantageous to their commerce, and concluded with that Power the treaties which constitute the Armed Neutrality. The King of Denmark further declared to the belligerent Powers (May 1780) that the Baltic, being of its nature a closed sea, he should not permit their armed vessels to enter it. This regulation was also adopted by Russia and Sweden, and recognised by France.[29] The three Northern Powers agreed to maintain their principles with arms, and to assemble, if necessary, a combined fleet of thirty-five ships.

The Armed Neutrality obtained the approbation of most of the European Courts, as well as of the philosophic writers of the period. The United Netherlands acceded to it January 3rd 1781, but not unanimously; the three provinces of Zealand, Gelderland, and Utrecht, in which the Orange interest prevailed, withheld their consent; Zealand even entered a formal protest against the accession. The King of Prussia, the Emperor Joseph II., Portugal, and the Two Sicilies, also gradually declared their adhesion to the League; the last-named kingdom, February 10th 1783. Joseph II., however, acceded only to the principles laid down by the

[28] See Count Görtz, *Mémoire sur la neutralité armée maritime*, &c. (8vo., Paris, 1805): Cf. *Statement* of Florida Blanca, Coxe, *Sp. Bourbons*, vol. v. App.

[29] Martens' *Recueil*, t. ii. p. 84.

League, and not to the Conventions formed on them. That sovereign took a lively interest in the success of the Bourbon Courts against England, though he was far from approving the American rebellion.[30] After all, however, this great combination produced very insignificant results. Catherine II. soon repented of it, called it the armed *Nullity*, and took no measures to follow it up. After the conclusion of the American war it fell into oblivion, and Europe did not derive from it the advantages it had anticipated.

The Armed Neutrality was in some degree connected with the rupture between Great Britain and the United Netherlands. Between these countries several disputes had arisen. The English Cabinet had demanded from the States-General those succours which the Dutch had engaged to supply by the Treaty of Westminster in 1678. The Republic, as we have seen, was at that time torn by two factions: the patriot party, which favoured France, and whose main object was to increase the navy for the protection of commerce; and the Orange party, in the interest of England, which was for maintaining the army on a respectable footing as a security against French aggression. This latter party was for complying with the demand of England for aid, but it was opposed by the Republicans, and in this division of opinion no definitive answer was returned to the application. Paul Jones, the noted pirate, who sailed under the American flag, but who was in reality a Scotchman, having put into the Texel to refit with two English frigates which he had captured, the States-General not only refused the demand of the British Cabinet for the extradition of Jones, but also declined to detain his prizes. The affair with Count Bylandt arising out of the practice of the Dutch of conveying to the enemy materials for shipbuilding and contraband articles, has been already related. But the incident which led to the war was the discovery of proof that the Dutch had formed treaties with the United States of America. On September 3rd 1780 an English frigate having captured an American packet bound for Holland, and carrying Henry Laurens, formerly president of Congress, it was discovered from the papers on board not only that Laurens was authorised to negociate definitively with the Dutch, but also that a treaty of commerce fully recognising the independence of the American States, had been signed by the authority of Van Berkel, the Burgomaster of Amsterdam, so long back as September 1778. The States-General having refused to disavow or punish Van

[30] When he was in Paris in 1777, a lady having asked his opinion on this subject, he replied, "*Mon métier est d'être royaliste.*" Martin, t. xvi. p. 412.

Berkel and his accomplices, war was declared by England, December 20th 1780.[31]

Great Britain precipitated this step in order to anticipate the accession of the Dutch to the Armed Neutrality, which would place them under the protection of the Northern Powers. The States-General, owing to the dilatoriness inseparable from the form of the Dutch Government, did not, as we have seen, formally accede to that League till January 3rd 1781, though a majority of the provinces had resolved on the accession November 20th 1780. The States, pretending that the English declaration of war was the consequence of that step, demanded from the three Northern Powers the aid stipulated to be afforded by the Armed Neutrality to members of the League. But although these Courts recognised the accession of the Dutch as the cause of the English declaration, they excused themselves from giving any assistance, on the ground that the rupture had occurred before the accession of the Republic. They offered, however, their mediation; but England rejected it, and the Dutch were left to their fate.

The seas were covered with English privateers, and Dutch commerce suffered immensely. In February 1781 Rodney seized the Dutch West India Islands St. Eustatia, Saba, and St. Martin, and captured a rich merchant fleet of thirty vessels; which, however, when on its way to England, was retaken by a French squadron and conducted to Brest. The Dutch settlements in Demerara and Essequibo were also reduced in March by a detachment of Rodney's fleet. Vice-Admiral Parker, with a far inferior force, attacked, off the Doggerbank, August 5th, a Dutch squadron convoying a merchant fleet to the Baltic. The conflict was undecided, and both fleets were much crippled; but the Dutch abandoned their voyage and returned to the Texel. An attempt by Commodore Johnstone on the Cape of Good Hope was unsuccessful. He was attacked off the Cape de Verde Isles by a superior French squadron under the celebrated commander the Bailli de Suffren, who arrived first at the Cape, and took possession of that colony. Suffren then proceeded to the East Indies, where he distinguished himself in several engagements with the English squadrons.

The French were successful in the West Indies. The Count de

[31] *Adolphus, George III.*, vol. iii. p. 222; Martens' *Erzählungen merkw. Fälle*, B. ii. S. 39. The latter authority, however, states that the Dutch did disavow Van Berkel, though they refused to punish him. M. Martin *liberally* assigns as one cause of the English declaration of war, a wish to confiscate Dutch money invested in England. *Hist. de France, t. xvi.* p. 455.

Grasse captured Tobago, June 2nd. The Marquis de Bouillé surprised the English garrison at St. Eustatia in the night of November 25th, and compelled them to surrender. He also took the small adjacent islands, which, with St. Eustatia, were restored to the Dutch.

The result of the campaign in North America was also adverse to the English. Lord Cornwallis, after defeating General Green at Guildford, March 15th 1781, penetrated into Virginia, captured York Town and Gloucester, and made incursions into the interior. All the enemy's forces were now directed to this quarter. Washington, Rochambeau, and La Fayette formed a junction in Virginia; the Count de Grasse entered Chesapeake Bay with his fleet, and landed 3000 men. Cornwallis was now compelled to shut himself up in York Town, and finally, after exhausting all his resources, to capitulate, October 19th.

In the South, the Spaniards, by the capture of Pensacola, May 8th 1781, completed the subjugation of Florida, which they had commenced in 1779. In Europe they succeeded in recovering the important Island of Minorca. The Duke de Crillon landed with a Spanish army, August 23rd, and laid siege to St. Philip. He endeavoured to bribe the commandant, General Murray, with 100,000*l.* and the offer of lucrative employment in the Spanish or French service; which proposals were indignantly rejected. After a long siege, in which the Spaniards were assisted by a French detachment, sickness and want of provisions compelled General Murray to capitulate, February 5th 1782, but on honourable terms.

The defeat of Lord Cornwallis, the loss of Minorca, to which was soon added the news of the capture of St. Kitts, Nevis, and Montserrat, by De Grasse (February 1782), occasioned the downfall of the English Ministry. Lord North, finding himself in a minority, was compelled to retire, March 20th, and was succeeded by the Rockingham administration, including Fox and Lord Shelburne, the last of whom, on the death of the Marquis of Rockingham in June, became prime minister. The views of the new Ministry were directed to peace. One of their first measures, the recall of Admiral Rodney, to whom they had conceived an antipathy, was very unfortunate and unpopular. Before Admiral Pigot, who had been appointed to succeed him, could arrive in the West Indies, Rodney achieved one of the most splendid victories of the war, by defeating the Count de Grasse near Dominica, April 12th 1782. The French were endeavouring to form a junction with the Spanish fleet at St. Domingo, which, had it been effected, must have

resulted in the loss of all the English West India colonies. Five French ships of the line were captured on this occasion, including the admiral's, the *Ville de Paris*, and De Grasse was brought prisoner to London.

This year was remarkable by the efforts of the enemy to obtain possession of Gibraltar. Encouraged by their success at Minorca, the Spaniards converted the blockade of Gibraltar, which had lasted three years, into a vigorous siege, directed by the Duke de Crillon, who, including a French division, commanded more than 40,000 men, while the bay was blockaded by more than forty Spanish and French ships of the line. The eyes of all Europe were directed on General Elliot's admirable defence. Two French princes, the Count d'Artois and the Duke of Bourbon, hastened to view this imposing spectacle, and enjoy the anticipated triumph. On September 13th, ten floating batteries, heavily armed, ingeniously constructed by the French Colonel d'Arçon, and thought to be fireproof, were directed against the place, but they were destroyed with red-hot shot. About a month afterwards Admiral Howe, in face of the greatly superior force of the enemy, which, however, had been damaged by a storm, contrived to revictual Gibraltar, and fling in a reinforcement of 1400 men. The combined fleet subsequently pursued and came up with him near Cadiz, October 20th, but a combat of a few hours had no result. The siege of Gibraltar was now again converted into a blockade.[32]

During this year the Dutch concluded with the Americans the treaty of friendship and commerce projected in 1778. They had gradually lost all their settlements on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel. Trincomalee, in Ceylon, surrendered to the English January 11th 1782, but was retaken by Suffren in the following year. That commander also achieved several victories over Admiral Hughes.

The English Ministry was now earnestly bent on effecting a peace. France had declined the offers of Austria and Russia to mediate, because Great Britain had required as an indispensable base, that France should abandon the American cause. Lord North, a little before his resignation, had attempted direct negociations at Paris, and this course was also followed by Lord Shelburne. Several envoys were successively despatched to Paris, and on the side of the French, M. Rayneval was also sent with a secret commission to London. This eagerness to negociate

[32] For this famous siege, see Drinkwater, *Account of Siege of Gibraltar*; Coxe, *Sp. Bourbons*, ch. lxxiv.; D'Arçon, *Mém. pour servir à l'histoire du Siège de Gibraltar.*

increased the demands of France. Vergennes proposed a scheme essentially at variance with the Peace of 1763, and calculated to ruin the commerce and naval power of England. All the captured French colonies were to be restored, while France was to retain many of her colonies. It was also demanded that England should acquiesce in the principles of the Armed Neutrality.

These demands could not be conceded; but at length, in October 1782, conferences for a definitive peace were opened at Paris, under the ostensible mediation of the Emperor and the Czarina, though, in fact, those sovereigns had no voice in them. The general negociations were nearly upset by the signing of a secret treaty between Great Britain and America. The discovery of Vergennes' duplicity had produced this result. The French Ministry were, in fact, alarmed at the magnitude of the new Power which they had conjured up in America, and even seem to have apprehended a future league between that country and Great Britain, though such an event was highly improbable. Hence, while pretending conciliation, Vergennes endeavoured to sow dissension between the two countries, as well as to weaken the new republic. With this view he secretly instigated the Americans to claim, and the English to withhold, a share in the Newfoundland Fishery. But what induced the Americans to conclude with Great Britain was a despatch of Marbois, the French agent at Philadelphia, to his Government, in which, at their desire, he had drawn up an elaborate plan for dividing and weakening the new republic. This despatch being intercepted by an English cruiser, was forwarded by the Government to Mr. Oswald, a merchant and shipowner whom Lord Shelburne had employed to negociate with the American commissioners at Paris. The production of this despatch filled them with such indignation that, as the English Government had now resolved to concede American independence, they signed the preliminaries of a peace with Great Britain without the knowledge of M. de Vergennes, November 30th 1782.[33] The French minister, on being acquainted with this step, bitterly reproached the American Commissioners, who excused themselves by protesting that the treaty should not be definitive till France and Spain had also terminated their arrangements with England. The English Cabinet used the advantage they had obtained to press on France the necessity for a speedy conclusion of the negociations: the financial

[33] Coxe, *Sp. Bourbons*, vol. v. p. 137 sqq.; *House of Austria*, vol. ii. p. 603 note (ed. 1807). The American Commissioners were John Adams, Benj. Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens. Franklin, who entertained a bitter animosity towards Great Britain, at first objected, but was overruled.

condition of that country rendered a peace desirable; and on January 20th 1783, preliminaries were signed at Versailles between Great Britain, France, and Spain. The Dutch, who, from the forms of their constitution, moved very slowly, and who had refused to enter into separate negociations with England, were thus left without help, though a suspension of arms was agreed upon, and Louis XVI. promised to use his good offices that the republic might obtain an honourable peace. After the ratification of the peace between Great Britain and America in August, Vergennes, however, told the Dutch ministers that the definitive treaty between France, Spain, and Great Britain could no longer be delayed, and the States-General were compelled to sign preliminaries with the last-named Power on the terms which she had demanded (September 2nd).[34]

The definitive treaties of the PEACE OF VERSAILLES, between Great Britain, the United States of America, France, and Spain, were signed on the following day (September 3rd). By the treaty with America, Great Britain recognised the thirteen United States as sovereign and independent. The second article, defining boundaries, comprised vast regions inhabited by unsubjected races, which belonged to neither of the contracting parties. The American loyalists were rewarded with lands in Nova Scotia or pensions in Great Britain.[35]

The loss of the American colonies to the mother-country was rather apparent than real. They contributed nothing to the British treasury; and though the commercial monopoly was lost, the trade between the two countries actually went on increasing after the Peace of Versailles, as the agricultural population of America could not dispense with British manufactures.

By the definitive treaty with France that country acquired Tobago (which had been assigned to Great Britain by the peace of 1763), as well as the establishments on the Senegal. All other conquests were restored on both sides. France was delivered from the commissaries residing at Dunkirk since the Peace of Utrecht, and her political consideration seemed placed on a better footing than at the peace of 1763. But, on the other hand, she had rendered the disorder of her finances irretrievable, and thus hastened the catastrophe of the Revolution. She not only abandoned the Dutch, but also her ally, Tippoo Saib, Sultan of Mysore, the son and successor of Hyder Ally.

Spain was the greatest gainer by the peace, the best she had

[34] Martens, t. ii. p. 457.

[35] Jenkinson (Lord Liverpool), *Collection of Treaties*, vol. iii. p. 410; Martens, t. ii. p. 497.

made since that of St. Quintin. She recovered Minorca and the two Floridas; but she was reluctantly obliged to abandon Gibraltar. Count d'Aranda, the Spanish plenipotentiary, displayed great violence on this subject. He declared that his sovereign would never consent to a peace without the restoration of that fortress, and he was encouraged in this course by Vergennes and Franklin. At an early period of the negociations Lord Shelburne had seemed disposed to cede Gibraltar, but became alarmed on finding how much the heart of the English people was set upon that rock, now doubly endeared to it by Elliot's glorious defence; and its retention became a *sine qua non* with the British Ministry, though Spain showed a disposition to give Porto Rico and Oran in exchange for it.[36]

The definitive treaty between Great Britain and the States-General was not signed till May 20th 1784. Negapatam was ceded to England; but a more important concession was, that British navigation should not be molested in the Indian seas, where the Dutch had hitherto maintained an exclusive commerce.[37]

It was stipulated that the Peace of Versailles should be followed by a commercial treaty between France and England, which was accordingly concluded at Paris, September 26th 1786. By the 20th Article it was established that the neutral flag covers the cargo, except, of course, contraband of war.

The Peace of Versailles was received with loud murmurs in England. Lord Shelburne was driven from the helm, and was succeeded by the Duke of Portland and the Coalition Ministry. Yet, on the whole, considering the extent and power of the combination formed against her, England seems to have escaped as well as might have been anticipated. France, meanwhile, in spite of her apparently advantageous peace, was rapidly sinking both at home and abroad. We have seen in the preceding chapter that in the affairs between Holland, her *protégée*, and the Emperor, Joseph II., she no longer ventured to assume that haughty tone to which she had formerly been accustomed. The French people were shocked by the payment of a sum of money to Joseph on that occasion; which was ascribed to the Austrian influence of Marie Antoinette, and increased her unpopularity. The character of Marie Antoinette, which bore a considerable resemblance to that of her brother Joseph II., made her the easy victim of malice. Lively and impetuous, governed by her feelings rather than by re-

[36] Coxe, *Sp. Bourbons*, vol. v. p. 140 sq. p. 334; Martens, t. ii. p. 462, and p. 620.
[37] The treaties are in Jenkinson, vol. iii.

flection, badly educated and of unregulated judgment, she exposed herself from the first day of her entry into France to the calumnies of her enemies. These were chiefly to be found in the party of Madame Du Barri, and among the ex-Jesuits, who regarded her marriage as the work of Choiseul. Among them was her own brother-in-law, the Count of Provence, afterwards Louis XVIII. The celebrated affair of the diamond necklace, which happened about the time of the Dutch Treaty, also contributed to injure her in the public opinion. This necklace, worth 1,600,000 francs, had been ordered by the Cardinal de Rohan, as he affirmed, for the Queen, by order of the Countess de La Motte Valois; but the Queen, when applied to by the jeweller for payment, denied all knowledge of the matter. It is impossible for us to enter into all the particulars of this mysterious transaction, which would demand several pages. The question at issue was, whether the Queen had really ordered the necklace and wished to evade paying for it; whether Madame de La Motte had falsely used the Queen's name, with a view to appropriate the jewels for herself, or whether Rohan was the swindler.[38] The Cardinal was notoriously expensive, profligate, and unscrupulous. He openly professed that his enormous income of 1,200,000 francs sufficed not for a gentleman; and he paid his mistresses by defrauding the poor of the money which passed through his hands as almoner. But the Court took an imprudent step in dragging the matter before the Parliament of Paris. Rohan, Bishop of Strasburg and Grand-Almoner of the Crown, a member of the family of Condé, was seized at Versailles in his pontifical robes as he was about to enter the chapel, and conducted to the Bastille (August 1785). He, and Madame de La Motte and her husband, were then arraigned before the Parliament; the first time that a prince of the Church had been brought before a secular judge. The trial, a great public scandal, lasted nine months, affording a rich treat to curiosity and malice. The efforts of the Court to procure the acquittal of Madame de La Motte had only the effect of turning public opinion the other way. The Parliament, glad of an opportunity to avenge the affronts it had received, acquitted Rohan by a majority of five, and condemned Madame de La Motte and her husband to be whipped and branded; after which the latter was to be sent to the galleys, and the lady to the Salpètrière. The public hailed with frantic joy a decree that degraded the throne, while the Cardinal was honoured with a complete ovation.

[38] M. L. Blanc, in his *Hist. de la Révol. Franç.*, t. ii. ch. 4, has produced some fresh evidence against the Queen, whom he considers guilty. Yet, on his own showing, the probabilities are, we think, in her favour.

The Queen avenged herself by banishing Rohan to Auvergne by a *lettre de cachet.*

While the Court was thus plunging deeper into public odium, the ever-declining state of the finances threatened a national bankruptcy. Necker had for some time made head against the *deficit* by reforms, reductions of expenditure, and especially by loans. Credit, however, the only support of the last method, began to grow exhausted; and in order to revive the public confidence Necker had persuaded Louis XVI. to publish the celebrated *Compte rendu* (January 1781). The effect at first was prodigious. The public was overwhelmed with joy at being for the first time intrusted with the secret of the national balance-sheet. The statement too seemed really satisfactory. The receipts appeared to exceed the ordinary disbursements by eighteen million livres; while the promise of extinguishing a great part of the enormous sum paid in pensions, of reforming the system of taxation &c., showed a sincere disposition to amend past disorders. In the first moments of enthusiasm Necker succeeded in raising an enormous loan. But gradually the enchanting visions of the *Compte rendu* began to melt away. The statement was found to be anything but complete, correct, and trustworthy, and the asserted surplus a pure delusion. On the other hand, the persons interested in the abuses denounced, with De Vergennes at the head of them, began to league themselves against Necker, and in May 1781 he found himself compelled to tender his resignation. The management of the finances, after passing through two or three hands, came, in October 1783, into those of Calonne, a frivolous man of profligate morals, but a reputation for talent. For two or three years, by clever expedients, and especially by loans, Calonne contrived to keep the machine in motion, and even to carry on a reckless expenditure. But at length his subterfuges were exhausted; he was compelled to acknowledge a *deficit* of 100 millions (four million sterling) per annum, and to consider the alternative of a national bankruptcy or a thorough reform of the State. The first of these, in the state of public feeling, could not be contemplated a moment. On the other hand, reform seemed almost equally dangerous. It could not be effected through the Parliaments, the only constitutional bodies in the State, as they would resist the diminution of their privileges which it involved; while an appeal to the people, and the assembling of the *États généraux*, seemed fraught with danger. In this perplexity Calonne hit upon a middle term, an Assembly of Notables, which had sometimes been convoked in the exigencies of the kingdom.

The Notables, to the number of 144, were accordingly assembled at Versailles, January 29th 1787. The *tiers état*, or commons, was represented by only six or seven municipal magistrates; all the rest were clergy and nobles, or persons having the privileges of nobles. The assembly had been announced in the *Journal de Paris* in the most offensive terms, intimating that the nation should be transported with joy at the condescension of the King in appealing to it.[39] The Count de Vergennes died before the assembly proceeded to business (February 13th). He was succeeded by the Count de Montmorin, a respectable man, but quite unequal to the position he had assumed. The assembly was opened by the King February 22nd. Calonne, in an elaborate and clever but indiscreet and presumptuous address, communicated his plans to the Notables. The main feature of them was the abolition or reform of some obnoxious imposts, and the substitution for them of a land-tax, varying from one-fortieth to one-twentieth to be received in kind, and to which all orders alike were to be liable, including the clergy and even the royal domains. On the other hand, the privileged classes were to be relieved from the *capitation*, or poll-tax, to which *roturiers* were still to be subject, as well as to the *taille*, but at a largely reduced rate. Among other things, Calonne also proposed a stamp act, and a reduction of the public expenditure, including that of the King's household. It was soon evident, however, that the proceedings of an assembly not based upon popular representation could never be satisfactory.[40] Irritated by the opposition of the Notables, Calonne threatened them with an appeal to the people. This threat produced an almost universal coalition against him, which was joined by the Queen. The King's brother, afterward's Louis XVIII., had made himself conspicuous by his opposition; and almost the only supporter of Calonne was the Count d'Artois, afterwards Charles X. Among his most formidable adversaries was Necker, whose *Compte rendu* he had attacked. That document was not invulnerable; but Necker proved that Calonne had wrongfully accused him of not having left a sufficient sum in the treasury to cover the expenses of 1781. The result of the league against Calonne was, that, at the instigation of Marie

[39] "La nation verra avec transport que son souverain daigne s'approcher d'elle."

[40] Mirabeau's father characterised the Assembly vigorously, though somewhat coarsely, as follows: "Cet homme (Calonne) assemble une troupe de *guillots* qu'il appelle nation, pour leur donner la vache par les cornes, et leur dire: 'Messieurs, nous tirons tout, et le par-de-là; et nous allons tâcher de trouver le moyen de ce par-de-là sur les riches, dont l'argent n'a rien de commun avec les pauvres; et nous vous avertissons que les riches, c'est vous; dites-nous maintenant votre avis sur la manière.'" *Mém.* de Mirabeau, ap. Martin, t. xvi. p. 568.

Antoinette, he was dismissed. Necker's turn, however, had not yet come. In fact he also was banished twenty leagues from Paris, for having ventured to publish without permission an apologetic memoir.

Calonne was succeeded by Brienne, Archbishop of Toulouse, with the title of Chief of the Council of Finance; while the Controller Fourqueux was little more than a head clerk. Brienne had been among the foremost of Calonne's opponents; yet he found himself compelled to bring forward several of his plans. Amid the stormy discussions which ensued, La Fayette proposed the convocation of a *National Assembly* within five years, or in 1792. The Notables would not take upon themselves the responsibility of voting the taxes proposed. They left the decision to the King; in other words, they resigned their functions. Their sittings were closed May 25th.

The Government now proceeded to publish edicts in conformity with the plans of taxation proposed to the Notables. When the edict for raising stamp duties was brought before the Parliament of Paris, that body refused to register it without first receiving a statement of the public accounts; and ended by beseeching the King to withdraw the edict, and by declaring that the *États généraux* alone were entitled to grant the King the necessary supplies. Such had been the extraordinary change in public opinion! The Parliament, formerly so opposed to these national assemblies, now declared them indispensable. The King frustrated the opposition of the Parliament by causing the different edicts to be registered in a *Lit de Justice* (August 6th), and when they protested against this step, he banished them to Troies; where, however, their opposition only became more violent. The feeling which animated them spread through all ranks of the people. It was taken up by the *clubs* recently established in Paris in imitation of the English. The minister caused them to be closed. Popular hatred had fixed itself on the Queen more than the King. The irritation against her had reached so high a pitch that Louis XVI. forbade her to show herself in Paris.

The fermentation spread through the kingdom. The provincial Parliaments loudly denounced the banishment of that of Paris, demanded the convocation of the *États généraux*, and the indictment of Calonne. Brienne compromised matters by allowing the Parliament to return, and engaging to call the *États* in 1792. The return of the members to Paris was celebrated by an illumination, accompanied with serious riots, in which Calonne, who had escaped to England, was burnt in effigy. Brienne hoped in four

years to re-establish the finances, so that the meeting of the *États* in 1792 should be a mere parade and spectacle. But Count de Mirabeau, who now began to play a prominent part, incited the Parliament to demand that they should be assembled in 1789; and a loan of 120 millions was agreed to by the Parliament only on this condition. The King was present at the sitting, which was suddenly converted into a *Lit de Justice*, and Louis decreed the registry of the edict for the loan in the usual forms, amid the murmurs of the Assembly. The Duke of Orléans rose, and ventured to observe that the step appeared to him illegal. Louis hesitated, stammered, and at length faltered out—"Yes; it is legal, if it is my will." The protest of the Duke was recorded, but he was banished to Villers Cotteret, and two counsellors, supposed to have incited him, were imprisoned.

The disputes between the Court and Parliament continued more violently than ever. Among the parliamentary agitators, Duport and D'Eprémesnil were conspicuous. The boldest sentiments were uttered in the name of law and liberty. It having been discovered that the Court was preparing Edicts, of which proof sheets were obtained by means of a printer's boy, intended to strike a blow at the Parliaments, meetings to organise resistance were held at Duport's house, and were attended by La Fayette, Condorcet, the Duke de la Rochefoucauld, Talleyrand-Périgord, the famous Bishop of Autun, and others. On May 3rd 1788, the Parliament, having drawn up a sort of Remonstrance and Declaration of Rights, the King, two days after, caused Goislard and D'Eprémesnil, the chief promoters of them, to be seized in their places and thrown into prison. On the 8th the Parliament was summoned to Versailles to hear the Edicts read. Their effect was, in a great measure, to supersede the Parliaments, by substituting other courts for them, and especially a *Cour plénière*. At the same time resort was to be had to *États généraux* whenever the public necessities should require it. It was, in fact, a new constitution, many of the features of which were excellent. But it was clearly perceived that the object of the Court was only to temporise, and to cover despotism under the veil of progress and reform. The provincial parliaments, and especially those of Brittany and Dauphiné, displayed the most violent resistance against the Edicts. The latter may be said to have initiated the Revolution by the first act of the sovereignty of the people. The Parliament, having been banished by the Government, the citizens of Grenoble assembled at the Hôtel de Ville and decreed the spontaneous assembly of the States of Dauphiné, which had fallen into desuetude for many generations. They owere

accordingly held at the Château de Vizille (August 1788), and the Government found itself compelled to come to a compromise with the Dauphinese. Everything seemed to threaten universal anarchy. As a last resource, Brienne had assembled the clergy in the hope that the danger with which their order was threatened by a meeting of the *États généraux* would induce them to grant him a loan, and thus obviate the necessity for that assembly. Vain hope! the clergy sided with the Parliaments, their ancient adversaries, and demanded the *États*; at the same time protesting, with a ludicrous inconsistency, against ecclesiastical property being subjected to taxation!

Brienne found it impossible any longer to resist the popular voice. The *États généraux* were summoned for May 1st 1789; and, meanwhile, the establishment of the *Cour plénière* was suspended (August 8th 1788). That minister, after some steps which very much resembled a national bankruptcy, found himself compelled to resign, and Louis had no alternative but to recall Necker. Brienne's retirement was soon after followed by that of Lamoignon. Serious riots occurred on both occasions, the latter being attended almost with a massacre.

With the return of Necker financial prospects revived. His second ministry closes the ancient *régime*. By engaging his personal fortune and other methods, he contrived to tide the nation over the few months which preceded the Revolution. The Parliament was now re-established for the second time during this reign. But it lost its popularity by enregistering the Royal Declaration that the *États généraux* should be convoked according to the form observed in 1614; which implied that their votes should be taken by orders and not *per capita*.

Necker, though a good financier, was but a mediocre statesman. He re-assembled the Notables (November) to decide on the composition of the *Tiers état*, or Commons. That assembly adhered to ancient forms as to the number to be summoned, but sanctioned a democratic constitution of that order. Necker nevertheless persuaded the King to summon at least 1000 persons, of whom the *Tiers état* was to consist of as many as the other two orders united. This concession, which had been demanded by most of the municipalities, would, as Necker pretended, be unimportant, if the States were to vote by orders, according to ancient custom; yet in a Report to the King previously to the Royal Declaration of December 27th 1788, he appears already to have anticipated their voluntary union in certain cases.

The *États généraux*, elected amid great excitement, were opened

by the King, May 5th 1789. The assembly consisted, in all, of 1145 members, of whom more than one half belonged to the *Tiers état*. The first business was to verify the returns. For this purpose the Commons invited the other two orders to the great hall in which they sat; but as this proceeding would also have implied the mode of voting, that is *en masse*, the nobles and clergy declined the proposal, although the latter order consented to a conference. The Commons refused to proceed to business, and nothing was done for several weeks; till on the motion of the Abbé Sieyès,[41] deputy of the *Tiers état* of Paris, a last invitation was sent to the Clergy and Nobles (June 10th), and on their failing to appear the Commons proceeded to business. After the verification of powers, Sieyès, in spite of the opposition of Mirabeau, moved and carried that the *États* should assume the title of the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. The Revolution had begun!

[41] Sieyès had previously traced the plan of operations, and laid down the programme of the Revolution, in his celebrated pamphlet entitled *Qu'est-ce que le Tiers État!*

END OF THE THIRD VOLUME.

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